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SOCIAL WORK

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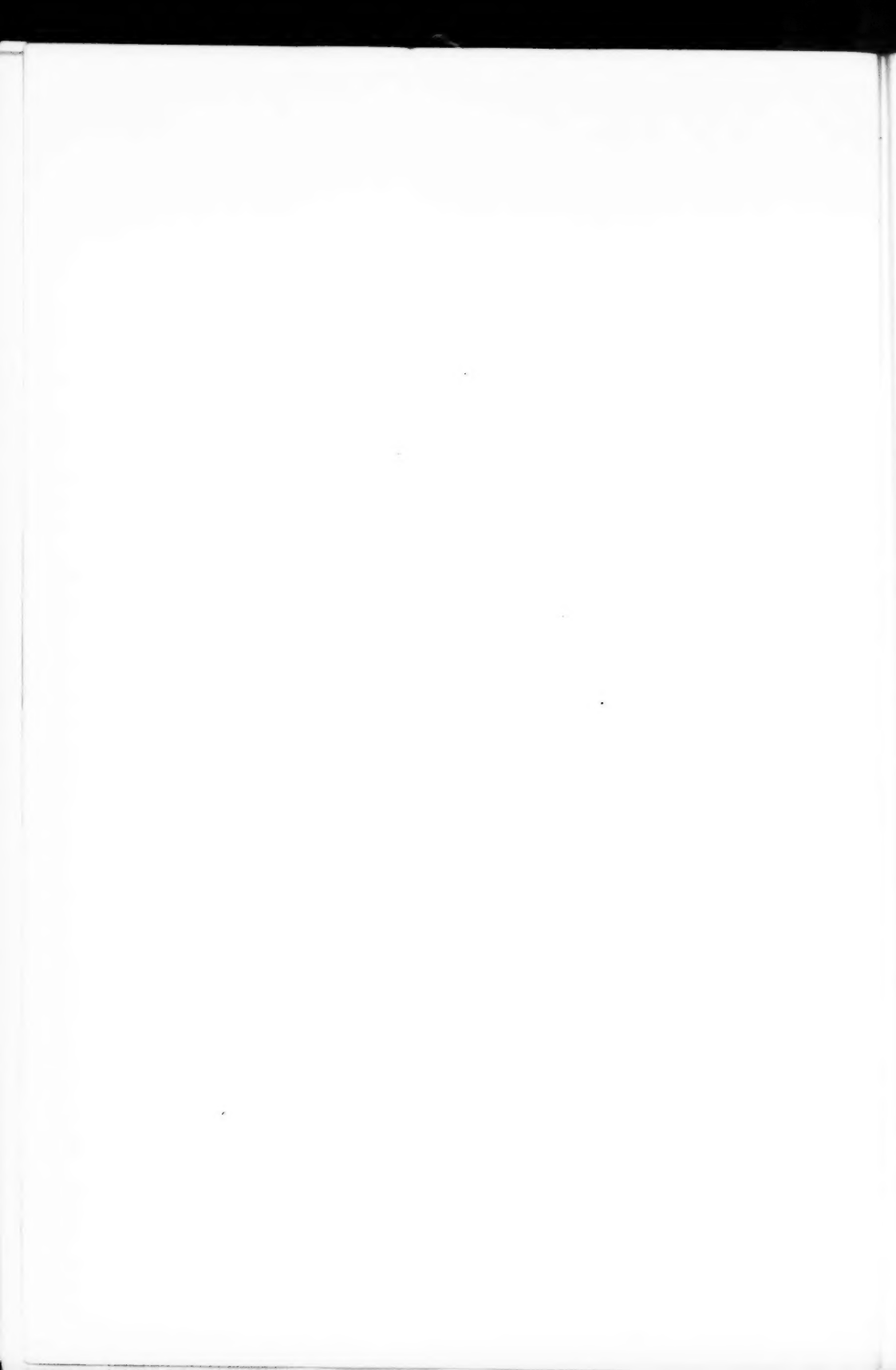
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A. GENERAL SESSIONS



## A. GENERAL SESSIONS

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### JUSTICE FIRST

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

*John A. Lapp, Chicago*

In obedience to a custom more than half a century old I present to you tonight the address of the President of the National Conference of Social Work. The task of initiating a new chapter in the biography of this organization is one most welcome to me and yet I approach its fulfillment with due deference to the responsibility which it entails. This is the fifty-fourth annual conference. Each one in the past has summed up or planned an advance. The leaders rise before me as prophets of a better day. Letchworth, Wines, Byers, Paine, Henderson, Mulry, Woods, to speak only of those who have gone from our midst, live in the remembrance of great works done in the service of their countrymen. My only hope is that the address which I am about to present to you and those which follow at this conference, may take a humble place in the enduring history of this, which has been to me for many years, the most significant organization in America.

I have chosen to speak on the subject "Justice First." In using this title I do not wish it to be assumed that justice is to be set over against charity or charity against justice. My purpose is to attempt to give to the concepts of charity and justice larger and more definite places in the program of social welfare. I do not wish it to be assumed, moreover, that the subject is to be presented in the abstract. On the contrary it will be treated concretely in relation to the present social order.

The starting point is the proposition that man is a spiritual being; that he is not mere muscle or man power; that he is not a machine to be run and scrapped; that he and his labor are not commodities to be bought and sold by the law of supply and demand. In Emersonian phrase man does not exist "to add a laborer to the state." Man is morally endowed with essential rights, not merely of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness, but of protection of his integrity, physical, economic, civic, and spiritual, against adverse forces that surround him. The central purpose of all efforts to control economic life by social action is the protection and promotion of the rights of human beings—the attainment of justice for mankind. The ministrations of charity are reserved for those whom temporarily justice has not protected or those who have wilfully failed.



Charity discovers needs. It rouses men to moral duties. It points the way to justice. Justice is the goal and as it is attained the obligations of charity are taken over by the institutions of justice. That which we care for out of charity today is prevented or provided for through systems of justice tomorrow. Charity, intelligently given, looks to the elimination of the need for its ministrations.

Charity is a virtue which grows with our spiritual being and with the broadening of knowledge. From family to neighbors, to community, to the nation, to the world it extends with love and hope for the human race. There is no end to its expansion, objectively or subjectively. As long as people continue to grow in knowledge and understanding, the spirit of charity will lead the way to a greater and greater service to mankind. It will advance the cause of human welfare. It will strengthen the failing. It will lessen contentions among individuals and in families and subdue selfish localism and narrow nationalism. It will make for peace and concord among nations.

Charity is the complement of justice. When justice cannot be attained or when its power is exhausted, charity steps in to minister to the fallen, to encourage the despairing and to fulfil the divine command. As justice advances the need for charity grows less, but as such need lessens, the growing spirit of love finds new and larger means of expression.

Let me illustrate this developing process by a series of examples. We feed the starving man who has not food to eat nor work by which he may earn it, but justice demands the establishment of the principle that society is bound to provide the opportunity to everyone to earn a living. Employment bureaus are established. Unemployment is prevented by the stabilization of industry and unemployment insurance is set up to establish justice. We take care of the victims of tuberculosis or typhoid, but we are not slow to demand that housing conditions and water supplies be corrected as a means of safeguarding individuals. We freely give our sympathy and care to infants and children who are without means of decent living or are defective in mind or body. Justice requires that we go further and see that the sins and the poverty of parents shall not be visited on their children. Only by a big conception of justice may we hope to be fair to the oncoming hordes of innocent children. We sympathize with young and old alike who are unprepared in skill to do an effective part in the world's work. Our sympathy and awakened intelligence lead to the creation of adequate vocational training and child labor laws. We treat the victims of accidents as objects of charity but our conception of justice gives us employers' liability, workmen's compensation, and rehabilitation. We have compassion for the widow or deserted mother with dependent children. That compassion eventuates in demands for justice through better laws to trap deserters and for mother's pensions to take care of the innocent victims. We pour out money to succor the victims of the flood now raging in the lower Mississippi Valley. Jus-

tice demands that we spend billions, if necessary, so that such a calamity cannot occur again.

Justice moves forward but slowly. Sometimes it lags far behind our social and economic advances. Great gaps may thus be left where men who are unable to keep up in the race must rely upon the charity of their fellowmen. In static society such gaps do not exist. Crystallized custom fixes the rules such as they may be. In a pastoral or semi-static state the common law enfolds society and keeps an adjustment to the changes in the economic order. England to the end of the eighteenth century needed little more than the development of the common law to provide justice as then conceived. Society was pastoral, changes were slow, and while gross evils existed they were due to selfish power and ignorance and were not aggravated by rapidly changing economic and social life. Then came the industrial revolution and the romance of transportation. The individualism of the pastoral stage broke down in the new day. Men, women, children, and babies were fed into the great maw of industrialism. The common law ceased to protect the rights and the integrity of man.

In our own country economic institutions began to outstrip the application of the common law by the middle of the nineteenth century. Statutes were enacted to bridge the gap but in spite of our lawmaking activity we still lag behind. There are great areas where common and statute law do not reach and where justice does not reign. The tremendous economic movements of the last half-century have outstripped the machinery and even the powers of government, local, state, and national, and great twilight zones are left where evils play almost unrestrained. The individual has become helpless to cope with the new forces. Local and state governments are found to be impotent and even in some respects national action is unable to deal adequately with economic and social movements that have obliterated boundary lines. This condition exists in spite of the plain axiom that society is firmly based only when the legal structure and the economic institutions are most faithfully joined by principles of right and justice.

We had seemed in the great progressive movement of 1910 to 1914 about to push the boundaries of social control forward into the unprotected areas. We had made notable advances when war—the destroyer of ideals as well as of human beings—brushed justice and social progress aside. The zones of selfishness were widened and even greater numbers of helpless victims were left, not only in the train of battle, but in the train of economic and social disasters as well.

We are called upon anew to go forward to envelop our social and economic institutions in the folds of justice. In doing this we need a newer and broader conception of human rights and of systems of justice to maintain them. Philosophers have discussed rights at great length on the positive side. Equality, opportunity, freedom have had their champions; all of the great writers on the

subject have deemed these to be the ends of justice. Man has achieved to a considerable degree freedom from restraint and the right to the rewards of his own labor. Slavery, in its grosser forms at least, has disappeared.

The other side to the program of justice is protection against the social causes of destitution and decay. Justice is only partly attained by securing freedom. Man may be free to do as he will, but in modern life that right is precarious, if there is not given to him also the protection which society only can provide. Individual rights without social protection make a mockery of freedom. Of what value is freedom when the individual, through no fault of his own, runs amuck of destroyers which master him. What rights have the victims of the competitive struggle? Are rights only for the strong who go forward or are they also for the weak who fail and fall? What rights have those who never had a chance? Those born in poverty, crippled in infancy, ground down by child labor or handicapped in education? If justice means anything worth while it must take account of these. Or how about the millions who are destitute on account of causes which they could not control? Are they objects of charity or may we demand for them in the name of justice?

We are in danger from an excessive individualism and the danger can be offset only by social action. Let us have individualism. Let men brave the deep and scale the cliff of human endeavor or merely pursue their prosaic tasks, but safeguard them by social efforts against the menace to their integrity and the enjoyment of the fruits of their freedom. It is the excess of individualism that menaces, not individualism itself. Individual rights without social protection are poor and weak.

We find to our consternation the revival of the heathen doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" and that we are living to a greater degree than we think on the philosophy of Herbert Spencer in an age in which it should long ago have been discredited. One high official expects "every man to stand up to the emery wheel of competition." "The survival of the fittest is a basic principle in American life," says the American Citizenship Foundation of Chicago. "Why save the weaklings to be the unfits of a few years hence?" say the flip-pant Menckenes. The idea is still dominant that the fit survive and the unfit perish. That doctrine controls the thinking of pre-Victorian statesmen and business men and taints the fountains of public opinion. Strong and successful men take pride in the belief that it is their fitness that makes them what they are. The philosophy of the jungle continues to guide in the formation of laws and in the determination of social action.

The concomitant doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the social order is the laissez faire doctrine in politics. "Let things alone to work out according to economic laws." This is carried so far as to challenge the right of government regulation of almost anything or anyone. There is at this time more individualistic, not to say anarchistic, cant than in any previous time in this

country. The anti-prohibitionists with their cry of personal liberty, founded though it is upon individual selfishness, have about wrecked the true conception of government control of evils. To be consistent those same destructionists go so far as to condemn any and all control of conduct. Even the prohibition of habit-forming drugs is to them an infringement of personal liberty. What may the government regulate, control, or prohibit if not such human destroyers as habit-forming drugs and intoxicating liquors? Apparently nothing. And lo, we have the anarchistic state.

Despite the fact that events and logic as well as common sense have long ago discredited laissez faire ideas in the social order, we have still to contend with them in public opinion and in legislation. This is so because it is easier to stand still than to go forward. It is easier to do nothing than to attempt reform. This attitude of mind fits in with the propaganda of special interests who profit by letting things alone. All the arts that may appeal to the ignorant and the timid are used. "Economy" to the point of social death is made to appeal to the cupidity and selfishness of individuals. Imaginary dangers to personal liberty are used to scare. The bogey of paternalism is raised up. Slogans are invented and put into the mouths of high officials such as "The business of the United States is business," "the less government the better" and "less government in business." No previous time in our history has seen such a concerted movement to break the confidence of the people in their government as an instrument for human betterment. The rising tide of social legislation has been seen and fully appraised by those who profit by unrestricted individualism. To the ranks of such forces are recruited a large number of ancient minds that live on the memory of another day and do not awaken to the realities of this.

When we examine and estimate the causes of human disaster the absurdity of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" and of laissez faire becomes apparent. Is a person who is sick from overwork or contagion unfit to survive? Is the man whose morale has been broken by fruitless searches for work or for a living wage unfit for survival? Is he who has been crippled by an accident unfit? Is the individual who loses everything in the failure of a bank or a business or a corporation thereby unfit to survive? Is the person who has been lured by a real estate broker or by the glamorous wordings of advertisements, of booster clubs, and chambers of commerce guilty of being unfit because he invests his all to reach the Eldorado only to find the bubble has broken? Are the victims of floods and tornadoes unfit for survival? If failure were all due to personal delinquency we might consider it just that the guilty should suffer. For such we could invoke the spirit of charity. But the failures are not of the unfit but rather of the unlucky. The survivors are not necessarily the fit. They may be fit but they are also lucky. Investigate the human wreckage which is left on the field or limps along behind the human army and we are driven to the

conclusion that all is not right with the world when men and women, through no fault of their own, are left helpless except for the Good Samaritans who bring them succor. The merest catalogue of the causes which strike men down is sufficient to any reasonable mind not calloused by self interest to see that the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" is hard, cold, inhuman, and unfair, the cause of terrible injustice and social despair. The whole idea must be rooted out of the human mind before justice can reign. As long as the strong survivors of the competitive struggle hold to the view of their own fitness to survive and the unfitness of those who fail, the laws and institutions of the country will remain unadjusted to human welfare and instead of abating will actually abet the struggle.

Justice requires that the opportunity be given to everyone to realize his best self. This applies to the poor as to the rich, the disabled as to the strong, the sick as to the well. But something more is due in justice to those who are, on account of their poverty, their weakness, or their handicaps, unable to strive for or achieve a decent living. Must these be objects of charity, beneficiaries of our kindness, or may they ask in the name of justice for a decent living? The hard individualist says "no." He attributes all failures to the same cause. He knows little and cares less why people are in need. A nearby case coming to his personal attention may excite his compassion but the poor in general are to him worthless, the victims of their own vice. This attitude is widespread. Few people outside the ranks of social workers, and not all within those ranks, give thought to the real causes of poverty. Those who fail are thought to be the victims of their own nature and self created circumstances. The sick are responsible for their sickness. The poor are without means because they are lazy. The aged dependents are so because they dissipated and lacked thrift. The solution of the problem of the destitute is to such individualists quite simple. Feed, clothe, and shelter them. Yes, have compassion for broken human beings but give them the barest subsistence and the minimum of life so that it will not cost too much. Provide for them the poor house. Do they entertain a claim of justice on the part of the fallen? They may believe that they are charitable but they rarely think in terms of justice to the poor.

This attitude is an inheritance from the days not so long gone when in this country there was more reason to attribute failure to personal causes. There was sustenance for all who would work. The sick and the disabled were about all who could not earn a livelihood. But times have changed. We live no longer in the days of "unbuttoned" comfort. We are part of a great implacable machine whose victims have slight personal relationship to the course of events which crushes them. The causes of human disaster did not work their economic consequences in the pioneer days as they do today. Yet we are still thinking in terms of personal responsibility for failure. We put the stigma of personal

failure upon the quarter of a million new recruits to poverty every year. Justice has failed here because knowledge and understanding have failed.

Competition of individuals will go on; it is beneficial that it should. In fact society would be drab and desolate without the rivalry of individuals for place, property or power. But it shall not go on as a struggle for survival; it shall not continue in accordance with the rules of the jungle. It shall not be allowed to prey upon the weak, the handicapped, the unable, as a carrion bird, taking from their meager chance for a living or from their meager means. The competitive struggle must be governed by better rules. Blows below the belt must not be permitted. New ideas of fitness to survive must guide. Survival must not be governed by biological laws. The struggle must be moralized by charity and justice to a far greater degree than at present. In the words of a great scientist:

In place of ruthless self assertion it (the law of justice) demands self restraint, in place of thrusting aside or treading down all competitors it requires that the individual shall not merely respect but shall help his fellows. Its influence is directed not so much to the survival of the fittest as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. Laws and moral precepts are directed to the end of curbing the cosmic process and reminding the individual of his duty to the community; to the protection and influence of which he owes if not existence itself, at least the life of something better than the brutal savage.

All investigation proves that people are poor in the main through social injustice or unavoidable causes. A mere fraction only are responsible for their own downfall. War, floods and tornadoes, sickness, unemployment, under-employment, accident, mental deficiency, death or desertion, inadequate wages, business failures and dependent old age are the causes of 90 per cent or more of all the poverty in the United States. Is it within the power of the individual to control these disasters? No competent person would say that it is. They are mostly accidental, inherited, social, or natural causes which the luckless individual can control about as much as he can the weather. Sickness is almost as purely an accident as is a physical mishap. Unemployment, except in a minor degree, is nationwide or worldwide in its causes. Mental deficiency is largely inherited or caused by accident. Men cannot, except to some extent through trade unions, enforce a living wage. Death and desertion leave helpless victims quite without control over the causes of their disaster. Business failure is too well known to be chargeable to the personal fault of the innocent investor. Dependent old age is but the resultant consequences of the unrestricted workings of all the other causes of human disasters. Among the millions of victims are not the unfit solely. These millions constitute, rather, a cross section of the population with the larger portion coming, of course, from the ranks of those who were born in poverty, reared in unhealthful and immoral environment and who by the very circumstances of life were ill prepared or protected for the competitive struggle.



What is the result of the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest even with the many safeguards which we have already thrown around the individual to mitigate the horrors of the struggle? Read it in the record of a single year. From four to five million people actually recipients of material relief; a million and a quarter in institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents; nine million at the free dispensaries for medical aid; five hundred thousand dependent children in the care of public or private benevolences. Twelve million people in the United States suffer at this moment from the calamity of destitution or its near approach. A great army, one in every ten, of the population marches in the valley of the shadow of poverty. This great body of human beings is not constant but changes with great rapidity. The death rate is high, reaching no doubt to double the normal rate. New recruits fill the ranks and overflow them with a never ending tread as tens of thousands go down annually into the great shadow. Let us not forget that this is a great human tragedy continuously before us on the stage of life. We may well say with Goldsmith:

Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Fortunately we have examples to prove the needlessness of the wreckage of the lives of human beings. Some at least of the causes of human disaster have been attacked with the sword of justice. Experience has taught to some degree how human beings may be protected against the ravages of unchecked competition. We have learned how to prevent some diseases. Great plagues have been in our own time completely conquered. We have traced back causes to their sources and by bold social action have stopped one after another of the great scourges of life. Those from which large masses of poverty have been recruited in the past, typhoid, smallpox, tuberculosis, have been attacked by science and social action. Nine hundred thousand lives are saved annually over and above the record of fifty years ago. Two hundred and twenty-five thousand infants under one year of age did not die last year because of improvements which have taken place in the last fifteen years, a period exactly coincident with the work of the Children's Bureau at Washington.

In a more positive way we have examples to show how the course of social life has been entirely changed by legislative action. The establishment of the workmen's compensation laws constitutes the most perfect specimen of the application of justice in place of uncertain charity. These laws assure that at least one outstanding cause need not drive innocent people into poverty. Accidents in industry for many years constituted one of the great causes of poverty. A self reliant man one day became an object of charity the next because of a crippling accident which partially or completely, temporarily or permanently, deprived him of the power to work. Fortunately for social progress ac-

cidents were spectacular; they visualized causes and effects even to the torpid mind of selfish people. Logic as well as humanitarianism led clearly to the remedy.

In 1911 Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, signed the first effective statewide compensation law. All other states but five have followed the example. How clear now is this act of justice. No one, not even the most calloused opponent of old, doubts the practical wisdom as well as the humanity of this new system of justice to injured workers. In states which have given full scope to their conception of justice, and made their workmen's compensation laws comprehensive, there is rarely, if ever, the need for material charity to a worker injured in industry. As we come to see more clearly still and round out the scheme with adequate provision for physical and vocational rehabilitation, already well under way, and for the complete care of those who are permanently disabled there need not be a single person coming into poverty by the route of accidents in industry.

The principle of social insurance exemplified in the prevention of the economic consequences of accidents in industry should be extended widely to cover the other calamities of life. The terrors of sickness, unemployment, and dependent old age could be lessened if we provided social insurance to distribute the burden and keep it from falling with crushing force upon the few who are the victims. The social effects of these disasters are exactly the same as those resulting from accidents. Logic points to the remedy in social insurance. There would be little doubt of its adoption with respect to most of the calamities of life if the thought of justice instead of charity should become the dominant one in our social life.

We relieve the sick, the jobless, the aged poor, and other luckless people as a matter of charity and we will continue to do that as long as the need exists, but intelligent charity clearly points the way to programs of justice. Let us prevent the calamities of life to the fullest extent that social action can go, but let us recognize that after all has been done that can be done, disasters will occur, human beings will be the victims, and poverty will come upon the just and unjust alike. Comprehensive social measures alone can reduce such injustice to the minimum.

Nor should we be frightened by the cry of paternalism when we propose to act for the weak and the poor. That cry has been used against every forward movement in the history of this nation. It has usually been based upon ignorance, selfishness, or insincerity. Let me answer it by quoting two great believers in the rights of man, Leo XIII and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Said Leo XIII:

Justice demands that the interests of the poorer classes should be carefully watched over by the administration . . . whatever shall appear to prove to be conducive to the well-being of those who work should receive favorable consideration. Let it not be feared



that solicitude of this kind will be harmful to any interest. On the contrary it will be to the advantage of all for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to shield from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

**Listen now to Emerson:**

Humanity asks that government shall not be ashamed to be tender and paternal but that democratic institutions shall be more thoughtful for the interests of women, for the training of children and for the welfare of sick and unable persons and serious care of criminals than was ever any of the best governments of the old world.

Although the effect of unrestricted competition upon human welfare is evident and the beneficent results of social action are on every hand, we find a great body of powerful opinion working against the reforms which might change the rules in the interest of justice. The effort to destroy confidence in public action, and especially in legislation, reaches even to an attempt to undermine the people's trust in legislative assemblies, state and national. The purpose of this is evident. Government is the only agency that can effectually protect human beings in their essential integrity. Legislation is the means by which conditions favorable to justice may be created. If confidence in legislation and in government is destroyed exploitation will go unchecked. The purpose is to create a condition of *laissez faire* by the destruction of confidence in social action.

The movement goes further and attempts to bind the government in a strait-jacket by preventing necessary adjustments in the powers and machinery of government through changes in the state and national constitutions. One group of reactionaries is attempting to increase the difficulties, already almost insurmountable, of amending the Constitution of the United States. They would require that every amendment must be submitted to a popular vote in every state. This would seem to indicate a confidence in popular government. Not so. The leaders of this movement are men who never trusted the people's judgment and have opposed at every step the development of popular measures of government.

The purpose is obvious. It is to keep changes from being enacted. If the plan were adopted no amendments would be likely to be made to the Constitution of the United States. No readjustment of powers could be thereby brought about and we would have a petrified form of *laissez faire*. This in spite of the fact that with the development of economic institutions the states have become impotent to deal with some of the greatest questions affecting the welfare of the people. Wider areas would thereby be created wherein the power of law could not reach. The strong, the cunning, those who have special privileges rejoice in such a prospect of being left alone. They are the Simon-pure believers in *laissez faire*. They are the ones who appeal most fervently to the founding fathers against changes in the Constitution. Their plea should fall on deaf ears. The fathers of this country never believed in such nonsense—that the Consti-

tution should not be amended when conditions required it. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, naturally believed that constitutions must change to meet new conditions.

If we should follow the guidance of the believers in *laissez faire* and shackle our legislatures more than we have already done, we would find in a generation that what is left of liberty would not be worth fighting for. Our only hope for individual freedom is the constant advance of social control and the achievement of social justice. Otherwise man will be crushed beneath the wheels of the economic juggernaut.

The discrediting of representative government by the defenders of autocracy—the Mussolini crew and their panting sycophants in this country; the ridiculous criticism of legislative bodies; the cry to the uninformed against excessive legislation; the dismantling of the regulatory commissions and the handing over of important parts of the machinery and powers of government to predatory interests; the attempt to decry public management of almost everything out of which private gain could be made even though at the public expense are all in full sway. Somehow prosperity has come to be associated with autocracy and patriotism has become a brother to profiteers.

But all this will fail. Human progress is not in that direction, and wherever human progress leads there we will follow. Faltering though it may be at times, human progress leads ultimately in the direction of equity, and the equity of one generation becomes the law of the next. There is a Power which guides the destiny of the human race and that destiny is not to be found in the shackling of mankind nor in the slavery or degradation of man, but in the widening circle of opportunities for all to rise above their present status and to achieve more and more toward the purpose for which they are created upon this earth. Energized by the spirit of charity, let justice be for all time the pole star for the aspirations of the human race.

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## THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

*Chester H. Rowell, Berkeley, California*

It is an honor more than worth a hurried trip across the continent to be privileged to greet in you the volunteer army of the common good, the advance guard of the world that is to be. You are they who stand on the outposts, to "make the world safe for democracy" by making democracy fit for the world. If the time comes when political service is rendered in the spirit in which you render social service, then only will the challenge to democracy have been answered.

Democracy is now assailed by enemies within and without. It is challenged by the two great dictatorships of Russian bolshevism and Italian fas-

cism. It is, for the first time, denied in theory. There have always been usurpers, who might overthrow a democracy, or peoples who failed in it, but not until now have there been great nations which repudiated it, claiming that they had found something better, or philosophical thinkers who denied it declaring it wrong in principle and a failure in practice. I was reading only yesterday a review in a journal of political science of Francesco Nitti's book on fascism and democracy, in which the reviewer said that no one educated enough to read that magazine would be interested in Signor Nitti's naïve assumption of nineteenth century liberalism and individual liberty as axiomatically right. "Dictatorship and parliamentarism are no longer values to be marked with a plus and minus sign. They are problems to be examined."

Democracy is challenged at home, too, by those who do not know that they are challenging it, and by forces which are not recognized as anti-democratic, which undermine the faith of the people in the institutions of democracy, and deprive those institutions of the support of a vigilant and devoted people. The whole doctrine which we so naïvely took for granted in the nineteenth century, must now stand the test of reexamination and retrial in the more critical spirit of the twentieth century, and it can only survive if it passes those tests. The responsibility is on those of us who, like myself, and I suppose most of you, are still old-fashioned enough to love democracy, to do our parts to make it fit to meet those tests. And the first step toward that is not merely to deny and defy the challenge. It is to understand it, and to see what of truth there is in it, in order that we may help rectify in our democracy those evils and weaknesses which examination shows to be real.

Consider first the external challenge. Bolshevism and fascism are opposites in their economic purposes, but they are nearly identical in their political methods. Both deny liberty as an evil. Both are dictatorships by a minority, to enforce compulsory conformity on the majority. Both suppress liberty of speech and of the press, of association and political action, and all the rest of the Bill of Rights, and proclaim the righteousness of doing so. Both prevent government by the people, and both deny that government should be for the people. Rather, it is the function of the people to be for the government. The individual is a mere cell in the larger organism, with only the rights and duties of a cell. The rights are of the organism, and the duties are of the individual. "Discipline, Responsibility, Order," are the slogans of fascism, as against the "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," of eighteenth century liberalism. Both govern with a dictator at the head and a minority party as his organ, and deny the right of other parties to exist. And both proclaim, by their authorized apologists, that democracy is an outworn anachronism, a nineteenth century application of an eighteenth century academic theory, unsuited to either the thought or the needs of the twentieth century.

Their difference is in the social units they represent, and the economic

system they support. Bolshevism represents the class; fascism the nation. Bolshevism is socialistic; fascism is capitalistic. They would set up different worlds, but by the same methods.

It will not do to deny the seriousness of this challenge. I hasten to add that I do not mean the panic of our 200 per cent ghost-seers, who spy a bolshevik behind every bush, and fear for the stability of what they imagine our institutions to be, unless we defend them by bolshevik methods. For America, the peril is not bolshevism. It is a disguised fascism, parading as "Americanism."

You will, for instance, find few American visitors to Russia, unless they were radicals before they went, who come back giving a very encouraging account of what they saw. If they even tell the truth, as I have sometimes tried to do, they risk their reputations for honesty and sanity. So far as bolshevism is concerned, we are in much more danger from the un-American methods used to suppress it than we are from any un-American doctrines it may inculcate.

But you find thousands of Americans coming back from Italy with nothing but good words of what they saw. We are a business people, and are prone to the illogic of judging other things than business by business standards. The test of business is results. Fascism visibly gets results. If that is the proper test of government, as it indubitably is of business, then, by that test, fascism is justified. It has put Italy to work. It has transformed it from *dolce far niente* to *forte far molto*; from lazy charm to fierce efficiency. If we are to make business principles the rule of all of life, instead of only the business fraction of it, Italy is doing it. And what American business man ever so much as asked the question whether business principles are universal principles. That is an axiom, like up is up, and down is down, or any other of the untruths which we all know to be true.

If bolshevism, in this country, is universally decried, even below its demerits, while fascism is praised above its merits, the question answers itself which is the nearer menace to our democracy.

Taking the world at large, both are to be taken seriously. Bolshevism is the actual régime of the largest nation in the white man's world, and there was a time when it seriously threatened to overrun Europe. It did capture Hungary for a time, and nearly overcame Poland. In 1920 it for a time menaced Germany with internal revolution, and it has twice since tempted Germany into a political alliance. It was almost in possession of Italy when the fascist counter-revolution was accepted as the lesser evil. It was even dangerous in France and Britain six or seven years ago. It is, in principle, a world revolution, and its present conformity to a stabilized world is avowedly mere opportunism. It is attempting to control the most promising of the revolutionary movements in China. Its sovietism may indeed spread far. Its communism, I personally think, will develop another and less doctrinaire régime, even in Rus-

sia. But if the world ever becomes as hungry and desperate again as it was in 1920, the menace of even Communist bolshevism may have to be reckoned with.

Fascism, at least to the extent of an imitated dictatorship, had spread faster. It is now, or recently has been, the rule of Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Poland, Bulgaria, and Chile. The whole Mediterranean basin, whence came our historic civilization, is one fascist dictatorship. The world which we were to make safe for democracy is in large part already given up to régimes hostile to democracy. The opposition is no longer a mere critical attitude of mind. It is an accomplished fact over half the world. Democracy as never before is on the defensive.

In America, we find no express movement to substitute one régime for another. In our political theory we are the most conservative people in the world. We have made the Constitution sacrosanct, and find it worshiped loudest by those who understand it least. The surest way to know nothing about the Constitution is to know it by heart. We all think we believe in the "American form of government" and resist any proposal to change it, even so beneficent a one as the child labor amendment. In form, our government is safe—too safe. We will not bend it, even if the consequences were to break it.

But in substance we are confronted with an indifference represented by the fact that fully half the people do not even vote, and most of the other half manifest very little earnest interest in affairs of government. It has been seriously asked whether democracy can survive the moving picture. In other words, can a whole people retain that active interest in public affairs which our institutions presuppose in the face of the manifold distractions of modern life? Our democracy grew when government was not only the most important, but the most interesting thing in life. Now it seems not even the most important. Business affects our fortunes more nearly, and jobs and wages touch the workman more closely than parties and candidates. The political meeting once furnished the intellectual life and the diversion in communities hungry for both. The automobile, the omnipresent newspaper, the radio, and the movie now compete for the attention of the people, and by mathematical demonstration they are winning the competition. There are many more people in every congressional district who know who Andy Gump is than there are who know, or care, who is Congressman from that district. A larger fraction of the population of Australia knows Charlie Chaplin or Douglas Fairbanks than there is of the American people who can remember the names of the last two Democratic candidates for president. More people in Iowa are interested to know when the kidnaper of Skeezicks will be found than care whether the McNary-Haugen bill, the most important political issue in Iowa, will ever be passed or not. A movie thriller in a village will attract a larger audience than a political meeting in a city. Many more people read the baseball scores in the newspaper than

read the political discussions. I say this not to reproach these people. It is quite possible they are right. They know what they find interesting, and no democracy can survive merely on the support of the highbrows, to whom things do not have to be interesting if they can be demonstrated to be important. Either democracy must be made interesting to the people as they are, or the people must be educated to find it interesting, or we must find some new form of government which can be run by those who are interested, with the consent, actual or passive, of the rest. It is a real problem, and not yet an answered one, how to make government interesting enough for democracy to operate it, in a world in which there are so many other interesting things.

If government must be made interesting the people must also be trained to make their interest intelligent. A careless people are the harvest field of the demagogue. When the people are more easily won by phrases and slogans than by arguments and facts, when appeal to prejudice and local interest counts for more than the common good, when parties are more interested in offices than in measures, democracy is not yet ripe. We look down on backward countries, as not fit for self-government. We are not fully fit ourselves while these conditions prevail.

The reaction on government is evident, in the increasing public contempt for the people's own chosen representatives. Damning Congress and deriding state legislatures has become almost a national sport. A proposal to make the president or governor dictator would be defeated by an indignant and unanimous vote; but we do make them largely dictators in fact, because only so do we find the common good of the whole people adequately represented and the government efficiently run, even on its legislative side. Ask yourself by what you and your friends judge a president or governor—by his administrative record, or by the things he makes Congress or the legislature do. We reject the theory of even executive leadership and would repudiate any system of even partial executive responsibility in legislation, but we do not shrink in fact from practical executive dictatorship in these respects. These weakenings of the substance of democracy may not have been so important before the international challenge. We are rich and strong and isolated, and we cling to theories even in the face of facts. We could wait for the lessons of partial failure to arouse us to the effort needed for a larger success. The other nations of the world, at least we thought, were either republics, on our model, or else representatives of the outgrown system of monarchy which we had overthrown in practice for ourselves and in principle for everybody. The question is whether we must not face the crisis less complacently, now that the supremacy of democracy even in principle is denied, and modern political thought will not hesitate to test democracy by its works. Unless we make it work better than other systems, some disguised imitation of them may supplant it, with the tacit consent of such few as realize what is happening.



What, if may be asked, has all this to do with you, who are not political, but social workers? The answer is that it has everything to do with you, and you have vitally to do with it. You are the mitigators of the evils of democracy, and the prophets of its good. Not all of your work is governmental, but much of it is and always has been. You have promoted, and you administer the public health laws in schools and in the communities generally. You first advocated the workmen's compensation laws, and you are the pioneers of larger social insurance laws. You promote child labor laws, and most of you advocate the child labor amendment. Most of the platform of the Progressive party, in 1912, was written by your group, and you were thus responsible for the very considerable part of that platform which has since been enacted in state and national laws, mostly through other parties. In the present stampede for vindictive crime laws, yours is the voice crying in the wilderness for the importance of constructive and curative measures. You make the health, the housing, and the social surveys, which reveal wherein modern government falls short of meeting actual conditions, and you administer the remedial measures when either enacted in law or supplied by private support. You are the advance guard, in the forward march of governmental functions. You may be little interested in the ordinary concerns of politicians, but you are constantly and vitally interested in what ought to be the chief concern of government. In the larger sense, you are the most important politicians we have.

Even more, you are the guardians of the social system, which political discussion so often identifies with our form of government. Economic individualism and competition are, to be sure, not forms of government, and there is nothing about them in the Constitution, in spite of the fact that our 200 per-centers shout, and conduct juvenile oratorical contests, for them, in the name of the Constitution, as if there were nothing else in it. But they are the social system which we have inherited, and which, without revolution, we cannot overthrow. You know better than anyone else the weaknesses and limitations of that system. You know that *laissez faire* means "let the strong oppress the weak." You know that unlimited individualistic competition works as a stimulant to endeavor only in its middle ranges. At the top if unrestrained, it means that the strong will acquire more power and wealth than the rest of us will permit them peacefully to do with as they will. At the bottom, it means that the weak or the unlucky will be pressed below the point of a decent and self-respecting life. If democracy, on its economic side, means that, then the challenge of the bolshevist is not met, and sooner or later it will have to be reckoned with. You are the outposts of society, to make the present system work, if it will, and so far as it will, and to point the way, not by theory and Marxian geometric demonstrations, but by practical experience, to such improvements, in it or out of and beyond it, as the facts of a growing world may require. The chamber of commerce may think some of you are radicals, and

you may even think so yourselves. It is difficult for a freely functioning mind to be anything else, if by radicalism is meant enough practical knowledge of practical facts to see the barrenness of the pure theorizing which makes up most of what many men who think they are "practical" think they are thinking. But the fact is that you share with the American Federation of Labor the distinction of being the most effective conservative force in America. It is only by the things you do to it that this system, which the conservatives so much desire to preserve, can survive at all. Without you and your work, the critics who insist that our government is neither by nor for the people, would be harder to answer. Largely because of you our democracy is entitled to the interest and support of the people, whether it gets it or not.

You are, too, in a position of great power to enlist the revived interest of an indifferent and distracted people in public affairs, in both their governmental and non-governmental aspects. Politics will be as interesting as wages and prices whenever it affects the individual life as directly. People will be as interested in who is mayor as in who is foreman, or who wins the baseball series, whenever it makes as much personal difference to them. Social problems are as interesting as the movies when they are our problems. It may take too much abstract imagination to realize the personal bearing of many of the traditional issues of politics and governmental action, but the sort of laws that you are concerned with, and the sorts of activities of society in its organized but non-governmental functions which you administer, are the very stuff that life is made of. Make government a real and realized part of personal life, and you have solved the problem of public indifference, which is the chief obstacle to the success of democracy.

In your individual work, with which this Conference will be mostly concerned, you are dealing with individual problems. Your task is to help people, some of them one at a time, some of them in larger but still visible groups. People are their own end, and this work is its own purpose. To each of you, that is the nearest and the realest thing. I have merely tried to point out to you that you have also a vital relation to the larger general problem, which is just now the chief crisis of civilization. On behalf of the vain and futile politicians of the world, I greet you, our only hope.

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## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE FARM

*Henry A. Wallace, Editor, "Wallace's Farmer," Des Moines*

For seven years the farm problem has been with us in an acute form. Five years ago President Harding called a conference to examine it. Congress appointed a joint committee of agricultural inquiry. Later President Coolidge appointed an agricultural committee and more recently the National Industrial



Conference Board published a book on the agricultural situation. This past winter the United States Chamber of Commerce empowered a committee to travel from point to point over the United States taking evidence from people who were supposed to know something about farming.

The trouble seems to be that farmers, comprising about 26 per cent of the population, now get only about 10 per cent of the national income, whereas, before the war they received about 20 per cent. Some damage has also been done by the fall in land values, but this is not nearly so serious as the drop in income. Land in 1919 was about twice as high as it had been before the war and at that time was really no higher relative to prewar than city real estate and industrial stocks on the New York Stock Exchange are today. Even during the land boom, however, most farmers were conservative and as a result the decline in land values, which inevitably followed the decline in farm income, forced out of business only about one farmer in twenty. The farmers who stayed in business were hurt not by the decline in land values but by the drop in farm income.

Pullman smoking compartment philosophers will tell you that farmers are really better off today than they were thirty years ago and that if they would only stop bellyaching and get down to work and use modern efficiency methods there would be no farm problem. In all of this there is an essence of truth together with a vast amount of misunderstanding. Today nearly every farmer has an automobile and perhaps a fourth of them have radios. In the Corn Belt most of them use gang plows and riding cultivators. Perhaps a fifth of the houses have the advantage of electric lights and furnaces. Undoubtedly it is more pleasant to farm now than it was with grandfather in the eighties and nineties.

The misunderstanding caused by the farm use of autos, radios, improved farm machinery, etc., traces to the fact that these things, even though they do cost a lot of money, are essential to efficient farming on most farms. It is because of these very things that most farmers now turn out about 20 per cent more per man than their fathers and grandfathers. Of course in some cases farmers abuse the auto and radio but generally speaking both are practical business assets on the farm. Prompt access to weather forecasts and market reports has enabled many a livestock farmer to pay for his radio in a few months. The auto is not a necessity for the town family but most farmers cannot get along without one.

The United States cannot expect to feed herself indefinitely by paying less than 10 per cent of the national income to her farmers, unless of course she is prepared to import large quantities of food from Argentina, Australia, and Canada. It is perfectly possible of course to continue to give farmers the short end of the stick for another ten or fifteen years. I do not mean to suggest that anyone has definite malicious intent to hold farm income down to the present

point although I must admit that some of the administration statements sound that way to many farmers. But if there were a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the big industrial interest to buy food as cheaply as possible I feel quite certain that it could not be successful for more than fifteen years. As a matter of actual fact, of course, neither the industrial East nor the political East has any definite attitude on agricultural matters aside from a rather wearisome desire for those folks out west to stop making so much noise. Superficially eastern people seem more pleasant to meet than most farmers, whom some folks find to be a rather cross grained, cantankerous lot unless they know them well. I think most eastern people mean well toward their fellow men but I find some who have written most bitterly against the middle western point of view in the eastern press who say in private conversation, "The farmer has always had the worst of the deal and always will have. If you give him temporary prosperity he is sure to lose it in a land boom. The ultimate status of the farmer is peasantry and the quicker he can reach there without stirring up a political fuss or an economic disturbance the better it will be for all concerned." Fundamentally those people look on the farmer in the same way as the farmer looks on his milk cows.

It is astonishing how many people feel that the farmer is inefficient, that he has not kept abreast with the wonderful technical discoveries of the age. The *Saturday Evening Post*, for instance, last month had a cartoon of the industrial horse contentedly swigging down the dollars from the water trough of better methods but the agricultural horse stubbornly refusing to drink. Now it happens that hundreds of wealthy men have gone into farming in the spirit of this cartoon only to find that there are not nearly as many dollars in the trough of better methods as they had thought. Most farmers are not ornery, ignorant fellows who are deliberately holding improved methods out of use. On the contrary they are only too eager to use every improved method which is at all likely to pay under their financial and soil situation. Every good farmer knows as a result of sad experience that nine out of ten of the so called better methods will not pay under his situation. It is true, however, that new methods are having and will have a tremendous effect on agriculture. The increased farm use of the automobile during the past fifteen years has doubtless increased the agricultural output per farmer by at least 5 per cent. Higher yielding strains of grain have increased his efficiency by another 5 per cent. New methods of caring and feeding for hogs now enable us to produce the same quantity of pork as we did before the war with two hundred million bushels less corn. The increased use of the tractor enables the farmer to get the same amount of land taken care of with a hundred million bushels less corn and oats. The new efficiency methods in agriculture, however, are not as nearly clear gain as the new methods in industry. It costs money to vaccinate hogs, to buy tankage, and to provide gasoline for a tractor. While thousands

of farmers have found that the new methods leave them a net profit, other thousands find that they are unable to use some of the new methods profitably. They do not like to be pictured as a stubborn horse deliberately refusing to drink the dollars out of the trough of better methods. The *Saturday Evening Post* cartoon makes thoughtful farmers angry because of a situation which has been described as follows by Dr. E. G. Nourse, of the Institute of Economics, in a paper read before the American Farm Economic Association, last December:

The outlook for American agriculture is far from bright, the industry being faced by portentous technological changes while its organization and institutions are such as to make extremely difficult, indeed in large part impossible, a prompt and suitable adjustment to these circumstances. Stated as a paradox, the outlook for agricultural production is so good that the outlook for agricultural prosperity is distinctly bad.

The state and federal governments have spent hundreds of millions of dollars during the past quarter of a century to make the farmers more efficient. Before the war this may have been justified because of the fact that food prices were rising faster than the prices of other things and because there was a satisfactory European market for any surplus. Today farmers are beginning to feel that a government which spends millions of dollars annually for increasing agricultural production and is not willing at the same time to face the result of the surplus thereby produced is guilty of an almost criminal act.

Agriculture today is the victim of a combination of circumstances which will never hit it again in quite the same way. The immediate cause of the trouble is the post-war reversal in credit balances. Before the war we owed Europe several hundred million dollars every year because of the fact that we had borrowed during the seventies and eighties several billion dollars to build our railroads and start our industries on a large scale. It was perfectly natural when the railroads opened up the Middle West to pay our interest on this debt to Europe with our surplus wheat, pork, beef, and cotton. During the past fifteen years, however, we have loaned Europe on either government or private account about fifteen billion dollars, and now Europe owes us at least half a billion dollars every year instead of us owing Europe. Of course during the past eight years Europe has been able to borrow enough money from the United States to buy nearly twice as much food annually from us as they did before the war. However, the demand is no longer of the easy automatic type which results when trade balances are being settled by exports. The greatest trouble with our agriculture today is that domestic prices for farm products are being too largely set by the purchasing power of a poverty stricken Europe which has already borrowed from the United States more than she can ever pay back.

Industries which export to Europe, and notably corporations of the type of the United States Steel Corporation, do not suffer to the same extent as agriculture from the post-war reversal in credit balances. To illustrate with pig iron: we export several times as much pig iron as we import. The price for which it sells abroad, however, does not determine the price at home. Judge

Gary says, for instance, concerning the 1926 export business of the United States Steel Corporation:

Prices obtainable in the foreign market, and to some extent for domestic tonnage in markets bordering on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts of the United States, were, however, relatively low owing to the severe competition of European manufacturers.

In other words steel manufacturers follow the policy of dumping their surplus abroad at whatever price is necessary to meet foreign competition and they charge the cost of this dumping up to the interior points of the United States, specifically to the farmers and manufacturers of the Middle West.

If there were no tariff on pig iron or if pig iron were being produced by several million workmen freely competing pig iron would be as seriously affected by the post-war reversal in credit balances as any agricultural product. But pig iron has a tariff and is produced by a few large concerns which are able to take advantage of that tariff by intelligent dumping. Moreover the pig iron people have influence with the administration of the United States. For instance on January 29, 1927, Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, announced in an official order:

After due investigation I find that pig iron from Germany is being sold and is likely to be sold in the United States at less than its fair value, and that the industry of making pig iron in the United States has been and is likely to be injured by reason of the importation of pig iron into the United States from Germany.

The following month, the day before he vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill, President Coolidge increased the rate of duty on pig iron 50 per cent under the flexible provision of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act. In March pig iron prices advanced fifty cents to a dollar a ton and the price of United States Steel common stock soared above all previous records.

The problem of agriculture is to find the type of organization which will do for it what the corporate form of organization does for industry, and then to use the powers thus obtained in an intelligent way to overcome the handicaps of the post-war reversal in credit balances. Corporations are legal entities deriving their centralizing power from the government. It happens that the corporate form of organization does not fit agriculture. From the standpoint of the longtime welfare of those living in the cities as well as those on the farm it seems to be essential to find something which will give agriculture a centralized buying power more nearly equivalent to that enjoyed by industry and labor. This necessarily means legislation. Those who argue against legislation for the farmer should, in order to be consistent, also argue for doing away with all tariff laws and all laws having to do with union labor and all laws making possible the formation of corporations.

The outstanding effort on the part of the farmers to give them the moral and economic equivalent of the corporate powers enjoyed by industry, and at the same time meet the post-war reversal in credit balances as it affects our

surplus crops, was found in the McNary-Haugen bill as vetoed by President Coolidge on February 25 of this year. This bill was doubtless imperfect in some respects, just as the Federal Reserve Act as passed in 1913 was imperfect. It may be open to many of the objections which can be urged against the tariff. Personally I am convinced that in spite of all its imperfections it would work and would give the farmer more nearly his fair share of the national income. I could have more sympathy with those who criticized the McNary-Haugen bill so strongly if they would make an honest effort to face the same problems as the McNary-Haugen bill attempted to solve. The farmers of the Middle West and South do not want to loot the national treasury and they know that the two hundred and fifty million dollars which Senator Fess and President Coolidge propose to loan to them will do them more harm than good unless they have centralized power for handling the export business as under the McNary-Haugen bill. In fact I cannot conceive of any way in which the proposed Fess bill can be of the slightest help to the corn and hog farmers of this section of the country.

There are alternatives for those who do not like the McNary-Haugen bill and who nevertheless are sincerely desirous of doing something to help the agricultural situation. One effective plan would be for the government to buy up and reforest or put down to grass ten million marginal acres of wheat land, ten million marginal acres of cotton land, and ten million acres of corn land. These marginal acres ought never to have been farmed and they are causing serious trouble to those who are farming the good land. The Reclamation Bureau of the Department of the Interior, instead of trying to bring more marginal land into use, ought to be turned into a bureau for reforesting and putting down to grass the marginal lands which already are in use. It would take several billion dollars to buy these marginal lands and put them into timber and grass. But from the standpoint of the longtime welfare of the United States the project would be well worth while. It is foolish to produce as much wheat, corn, pork, and cotton as we now do, and the government is certainly very largely responsible for that over production. From the standpoint of both immediate and longtime results the government might very well consider spending several billion dollars in buying up the marginal acres of our farm land.

In any event it would seem to be wise to cancel the debts owed our government by European nations. Annual payments to the United States by European governments now run over two hundred million dollars annually and will soon amount to more than three hundred million dollars. If these governments did not pay these huge sums annually into our treasury they would have more money available with which to buy our surplus food. Of course our government would have to raise a little more money by income taxes than is now the case but the net difference to any man with an income of ten thousand dollars a year or less would only be two or three dollars. I realize that the farm-

ers of the Middle West have been strongly prejudiced against European debt cancellation because they feel that Europe got us into the war mess and that therefore European governments should suffer just as severely from debt payments as the farmers have suffered. It is perfectly natural for farmers to feel this way but those who have been hard headed enough to think the matter through are gradually beginning to realize that farmers producing exportable commodities like wheat, pork, and cotton would stand to gain by cancellation of the European debt.

A very logical scheme of meeting the post-war reversal in credit balances, which should be advocated by all of those who believe in less legislation, is to take the tariff off of all manufactured goods which Europe can send into this country. In this way it might be possible for Europe to accumulate enough of a credit balance in the United States not only to pay the interest on her debt but also to pay a somewhat higher price for the food and cotton which she buys from this country. At the same time the price of manufactured goods in the United States would fall. The chief trouble with a plan of this sort is that the first effect is to throw a number of factory workers out of employment and bring on a declining general price level. During the period of temporary depression caused by a remedy of this kind there is danger that the political situation will bring the high tariff party back into power again. It is quite certain, however, that after the period of adjustment is over a lower tariff on manufactured products would increase the percentage of the national income going to the farmers producing cotton, corn, hogs, and wheat.

The United States apparently has no more of an agricultural policy today than did Rome two thousand years ago or England one hundred years ago. There is some talk by folks in authority about loaning money to cooperatives and reducing farm taxation, but farmers know that talk of this sort does not mean anything. In reality our only agricultural policy today is the same as that of England and Rome—let things drift. Under this policy we have about four million fewer people living on the farms of the United States today than we had ten years ago. To date the people left on the farms have increased their efficiency sufficiently so that the loss in population has had no effect on agricultural output. Sooner or later, however, it is to be expected that the policy of "let things drift" will result in so many people living in town and so few on the land that the price of farm products will again start advancing faster than the price of other things. The differential advantage which has been enjoyed by wage earners in the big industrial centers will then disappear. They will again find it necessary to give about the same percentage of their incomes for food as they did before the war. They will not have as much left over to buy the products of city industry as is the case today. No matter how long the present situation continues the farmers will not do anything so very serious. They may elect some Brookharts and do their best to beat Coolidge but they



will never do anything revolutionary. When the situation is reversed, however, and labor finds itself getting a smaller percentage of the national income year after year there is danger of serious trouble. Laborers are not conservative like farmers, and they are in position to cause trouble that farmers cannot. If there are great disturbances in our cities during the period extending from 1940 to 1960 they will trace fundamentally to the injustices suffered by western and southern farmers during the fifteen years following the World War.

Probably 40 per cent of our farmers today are making a fairly satisfactory living. From the longtime point of view national safety demands that matters be reshaped sufficiently so that about 70 per cent of our farmers can live well. This problem cannot be solved merely by spreading efficiency methods to the poorer farmers.

The great industrial system is running away with us. Soon we shall have four or five people living in the city to every one person living on the land. The immediate need is undoubtedly to drive more folks from the farms into the cities so as to bring about a rise in the price of farm products and a decline in the wages of labor. The longtime need, however, may be the exact reverse. The statesmen and historians of forty years hence may marvel at the blind folly of the way in which the agricultural situation was handled during the fifteen years following the great war.

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## DEVELOPING STANDARDS OF RURAL CHILD WELFARE

*Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, Washington*

The subject of the address which you have just heard was "Economic Problems of the Farm." I have been asked to speak on rural social welfare, which includes more than social welfare of those living on farms. But as to exactly what is meant by "rural" we are not always agreed. In its statistics of population the population division of the Census Bureau classifies residents in towns or villages of 2,500 or less as rural while the vital statistics division of the Census Bureau classifies towns of 10,000 or under as rural.

There are disadvantages in these differences in definition. We are not able to determine the infant or maternal mortality rate on farms, which makes conclusions as to the progress that is being made in health conditions in agricultural districts impossible. Census statistics of illiteracy, etc., reflect not only farm but village educational standards. But in considering the development of a general social welfare program there are advantages in consolidating the farm with the village or small town. In a rural community the small town serves and is dependent upon the surrounding farm life and is a part of the "rural" problem.

I do not need to point out to an audience like this that the great cities have

no monopoly of social problems. Poverty, disease, crime, degeneracy, feeble-mindedness, ignorance, cruelty, neglect, and emotional instability are found in the small town and in the country as well as on the East Side of New York, or the Northwest Side of Chicago. While it is correct to say that crowding people together in a city, housing them layer upon layer in city tenements or apartment buildings, rearing children where there are no gardens or flowers or trees or play spaces, sending them early to work in factory or workshop, are responsible for many of our city problems, it is also true that extreme isolation, the dreary monotony of long hours of work in the summer, of poor schools in the winter, of no group recreation, and inadequate health and social resources of all kinds are responsible for many of our rural problems. The same problems have, however, different setting, different manifestations, different complications in the city and the country. Rural conditions vary greatly in the different states and in different parts of the same state, but certain fundamental needs are found in every place.

In discussing the subject which your president has assigned to me, I am not going to try to piece together for you from the investigations made by the Children's Bureau and by other agencies and individuals a description of social conditions under which half the people in the United States live. Neither time nor your patience would permit. What I am going to attempt to do is to indicate in a very general way the rural aspect of the most fundamental of our common problems.

To my desk as Chief of the Children's Bureau come reports which indicate that housing is a rural as well as an urban problem. For example, in a study made by the Children's Bureau of a homesteading area in one of our western states small and crowded houses were found to be the rule rather than the exception.

Here are concretely some of the conditions found. A family of nine persons were living in two rooms. The main dwelling was a one room frame house covered with sod. Three of the children slept in a dugout about 25 yards away. In another instance eight persons lived in a one room house which was a combination of a tar paper shack and a dugout. The room is very large. At the back are four beds; in the middle, a small cook stove. A table, some chairs and boxes used as chairs, and a shelf of dishes make up the chief furnishings of the room. There is only one window, and so the back of the room is very dark. The outside of the house is picturesque, with a row of ears of red corn hanging across the front and some flowers in cans. Another family, consisting of five persons at the time the baby was born, lived in a small one room tar paper shack. They have now moved to a "fairly large" frame house, which consists of two rooms and a pantry. These conditions obtained in spite of the fact that the majority of the people themselves have high standards in regard to housing and sanitation. The scarcity of lumber and the difficulty of getting building



materials, the dearth of masons and carpenters, the great distances from railroads and markets, the high cost of transportation, the lack of ready money, and the pioneer attitude that to "do without" things is a part of the homesteader's lot—these factors combine to explain the small house and the inevitable crowding.

In the studies of rural child labor, investigators found laborers' families in both Colorado and Michigan occupied any kind of shelter that was available for temporary use—abandoned farm houses, rude frame or tar paper shacks, and even tents and caravan wagons—though some of the sugar companies in Michigan had provided one or two room portable cottages for their laborers. The dwellings were in many cases in bad repair, dark, ill ventilated, and far from weatherproof. Overcrowding was extreme. In Colorado 77 per cent and in Michigan 40 per cent of the laborers' families lived with two or more persons per room. Sanitation was poor, and the water supply, especially in the irrigated districts of Colorado, was often neither plentiful nor protected against contamination. Most of the laborers occupied these "beet shacks" for five or six months a year.

The migratory laborers in the hop yards and orchards of the Pacific Coast were found by bureau investigators living in camps on the grower's premises, some of them real villages in themselves, housing several hundred persons. Nearly three-fifths of the families in the Willamette Valley district included in the study and nearly all in the Yakima Valley district lived in tents; the others occupied one room frame houses built in rows, each with one window. In both tents and "bunk houses" extreme overcrowding was found; two-thirds of the families in one district and almost all in the other had three or more persons per tent or room, and the majority had five or more. A regulation of the Washington State Board of Health called for a specified amount of air space per person in frame houses in laborers' camps, but the regulation did not extend to tents, as a similar one in California does; and Oregon had no such regulation for either houses or tents. The Washington regulation was not enforced in the camps visited, although sanitary conditions in both Washington and Oregon were better than in most farm labor camps visited by the Children's Bureau in other sections.

In Anne Arundel County, near Baltimore, Maryland, individual truck farmers maintained camps for the migratory workers they brought from Philadelphia and Baltimore each summer. Most of them provided but one building, known as a shanty, which served as sleeping quarters for all the workers. It was usually a weatherbeaten or unpainted structure the windows of which usually lacked either glass or shutters or both. As a rule there was but one room on each floor, with stairs on the outside leading into the upper room. On each side of a narrow aisle down the center the floor was divided into sections or pens by boards 10 or 12 inches in height, each being about 6 feet long and

from 4 to 6 feet wide and covered with straw for a mattress. Each family was allotted one of these pens. At night men, women, and children, partially clad, one family separated from the next by the plank, lay side by side. One such shanty in one of the camps housed ninety-five persons. More than one-half the families had no toilet facilities.

These conditions are so serious but at the same time so concentrated in a few areas controlled and maintained by men engaged in large scale truck farming that it should be easy for the state to compel the correction of such conditions.

Much more difficult to cure are the conditions found in a study of maternity and infant care in a southern state. Nearly three-fourths of the families in the county under study were occupying small houses of one, two, or three rooms, 14 per cent in houses of one room only. The number of occupants in these houses ranged from two to ten persons, and in half of the single room houses there were five or more persons. In two-fifths of the houses visited there was but one sleeping room, and it was not unusual to see three or four beds in the same room. This was a poor county with a high percentage of illiteracy in which relatively simple people live. Improvement in housing in this area will come only with improved agriculture, better education, and an interest in better living conditions not yet aroused in these people who belong to our old American stock.

In the provision for those groups of children in need of special care—the dependent, the delinquent, the neglected, the crippled, and the defective—who are found in rural areas considerable progress has been made in recent years. There is developing an appreciation of the needs of the whole state which is encouraging. In a few states a beginning has been made in the development of administrative methods which will make minimum state standards much easier of attainment.

We have as a nation been very proud of our size, without accepting the challenge which our size offers. Our greatest failures have been our failures to put into actual operation over a whole state a program which a state law makes universal in its application.

May I give a few illustrations? If you were traveling in Europe and were asked about whether the old system of criminal procedure against child offenders had been abandoned and the modern plan of scientific investigation and treatment had been adopted or was in process of being worked out by juvenile courts, you would, I think, hasten to say that this principal had found expression in our laws and judicial practices. You might even go on to explain that the idea originated in the United States and that we had developed it farther than any other country. As you spoke, you would visualize a specialized court with a large number of probation officers—many of them, to be sure, not very well trained for the work. You would, of course, patriotically refrain from

mentioning that fact and would think of a psychiatric staff, good provision for detention, interested and cooperating private agencies, etc. You might even be led to say that owing to the progress we had made on this program our interest had shifted and that we were now concerned with other problems for which we would shortly offer a world solution. And yet what are the facts? A study made by the Children's Bureau a few years ago showed only three states in which juvenile courts which are functioning include within their jurisdiction from 75 to 100 per cent of the population; in ten states from 50 to 75 per cent of the population; in eleven states 25 to 50 per cent; in twenty states from 1 to 25 per cent. Thus in only thirteen states were 50 per cent or more of the population of the states served by juvenile courts, while in twenty states in which juvenile courts were organized, these courts served 25 per cent or less. These figures are taken from an inquiry made several years ago and there has been some progress made since that time, although it has been discouragingly small.

The story of mothers' pensions is a similar one. With statewide laws passed in some forty-two states, reports submitted to the Children's Bureau indicated that the proportion of the population living in localities where aid is actually granted varied from 98 per cent of the population in one state to less than 5 per cent of the population of the state at the bottom of the list. In the new conception of the duties of state departments of public welfare there is great promise that real headway will be made in the improvement of such conditions as these. These departments are now concerned not only with custodial care or institutional training schools but with the prevention of social breakdown and the care in their homes of many for whom the only treatment in the past has been institutional isolation. For this new program, cooperation in a county program has been developed. In North Carolina, Minnesota, Virginia, and Alabama a broad program of public welfare or child welfare work according to a statewide plan is being put into operation. In California, Georgia, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and West Virginia a program of social work promoted by the state department but not according to a uniform statewide plan is being developed. Iowa has an interesting plan for coordination of public and private relief promoted by the Extension Department of the state university. County care and supervision of dependent, neglected, delinquent, or defective children, with more or less close cooperation of the state department is under way in Arizona, Arkansas, Indiana, Michigan, New York, and Ohio. While the more populous communities find it possible and economical to provide their own specialists, the rural counties must look to the state for psychiatric help with problem children, for the necessary skill to care for crippled children, and for the expert in recreation and in social case work to assist in the handling of individual cases as well as in the development of a local service program.

In the past, with little or no knowledge of the facts, it has been assumed

that rural child labor presented no problem. When the census returns showed hundreds of thousands of children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in agriculture there was little comment because it was supposed that this meant employment on the home farm during the vacation season—that it was healthful and educational. In order to learn the facts, the industrial division of the Children's Bureau has since 1920 made a series of studies of children engaged in agricultural work in typical farming areas in different sections of the country which it is believed give a fairly representative picture of the work of children on farms. By personal interviews detailed information was obtained regarding approximately 13,500 children under sixteen years of age engaged in full time, though usually seasonal, agricultural labor in fourteen states, including sugar beet-growing sections in Michigan and Colorado; cotton-growing counties in Texas; truck and small-fruit areas in southern New Jersey, and in Maryland, Virginia, Illinois, Washington, and Oregon; wheat, potato raising, and grazing sections in North Dakota, a section in the Illinois Corn Belt; and tobacco-growing districts in Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

There is a marked difference in the kinds of work children do and the ages at which they are employed on farms in the different states and even in those of different sections of the same state, and the extent to which their work is allowed to interfere with school attendance. The child workers on the truck farms of southern New Jersey, for example, included both the children of farmers, chiefly immigrants who had taken up small holdings in the farming districts and become permanent residents, and children who had come from the large cities as seasonal workers. In the Eastern Shore section of Maryland most of the children working on the truck farms lived on the farms the year round, whereas in Anne Arundel County, around Baltimore, about two-thirds of the child workers were found to be living on the farms or in small neighboring settlements, and one-third were migratory workers from Baltimore. In the Norfolk area of Virginia a very large proportion of the farm laborers did not live on the farms but came from nearby villages or from the city of Norfolk to work by the day. In the tobacco-growing districts of the south most of the children who worked on the plantations were farmers' children, whereas in the Connecticut Valley the children working on the tobacco farms were largely day workers from Hartford and Springfield. On the truck farms around Chicago also most of the hired workers came out from the city by the day, whereas on the great grain farms of the middle west and northwest the child workers were chiefly the farmers' own children.

Approximately 3,000 migratory child workers were included in the Children's Bureau studies, regarding as migratory workers those who were not living at home during the period in which they worked on the farms.

The most obvious evil resulting from the work of farm children is the loss

of schooling. Largely as a result of their irregular school attendance, from 38 to 69 per cent of the white and from 71 to 84 per cent of the colored children included in the Bureau's surveys were from one to six years behind the grades which at their ages they should normally have reached. In all areas in which comparative material was available, the amount of retardation was much greater among working than among nonworking children attending the same schools. Where, you ask, are the school attendance laws? Some kind of compulsory school law is on the statute books in every state, but enforcement has frequently been effective in urban areas only.

Local officials unsupported by local public opinion have made little effort to enforce the law. For this reason there is much interest in the experiments being made with a larger unit of administration, in which the personal element does not play so large a part for the enforcement of compulsory school laws. At least ten states now have a county-unit form of school administration in which the county rather than the district school authorities are responsible for law enforcement. In this field also the cooperation of the state is being sought by the counties, and we have in Connecticut an excellent example of state cooperation in the local enforcement of the school attendance laws. But in most states practically the entire responsibility for the enforcement of the law is lodged in the local school board of each district. Especially in rural districts does the small unit of administration cause trouble. As between farm work and school, the farm work usually wins with the local enforcing official. An attendance officer in one of the districts included in one of our surveys kept in his pocket the notices which it was his duty to serve on parents, until the harvest was over and the children were no longer needed on the farms.

The schooling of migratory workers offers a particularly difficult problem, for responsibility for their school attendance is assumed neither by the community from which they come nor by that to which they go, even when their migration takes place wholly within one state. This problem is being attacked in a number of states. In Nebraska the courts have ruled that for residents of Lincoln to take their children to the beet fields of the western part of the state while school is in session is a violation of the compulsory school law, and under an agreement between the schools and the beet sugar companies the schools are requiring the children to remain in school until most of the school year has been completed. Pennsylvania has just enacted into law this principle so that it will be illegal to employ in Pennsylvania children from another state if they have not met the requirements of the school law in the state from which they come. Unfortunately New Jersey failed to pass the law which would have insured the children of Pennsylvania similar protection. The establishment in Colorado of summer schools for resident beet workers and in California of temporary schools for migratory workers are recent efforts, still in the experimental stage, to decrease the disturbing amount of nonattendance due to farm

work. The question of direct regulation of rural child labor is also receiving some attention. In Kansas, Minnesota, and Wisconsin factory inspectors have made special investigations regarding children working in the beet fields. In Wisconsin this inquiry has covered a number of other types of commercialized agriculture and has resulted in the introduction of a bill in the legislature which would give the industrial commission power to regulate the work of children in certain kinds of agricultural work.

But although school attendance in relation to farm work is the most obvious of the evils of rural child labor, it is not the only evil. Of 2,457 children under fourteen years of age, included in four of our surveys and reporting their hours of work, one-half had worked more than eight hours a day at farm work, one-fifth had worked more than ten hours a day, and some of them as much as fourteen hours. Whatever the type of work, however short the season, however easy and pleasant the work may seem, any task prolonged for these hours is too much to exact of immature children. To guide a plow for a few minutes as an experiment, Hamlin Garland has well said, is one thing, but to continue it for hours at a stretch is a man's job. Emergency employment of children is justified, but dependence upon their labor from early spring until late fall is at great cost to the child and to the community, and like child labor in the cities perpetuates evils which seem to make the employment of the children necessary.

Moreover this employment of young children as farm hands helps to perpetuate the evils which the farm economist seeks to cure. It is one of the explanations of farm poverty just as industrial child labor is a factor in the vicious circle of low wages and inability to educate his children which the industrial worker meets and, when he turns to employment of his children as the way out, finds he is perpetuating the system he would remedy. Mr. Wallace has just made clear that the continued cultivation of farms which are on the margin or below the margin of profitable returns, in view of present demands, is responsible in part, at least, for the economic plight of the farmers. It is the owners and tenants on such farms who find themselves driven to employ the school time and play time of their children because they cannot afford to employ adult labor. Obviously it is no kindness to them as individuals or to farmers as a class to encourage them to continue the cultivation of such farms.

Since it was first established the Children's Bureau has endeavored to study the conditions and needs of all children. You will remember that the subject selected by Miss Lathrop for the Bureau's first investigation was infant mortality. The first study was made in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, but other studies were soon made in the rural areas of the south, the middle west, and the far west as well as in industrial towns and cities. As a result the evidence which comes from a detailed study of some 23,000 babies was assembled. It showed that there is great variation in the infant mortality rates, not only in



different parts of the United States, but in different parts of the same state and same city, town, or rural district. These differences were found to be caused by different population elements, widely varying social and economic conditions, and differences in appreciation of good prenatal and infant care and the facilities available for such care.

While conditions were as a whole better in the rural than in the urban areas, the examples of greatest neglect were found in rural areas. Moreover, urban facilities were increasing so that rural communities were losing the advantages which they originally had.

At the time the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act was passed, the value of the child health and prenatal center as teaching centers for mothers had been demonstrated. That a prompt reduction of infant and maternal mortality followed their establishment had been shown in many places in this and other countries. But such services had been available to a relatively very small number of mothers, most of them mothers in the larger urban centers. Because what happens to babies is a matter of prime importance to the nation, and because it was believed that if the federal government cooperated with the state and local governments in the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy, local interest and local facilities would be greatly increased, the well established principle of federal aid was invoked.

Forty-three states and Hawaii have been cooperating with the Children's Bureau in a maternity and infancy program, and the legislatures of two more—Maine and Kansas—have signified their intention of cooperating during the next two years. While the programs are initiated as well as administered by the states, all of them have had as their objective making services available to the mothers in the rural areas as well as in the cities. Since the act became operative, out of 2,827 counties in the forty-three cooperating states the work has been carried to 2,313 counties, and permanent country wide services have been established in many states. Many counties will need help for a long time if their children are to have a fair chance at health and vigorous happy childhood because of the present inadequate income and the greater unit cost of rural as compared with urban rates.

I have said that the states cooperating with the bureau have made a definite effort to reach the rural areas with the child health program, and it is a satisfaction to find that there has been a very encouraging reduction in the rural infant death rate as well as in the death rate for the whole birth registration area. In 1925 in thirteen of the thirty-three states in the birth registration area—California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wyoming—the rural infant mortality rate was higher than the urban rate.

Why a federal subsidy was needed and justified is, I think, illustrated by two maps I want to show you. The first is a national market map known as

Crowell's Market Map. It is based upon an analysis of certain items which it is thought may be considered reflectors of effective county incomes. These items include the number of income tax returns, the number of passenger cars, the total value of products, population, number of dwellings, and number of retail outlets. The method used in combining these items was not the same for all parts of the country, being adapted to meet the radically different conditions of the New England, South Atlantic, and mountain sections.

With this material, a map was made showing the counties of the United States which have the "best," "good," "fair," and "poor" incomes. It was prepared for use by advertisers and by large business organizations in working out a sales organization. County income means ability to buy. For our purposes such a map means ability or inability to buy good schools, or to buy health, to pay probation officers, mothers' allowances, and all the other items of a program which is necessary for social welfare. This map shows a concentration of the "best" counties in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The "poor" counties are in the states west of the Mississippi River and in the south.

It is not to be expected that the best counties in the matter of income will as a matter of course be the best counties in the provision that they make for children any more than one would say that the richest parents are the ones who are rearing their children most intelligently. As a matter of fact, excessive wealth means that the community is probably handicapped. It usually indicates industrial or mining communities in which there are great congestion of population and extremes of income. Moreover a rich community, like a rich individual, may be so interested in the wealth itself and its further accumulation that the real values in life are lost sight of. What a county, a state, or a nation does for its children depends on how much it cares and how intelligently it cares about what happens to its children; and the county with a fair income, like the individual parent in moderate circumstances, has perhaps a surer sense of values. But there is no such comfort to be found in the outlook for the poor counties. They are obviously unable to do all that they should do, no matter how great their efforts. This theory may be tested in part by the infant mortality rates. The Children's Bureau has prepared a map which shows the infant mortality rate by counties in the birth registration area for a five year period—1921-25 inclusive—when a much lower rate prevailed than for the period 1916-20. The best counties (marked red) had an infant mortality rate of below 55, the good counties (marked yellow) had a rate of 55-65, the fair counties (marked green) had a rate of 65-75, while the poor counties (marked blue) had a rate of 75 or above. It is sad to find only one red county in New England—that one is in Maine—and no red county—i.e., no county with an infant mortality rate of less than 55—in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, or



Pennsylvania, the richest area in the United States of America. Although they had the greater means, these states have greater problems also and federal co-operation has resulted in an increased appreciation of those problems.

A great national endowment for education was provided in the school lands which were given to the states in this part of the country. Federal funds have been made available for agricultural education and agricultural experiment—for farm demonstration agents and home demonstration agents—and since 1921 through maternity and infancy funds for parental education also.

In seeking legislative help to meet city needs we have sometimes suffered defeat because county legislators did not understand and appreciate city needs. The development of an adequate rural program may be delayed or defeated because of the selfish indifference of the cities and industrial areas to rural needs. While there may from time to time be a lack of economic interest in the social welfare field we ought to be able to go forward together. The mutual interdependence of the urban and rural communities should be recognized. The temptations that beset the country boy and girl in the city are an old theme, and to-day city juvenile court judges see in the country—now so easily reached by the city boys and girls—the menace of unregulated commercialized recreation. It is the city children who do much of the farm work. Thousands of them go each summer to beet fields and truck gardens, and frequently live under conditions dangerous from a health and social standpoint.

What we need for both rural and urban communities is cooperation in the application of our developing social intelligence to our developing social needs. For both city and county the development of a well thought out program adapted to meet varying local needs is of fundamental importance. For both, efficient state departments of public welfare and public health are necessary.

I hope it is clear that I am not suggesting that there is any royal road to a rural social welfare program. At best, what we can look forward to is an opportunity for careful, thorough work both with groups and with individuals. Even this we shall not have without opposition. At the present time there are those who are seeking to undermine all social welfare activities, to label as communistic mothers' pensions, child labor legislation, or efforts to save the lives of mothers and babies. They would make opposition to all such measures a badge of patriotism. This would be very discouraging if we did not know something of the history of the social reform movement. Fifty years ago public schools were attacked as socialistic, while thirty-seven years ago (1890) compulsory school laws were so described. This quotation from a paper read by the State Superintendent of Education of Texas before the National Educational Association in 1890 has a familiar sound:

The trend of the past two decades in this country has been indeed toward the Old World idea, and we have sought to extend the domain of law into new fields, which had before belonged to that of freedom. This movement, I am persuaded, is temporary and

superficial, the result of a cross-current, in the deeper stream of our national life. Yet there are not wanting evidences of a drift toward the breakers of socialism, sufficient to arouse concern in the mind of the patriot and the friend of liberty and humanity. To this drift is to be ascribed in large measure, I believe, the imperious demand which comes from many quarters that education shall be made compulsory, and that the compulsion be made effective. I hold that compulsory education is contrary to the dominant idea which has pervaded the development of American institutions, and further, that it is perilous to one of the most vital and essential of the institutions on which civilization rests—the family.<sup>1</sup>

May I say in closing that I am grateful to the president of this Conference for giving the economic problems of the farmer an important place in our program tonight. Unless we repudiate all our experience we must recognize the relation between economic conditions and social welfare. We still believe that poverty can and must be abolished in both urban and rural areas, and we are encouraged to hold to our faith by the great progress that has been made in the last twenty-five years. We should lay the foundation for much greater progress during the next quarter century for the rural child and the rural community as well as for the urban child and the urban community.

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### THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL WORK

*Howard W. Nudd, Director, Public Education Association, New York City*

Everyone concedes that prevention is better than cure in the treatment of social problems and that education has, therefore, a fundamental relation to the field of social work. The school is one of the most important and most extensive of the agencies that society has created to prepare its members for adult life. In the performance of this function the school has an unusual opportunity to discover and deal constructively with many of the causes of unadjustment which so frequently make childhood unhappy and unsuccessful and which lead to so much of the failure and tragedy of later years.

The first responsibility of the school is, naturally, to see that its own specific contribution to this task of preparing children for life through the technique of instruction is adapted to the manifold needs of individual children. It cannot make this adaptation, however, unless it knows what the needs of the children are. By various physical and mental tests and measurements and by careful observation of the child while in attendance, the school can, and does, discover much valuable information about the nature and the abilities of its pupils. But the mainspring of the child's life is his emotional nature, which is constantly being unfolded and developed throughout the day by all of his experiences, during his five or six hours in school and during his eighteen or nineteen hours spent elsewhere. The fund of information he gathers at home and in other outside contacts, the things he does in his various social relation-

<sup>1</sup> Oscar H. Cooper, *Compulsory Laws and Their Enforcement*, p. 1. Syracuse, 1890.

ships, the attitudes he displays and the motives which actuate him in these relationships, and the numerous habits he forms and strengthens in the course of his activity at home and abroad in the neighborhood, all contribute extensively to the body of data which the school must consider in determining his needs. Such data and their relation to hereditary traits and environmental influences are of particular importance if the child appears to be developing into an unwholesome member of society. Unless the school understands and takes into account these numerous educative factors which operate during out-of-school hours, it must inevitably fall short in performing its own work with intelligence and professional skill.

But the discovery and utilization of this fund of essential data not only enables the school to do its own task better, but also enables it to aid others in making their contribution to the education of the child more intelligent and effective. Because it comes daily into contact with more kinds of children than any other single agency of society, the school is in an unusually strategic position to assume a degree of leadership in coordinating the efforts of all who participate in the child's development. The very fact that it constantly deals with children in groups enables it to see each individual in comparison with many others and thereby to notice traits and peculiarities which might be overlooked if the child were seen alone and apart from his mates, and which may indicate the need for mutual attention and cooperative effort on the part of all who are concerned with the child's welfare. Dissatisfactions and failures in school work and disturbing manifestations of conduct and personality in meeting the school's requirements are frequently symptoms of serious conditions which exist in the home or elsewhere and which require something more than what the school alone can do if the welfare of the child is to be conserved. A school that is alert to the presence and importance of these factors has a golden opportunity to take the initiative in finding out what the fundamental causes of the child's difficulties are, and in determining who can participate and in what ways in dealing with them effectively.

In other words, the modern school cannot go it alone if it is fully to discharge the great responsibility which society has placed upon it. It cannot assume, as in days gone by, that educationally speaking, the child goes into a coma when school closes in the afternoon and comes out of it the next morning when school opens again. It must consider the whole life of the child and not that portion of it only which is spent within its walls, for during the interval between the closing and the opening of school the child may be subjected to influences which by their emotional appeal alone may be far more potent in a destructive way than anything that the school has been attempting to do constructively. The school cannot, of course, take over the whole burden of what the home and other social institutions or individuals must provide. It cannot be made a dumping ground for everybody's responsibilities. But it can

enlist the intelligent cooperation of these outside agencies on the basis of the understanding it has gained of the needs of the child, and, where parents or other responsible agencies are unwilling or incapable of doing their part, it can seek, as a specialist for society, to set up the most practical program that can be carried out under the circumstances by the cooperative efforts of all the other available and appropriate forces of the community, including itself.

This program for the school may seem to be too idealistic and impractical. It is always easier for someone to point out what should be done than it is for those who are in charge to actually do the work. Many practical factors intervene in any concrete situation to make achievement fall short of the goal that is desired. This is particularly true in respect to the public schools. There are traditions to be overcome which are deep rooted not only in the school itself but in the community's conception of what its expenditures for education shall provide. The cry of "fads and frills" is still heard in the land whenever anything which departs from instruction in the three R's is asked for in the school budget. There are practical difficulties in the way, too, of devising and putting into operation a program that will adequately meet the needs of the individual child without seriously deranging an organization which must of necessity deal with its pupils in class groups. Because of this fact, it does not seem strange that even in places where progress is encouraged and where the need for certain improvements is recognized that the degree to which modifications in established technique can be attempted depends upon the extent to which the practicability of the proposed changes has been tested by research and demonstrated in practice. Everyone who is genuinely interested in furthering the progress of education toward rendering greater social service must therefore bear in mind these practical and more or less inhibitory factors and control his efforts and his temper accordingly in urging the immediate steps that should be taken to improve the schools in any given community.

Despite the manifest shortcomings in the work of the schools that might be cited, there is reason for encouragement to educators and social workers alike in the advances that have already been made along many lines in recent years in the face of serious obstacles. These advances have by no means been universally achieved by all school systems nor are they anywhere adequate to meet all the requirements of a comprehensive program such as I have indicated. But it is evident that the schools are steadily emerging from their former isolated position in society and are improving greatly their own technique in dealing with the individual child. Many factors have contributed to bring this about.

The compulsory attendance laws alone have made it necessary for the schools to readapt their procedure to care for children whom they had formerly regarded as problems outside their sacred sphere. One of the early steps in this direction was the establishment in some places of classes for children who were

obviously physically and mentally handicapped or who were regarded as so incorrigible that their segregation from other pupils was necessary or desirable. Faced with the problem of educating all the children rather than a few whose interests and aptitudes fitted them to the traditional program of education, certain schools began, also, in a more or less fumbling and cautious way, to add new subjects and new activities to meet the somewhat dimly appreciated needs of other types of children who were not so obviously handicapped, but who nevertheless kept failing in the regular work and yet could no longer be eliminated nor permitted by law to withdraw of their own accord.

It has only been in recent years, however, that any extensive effort has been made to deal more scientifically with children who are not obviously defective. For a long time after the compulsory education laws began to keep more and more children of widely divergent personalities and degrees of ability in school, the children were regarded as falling into two more or less sharply divided groups, the normal and the subnormal or defective, and the content of the traditional courses of study and the older methods of grading and instruction were tenaciously adhered to and applied uniformly to all of the so-called normal children. Indeed, one may still find too many school systems in which this practice persists to a depressing degree, but notable advancement has been made by thoughtful leaders of education in appraising the abilities of these children and their achievement in school work as a basis for classifying them more intelligently for purposes of instruction. While these tests and measurements are by no means perfected, and while they are in many places undoubtedly utilized unwisely, nevertheless they have already made a distinct contribution to the solution of the educational and social problems in which we are all interested, and the spirit of research which animates the more profound of those who are working upon them inspires confidence that the future will see a constantly more valuable contribution in this direction.

One has but to compare the evolution of this newer technique with former school practice to realize the revolution that is going on in education and which is constantly making the school more responsive to social needs. From the earliest days most educators were aware that children differ. They did not know, however, with any degree of accuracy just how or why they so differed, nor were they convinced that it was the province of the school to deal with all of the situations which arose from these differences. Many of these differences constituted problems which the school tried to suppress through disciplinary measures rather than to understand and deal with through modifications in method. The children whom it could not suppress it dismissed from its charge and passed on for the rest of society to deal with. The old traditional schools were, in practice at least, designed more for children who were alike, or who could be made to appear to be alike, than for those whose baffling differences were a nuisance to teachers and school officials and which messed up the pic-

ture of serenity and unflinching success which the school had come to worship as the portrait of the perfect pupil. As the elimination of these children gradually became impossible under the compulsory education laws and as those who failed to advance from year to year piled up in alarming numbers, the school became conscious of the so-called retardation problem.

After trying unsuccessfully by various devices to get all the children of the same ages into the same grades without unduly deranging the school's traditional program, certain leaders in education began to devise scientific tests to determine how these children differed. At first everyone seemed fascinated primarily with the facts revealed. They succumbed to the general tendency to run deeply into the field of pure statistics, in which totals and subtotals and numerous coefficients of correlation are of paramount interest and importance, and in which the individuals involved are little more than dots in columns which march relentlessly to statistical goals. While statistical summaries have, of course, an important function in the interpretation and solution of such problems, it is gratifying to note that more and more the data which these tests and measurements reveal are being studied in relation to the particular child to whom they apply and that they are being utilized along with other kinds of reliable information in grading the children in ways which more nearly approximate than heretofore their abilities and needs.

But however accurate this method of classification may become it will always be inadequate unless the instruction given is adapted to the needs of the various groups so segregated. Where a uniform course of study or a uniform method of instruction is retained for children of varying abilities and interests, it is inevitable that the children of lesser mentality will suffer from overfeeding and acute indigestion while those of greater mentality will be intellectually underfed and suffer from what might be characterized as "spiritual anemia." That educators have become aware of this fact is evident from the numerous efforts which are being made in various parts of the country to revise courses of study and to set up bodies of subject matter and standards of achievement that are more nearly suitable to groups of children of different degrees of ability.

It is significant, however, that most of this effort is being devoted to improving school practices which are based upon the traditional conception of the school as an agency to impart facts and certain elementary skills. This is a perfectly proper function of the school, of course, but it does not, by any means, include all of the factors which must be taken into consideration in furthering the welfare of the child. For the school may succeed in making the child a perfect penman, only to turn over to society a skilled forger. The school may succeed in making the child an adept in mathematics, only to turn over to society an expert embezzler of funds. The school may succeed in making the child fluent in reading, only to increase the community's quota of en-



thusiasts for magazines which delineate droll stories and true confessions. The school may succeed in making the child skilful with tools, only to turn over to society a more efficient burglar. Education requires more than the acquisition of these fundamental bodies of information and skill. It requires, also, the development of the emotional life of the individual, in order that his attitudes toward himself and his fellows will lead to wholesome and constructive uses of these necessary instruments of skill and insight. While the school is making progress in grading its children more intelligently and in adapting its methods of training in these traditional bodies of information and skills to the abilities of the children, it has made far less progress in understanding the emotional life of the child and in developing his attitudes and traits of character. Indeed the school may be so intent upon pressing the child to achieve perfection in these traditional phases of school work that it may generate attitudes of resentment and antagonism which will largely offset the usefulness to the individual and society of the work it has done with so much painstaking effort.

While the schools have not made as great progress in this direction as in other ways, there are evidences here, too, of efforts that are promising. In many places, for example, schools are being organized to provide better balanced programs of work, study, and play. These programs are designed not only to add flesh and blood to the dry bones of the three R's by greatly enriching the curriculum with activities of genuine interest to the child, but also to provide wide opportunities for social contacts and self expression in group situations, which are so essential in the training of anyone who is expected to live in a community rather than a cloister. It would be possible to illustrate this tendency further by discussing the ways in which such relatively recent developments as the junior high schools, the Dalton and Winnetka plans and the vocational and continuation schools are designed to carry out the school's effort to adjust its procedure to awaken the wholesome interests of children as well as to meet their intellectual needs. Many of the contributions which private experimental schools are making in what has become known as creative education are of great significance in this connection. Many of you doubtless know of Miss Elisabeth Irwin's experiment in one of the large New York City schools in demonstrating how many of these progressive practices can be utilized in public schools without prohibitive cost to the community and with inestimable value to the children.

But as I said at the outset, the schools must realize that whatever they may do themselves during their five or six hours of instruction, the emotional life of the child cannot be adequately developed except in cooperation with the home and other educative forces which are influencing his growth throughout the day. To an audience made up largely of social workers perhaps the most interesting effort in this direction is the employment of visiting teachers in the treatment of problem children and the utilization of the services of the psy-



chiatrist and the psychiatric social worker where such children seem to be problems in mental hygiene. It is evident that the school must deal with all of such problems from the point of view of the educational welfare of the child. It cannot directly concern itself with social or economic problems in the home and the community which are not related to its own specific task of educating children. It can be actively interested in social work and in the methods of social work only insofar as they aid in bettering the training of children. For that reason its contact with social work and its utilization of the methods of social work must be tied up intimately with its own educational processes. The visiting teacher, to whom it is turning as its specialist in social work, must therefore be one who first understands, through her training and experience, the problems with which the school itself can deal and who must, in addition, like the other specialists whom it employs for various phases of its complicated task, have the specialized technique which enables her to discover and deal with the specific phases of the educational problem which comprise her particular function in the school organization.

This additional specific technique of the visiting teacher is, of course, the technique of the social case worker. She must be able to go out from the school with the problems of scholarship, behavior, or personality which the school has discovered in respect to the particular children involved and find out, as a social case worker does, in the home and in the community, what are the underlying causes which these factors outside the school are contributing to the child's difficulties. And having found out these difficulties she must seek to set up a program which, in cooperation with the school, will take care of the situation. It is important, too, that in her training for this work she shall have obtained such a knowledge of the principles of modern psychology and psychiatry as will enable her to understand when the services of the specialists in these fields may be required in any particular case. In pursuance of her work, she will not only keep the home and the school mutually informed of the facts in the case and of the efforts each one is making to solve the difficulty, but will advise with parents, school officials, and others concerned regarding the methods which can best be utilized in handling the case. Frequently she may find that the cause is largely in the school itself. If she is to handle such a situation, she must obviously be able to talk with school teachers and principals with an understanding and experience of school problems. It is hard enough under any circumstances to deal with situations of this sort which sometimes arise from the attitudes and emotional disturbances of the teachers with whom the child comes into contact rather than from conditions in the child himself. To be able to do this she must have the respect of the school staff for her judgment and her ability to speak with some degree of authority upon educational problems.

I have emphasized this point because I am afraid that some social workers

do not appreciate why the visiting teacher should be a teacher as well as a social worker. When a liaison is to be effected between cooperating agencies it is essential that the person who effects that liaison shall be able to understand and work with experienced skill with all the agencies involved. One of the things which, I surmise, has retarded the growth of cooperation between the school and the field of social work in the past has been a lack of appreciation on both sides of the possibilities and limitations of each other's work. It may even yet be true in some places that social workers and teachers look upon each other with indifference, if not with ill-concealed disdain. Both may still feel that they work in widely separated fields which have little practically in common and that each one is more or less of an obstacle to the other. Absorbed in the details of the needs of some individual upon whose case she is working, the social worker may frequently become impatient at the apparent uncooperativeness of the school, which cannot suspend its inevitable work with groups of children to analyze and deal as intensively as the social worker would like with the details of the particular problem with which she is so keenly concerned. Unfamiliar with the work of the school and more or less unsympathetic with the overwhelming demands and practical problems it must constantly meet, she may often make suggestions which appear ridiculous and absurd to the school official who thinks he knows his job better than she does. In the same way the school has frequently assumed a lofty and unjustifiable attitude toward the social worker, believing that she may be a very sincere person, but she is entirely too enthusiastic and sentimental about situations which are more or less hopeless of solution so far as the school can see. If the genuine relation between the school and social work is to be understood and developed into a practical working reality, it must come, I believe, through the services of someone who, like the visiting teacher, begins with the problems which the school recognizes, and which she helps it to recognize, and who then reaches out into the community to enlist the cooperation of other social forces to work with the school in ways in which they can be mutually helpful without complications or misunderstanding.

The school has already reached out into the home and community through other specialists. Through the school nurse it has reached out on problems of health. Through the vocational counsellor it has reached out on matters of employment. Through the attendance officer it has reached out in behalf of children who are conspicuous by their absence. Through the visiting teacher it is reaching out in behalf of children who are conspicuous by their presence. And when children are conspicuous by adverse manifestations in their school relationships, it is important that someone who can deal with all the factors involved shall get busy as soon as possible if prevention rather than cure is to be the goal of education and social work. This is true whether it be one of those repressed children, often overlooked in the busy classroom, whom you would

like to electrify, or one of those obsessed children who are always in the foreground and cannot be missed and whom you sometimes feel you would like to electrocute. Or it may be a child who is unaccountably falling behind in scholarship, or one who simply needs a friend to bridge a temporary aberration. Whatever be the causes, they are all of great significance to the emotional life of the child and the attitudes he is forming which will effect his personal happiness and his later relations to his fellow men. The school indeed has a fundamental relation to social work, and that relation will be fully realized only when the educator and the social worker are enabled to cooperate on common problems on the basis of mutual understanding and in ways which are suitable to their respective responsibilities.

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### THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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It might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked—that church and religion are not synonymous and that religion and morality, or, more specifically, religion and social justice, are not synonymous. They are organically related but not identical. The church is the symbol and vehicle of religious idealism. Religion, at least to the religious, is the dynamics of social justice. But religion has other functions to perform in human life.

Morality is concerned with the relations of man to his fellowmen. Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions, touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society: questions of why and whence and whither, desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

The answers which religion gives to these questions lead to definite mental attitudes on the part of those who accept them, which manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion affirms that the universe is essentially not a machine but a personality and that the primary facts in nature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is eternally significant because it, too, is creative personality, the very image of that life and thought and purpose which throb through all things. He who is persuaded by these heroic postulates of religion ascertainable by faith but not demonstrable by reason, will find himself adopting those characteristic attitudes which we call religious, and which in turn lead to moral integrity. Religion is thus related to morals as sun and soil and roots are related to the fruit of the tree.

Thus, for example, the religious man will be reverent. In the mystic presence of circumambient divinity, in a world suffused with the glory of unfolding life and purpose, the religious man stands rapt in adoration. His spirit reveres all the manifestations of nature, all the outpourings of the mind and soul of man. This mood of reverence is rich soil for moral idealism. Thus the boundaries of faith and morals meet.

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness; for God, the supreme Personality is holy, Holiness is transfigured morality, morality touched with the ecstasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to imitate this divine perfection. "Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder in quest of saintliness. Here again the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

The religious man will regard his life and that of his neighbor as holy and inviolable, for every life is a reflex of divinity and is justified of itself. Every act of wrong and injustice desecrates life, mars and defaces the image of God. Oppression and exploitation are more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life—God's life in man: they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being—the free, untrammelled unfoldment of personality.

Hence it is that the profoundly religious men of all times were the mightiest spokesmen of social justice, the uncompromising champions of absolute righteousness. It was from the lips of men touched with the burning coal of divine afflatus, from the lips of the prophet, the seer, and the man of God, that the first great cry for justice leapt out upon the world. They who knew God most intimately spoke of human rights most fearlessly. It was in the name of God, the stern and righteous Judge, that those Titans of the Spirit wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was in the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, that they pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life. It was in the name of God, the Father of all, that they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood, which overleaping all ancient boundaries erected by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

Herein lies the first great service which religion, through its historic agency, the church, has rendered and can continue to render the cause of social justice. It can function as the motive power of enthusiasm for all programs of social amelioration. It can be the dynamo of spiritual energy for every great enterprise. Speaking betimes and oft of a God whose ways are justice

and truth, whose worship is goodness, and upon whose high altars only the sacrifices of righteousness are acceptable, religion and the church can so sensitize the minds of men to moral values, that when a situation confronts them, involving a clear moral issue, whether in their private life, or in their social, political, or industrial life, they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

I am speaking now, of course, of those religions only which believe in human progress. I am speaking only of those religions which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence. Such faiths are foreign to the occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which therefore urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for a hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals gloriously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element of this otherworldliness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adventure and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundant. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

The religion of the Western world is therefore fast shifting its center of emotional gravity from the heavens which belong to God, to the earth which God gave to the children of man; from the realm of human conjecture and imagination to the realm of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness. In this earthly realm of tangled lives and purposes, still so sadly disfigured by poverty and hate and ignorance and wrong, in the midst of this communion of saints and sinners which we call humanity, religion, deriving vast power from its mighty convictions, and capable of creating moods and attitudes among men which are most congenial for moral idealism, can serve the cause of struggling mankind in a marvelous manner.

And the first great service which the church, the effective arm of religion, can render the cause of social justice, is to galvanize by education and inspiration the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God, which will be decidedly a kingdom of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a

dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion an existing order, in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The church is not concerned with systems but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system is adequate guaranty.

Nor should the church be called upon to play the rôle of arbiter in the numerous minor economic disputes which daily arise in our society, concerning which only the expert economist can today speak with any degree of wisdom or authority. Numerous labor controversies, for example, occur today which do not at all involve such clear-cut moral issues which should warrant the church in throwing the weight of its influence on one side or the other. The church ought not to fritter itself away by introducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance.

There are, however, economic problems in modern society of vast social import, reaching to the very heart of our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and in no uncertain terms. Conditions of palpable and vast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations of men with anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate life. Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justice and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible the free, untrammelled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth.



Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations and wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers," and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

Above all, it must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth. It must rise above the state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the indorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It dare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the rôle of defender and apologist. The church has often been intrigued into casting the mantle of its sanctity over the corruptions of an unjust society. The church must be free, fearless, and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and society. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channel for reaction.

Religion has not always been faithful to its informing purpose. When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself into an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moments of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the soul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction." They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant." The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.



But soon the hot coals of religious passion cool off. The heroic mood vanishes. Loyalties lose their sacrificial quality. The voice crying in the wilderness becomes an echo, faint and timid. Enthusiasm is quenched in habit. Religion becomes institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests appear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at stake it will compromise and yield and oftentimes betray men in their direst needs.

This danger, of course, is inherent in all organization. Whatever moral progress has been achieved in the world has been largely the work, not of groups but of individual spiritual adventurers, rebels, and non-conformists. Revelations seldom come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely the monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only as the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of reality, that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The church therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism and the paralysis of will which results from overorganization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice—clear and courageous—crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a temple or a cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the *via dolorosa*, the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

The church is a fellowship of the servants of God. The mission of God's servant was long ago defined by a prophet in exile: "He shall make the right to go forth according to the truth. He shall not fail nor be crushed, until he have set the right in the earth."

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### WHAT THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SURVEYS SHOW

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The people of the United States are quite conscious that they possess a crime problem, perhaps overconscious. At any rate, they are characteristically attacking the problem. National crime commissions, state crime commissions, associations for criminal justice, bureaus of research, foundations, and other groups are making surveys more or less superficial or profound, more or less

comprehensive. And we are all somewhat bewildered by the enormous quantities of advice and data we are getting.

It is said that we have a crime wave. One of the things that the crime surveys do not show is that there is a crime wave; but, on the other hand, they do not prove that there is not a crime wave. They neither prove nor disprove it. Incidentally one thing the surveys do show is the inadequacy of American criminal statistics. In no state as yet are the statistics such as to answer the first obvious question, "What is the quantity of crime?" Undoubtedly one of the beneficial results of the present researches will be the establishment of better systems of criminal statistics.

In this surveying and agitational activity there lurk, however, certain popular fallacies or assumptions which contain some dangers. One of these is that the problem is wholly or mainly one of law enforcement or the administration of criminal justice; that it is law enforcement which is the main preventive of crime, and that if we but perfect our machinery of criminal justice, we will have solved all our crime problems. This assumption is, of course, an utter fallacy. Law enforcement or criminal justice is but one factor in crime production or prevention, and not the major factor. All students of society know how numerous and how intertwined with all our social and political processes are the crime producing factors. In fact, the law can be enforced only when the acts against which it is directed are abnormal and exceptional, and, if the volume of crime be so great as to make crime a normal and frequent rather than an abnormal and exceptional fact, then law enforcement, as such, is inevitably inadequate to cope with but a small part of the situation. Indeed, the very inefficiencies or inadequacies of law enforcement are but one symptom or result of the very social or political factors of which law violation is another symptom or result. The institutions which exist for dealing with crime are institutions created by, administered by, promoted or hampered by the very same social mores and viewpoints, social strengths and weaknesses that enter into or cause the crime producing factors. No social institution can escape from the community which gives it birth, nurtures it, promotes or retards its operation.

There are other current fallacies which tend to increase the difficulties of dealing with the problem in a thoroughgoing manner. One of these is that severity of punishment in and of itself is the most effective preventive of crime. No data produced by any survey supports any such conclusion. Whenever a law increasing punishment is passed somebody boasts about the reduction in crime the following week. Of course such boasts are laughable. The crime producing factors are the products of years and decades and generations; the cures inevitably require long periods of time to be effective. At any rate, no available data prove that severity of punishment in and of itself is seriously to be relied upon as the main preventive of crime. All human experience is to the contrary. We know that the social organism inevitably produces protective de-

vices against mere severity of punishment. For instance, we know that our whole system of criminal procedure, with its numerous technical defenses for the accused, was developed as a protective device against the system of excessive punishment which prevailed in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. We have had a recent example in New York where a law was passed prescribing life imprisonment for a fourth offense, no matter how petty the fourth offense happened to be, and where a jury refused to find that the accused had committed three previous offenses though the proof was utterly overwhelming. Furthermore, the study of individual criminal careers tends to show the decreasing influence of fear of punishment as the criminal career advances from the smaller offenses to the greater. In the case of those who for whatever reason have developed into habitual criminals, fear of severity of punishment practically loses its deterring influence.

At the meeting of the governing board of a bureau of municipal research in an Ohio city recently, the proposal to institute a criminal justice survey was brought forward. One member desired to know why the trouble and expense should be necessary, saying, he knew how to prevent crime, and that all that needed to be done was to make the punishment severe and impose it and carry it out. But the matter is not so simple. Even if it would suffice to stop or materially reduce crime, severity of punishment is not obtainable by the simple process of demanding it and writing it into statutes. England is constantly cited as the land which illustrates how severe sentences reduce crime. The citation is erroneous, for the penalties provided by law for crimes are less severe, on the whole, than those specified in American statutes. But those who shout for more heavy imprisonments or English criminal justice fail to realize that the English methods and results are the resultants of the whole complex of English social and political traditions and processes, and one cannot pick out a small item of English practice, such as the statutory penalty for an offense, and get the same result. The administration of criminal justice in England is the resultant of many traditions and institutions, such as a small compact bar with century old traditions, a small appointed bench with enormous social prestige, and all the other English social and political traditions and habits and processes that go to make the English administration of justice what it is. We cannot treat one single social institution, such as the scale of punishment, as though it were located in a vacuum, and still get the desired result.

Though statistics perhaps have not yet proved the case, there is more to be said in favor of the idea that speed and certainty of result in criminal trials does play an influential part as a deterrent of crime. Especially in the case of early or first offenses is speed and accuracy of result likely to convey a lesson which may be heeded and divert the career of the accused into lawful ways.

The Missouri survey, like the reports of various bar associations, devotes much attention to reform of the procedure in the trial of criminal cases. There

can be no doubt of the need of such reform and that many of these recommendations would effect results of some value. There is, however, some danger of an excessive reliance upon this type of procedural reform, based upon another popular fallacy, namely that jury trials constitute, if not the main, at any rate a major, instrumentality for unwarranted escapes from punishment. The crime survey statistics do not bear out any such assumption. They show that of the many prosecutions for crime a relatively small percentage ever reach jury trial, and of the many ways in which the accused escapes punishment acquittal by jury represents a very minor portion. For instance, the Cleveland survey shows that of a year's prosecutions for felonies, 4,262 in number, only 595 or 14 per cent reached trial by jury, and that the jury convicted in 367, or 62 per cent of the cases tried. The other modes of discharge or escape from conviction or sentence, nolle, no-billing of cases by the grand jury, and the other modes by which prosecutions failed, represented 2,217 of the final dispositions of the year's felony cases as compared with 228 acquittals by jury—almost ten times as many. The Missouri survey shows similar conditions. Of the total prosecutions for felonies in the state only 12 per cent reach jury trial. Of those tried by jury 62 per cent were found guilty, 57 per cent resulted in discharge or release through modes of disposition other than trial by jury, as compared with 5 per cent which obtained discharge or release through acquittal by jury; or, to put it in another way, 50 per cent of the accused escaped conviction or punishment through nolle, no-bills, and the like, as compared with less than 5 per cent through acquittals by jury. The Missouri survey's separate statistics for the city of St. Louis tell the same story, showing 13 per cent of the cases reached the jury stage and the juries convicted in 58 per cent of the cases before them; or, taking the three urban counties surveyed, viz., the counties containing St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph, of the cases which did not result in conviction 63 per cent were disposed of without trial as compared with less than 4 per cent by acquittals.

There are very few statistics as to the comparative percentage of acquittals by juries as compared with acquittals by judges trying cases without a jury, for the reason that trial by court without jury has been, outside of Maryland, a very exceptional mode of trial in the United States. What slight statistics there are, as in Connecticut, tend to show that court trial without jury results in at least as great a percentage of acquittals as trial by jury. In the four years, 1874-78, Connecticut had a system which permitted trial without jury, and the comparative statistics showed 76 per cent convictions in the jury trials and 74 per cent in the judge trials. In Maryland, where the accused may choose, something like 90 per cent of the accused choose to be tried by a judge without a jury.

We may conclude that, while the improvement of trial procedure is im-

portant and well worth while, it will not reach into the major fields of the problem.

While we should warn ourselves against an exclusive or excessive reliance upon criminal law enforcement as a preventive of those types of conduct which society wants to prevent, still the methods and efficiency of law enforcement by public agencies do and will always play an important part both in the treatment of anti-social conduct, and in the creation or destruction of public confidence in our legal system and its influence upon standards of conduct. An examination of what the more important criminal justice surveys, such as the Cleveland Foundation Survey, the Missouri Survey, and others, disclose regarding the workings of the administration of criminal justice is therefore well worthy of extended attention and interpretation. The subject is so vast, involving as it does everything from detection and policing to prison administration, probation, parole, and relief, that time permits of only a hurried reference to a few of the major lessons of these surveys.

Both the Cleveland and Missouri surveys contain so called "mortality tables" giving the statistics of what happened to felony cases. These statistics require interpretation, and, indeed, are not capable of exact interpretation in that they do not furnish an unquestionable basis for conclusions as to the location of the weaknesses in the administration of criminal justice. They do, however, warrant the conclusion that the system is not an efficient one and they justify a search into the causes thereof. We will take just a few of the figures. In Cleveland, of all the cases which had gone through the processes of arrest, institution of a prosecution, and the court of preliminary examination, 21.54 per cent were no-billed by the grand jury, 12.92 per cent were nolle, and 3.34 per cent otherwise disposed of without trial or plea of guilt; in other words, 37.80 per cent of the cases which survived preliminary examination were thereafter in one way or another dropped without trial. Of the total prosecutions, 38.06 per cent resulted in convictions of the offense originally charged or of a lesser offense. In the state of Missouri 26.08 per cent of the prosecutions failed to survive the preliminary examination stage and 38.11 per cent resulted in convictions of either the original charge or a lesser offense. In St. Louis, out of 1,000 cases which had gone through all stages up to and including the court of preliminary examination, over 22 per cent thereafter failed to reach the stage of trial or plea of guilt.

We might summarize by saying that the machinery for the administration of criminal justice suffers from three great internal divisions. One of these is the separation and lack of coordination between the various parts of the administration itself, such as police, prosecutor, courts, probation officers, and so on. Another of these is the geographical division, cities, counties, regions, and states. The third is the division between what might be called philosophies—

the philosophy of punishment of the offense and the philosophy of treatment of the offender. A few minutes will be devoted to each of these.

The normal course of a prosecution for felony as described in the Cleveland Survey may be described as follows. The police department has charge of the detection of the offender and the discovery of the witnesses. In short, it has charge of the proof at a time when the proof is most fresh and most apt to be wholly and truly ascertainable. The police department has no official and systematic coordination with the prosecutor's office, though that prosecutor will be the trial attorney. Excepting in the sensational crimes, the prosecuting attorney who will ultimately have to present the proof does not hear of the case until weeks or months later. He has no opportunity to direct the gathering of the proof. The next stage is the police court or examining magistrate stage. It may be in charge of a municipal prosecuting attorney, whose work is utterly uncoordinated with the county prosecutor who will ultimately try the case. There may not even be a municipal prosecuting attorney. The case is put through the hurly-burly of the police court without any transcript of what witnesses say. The police judge or magistrate is a separate independent court without any responsibility except to pass the case along if enough evidence is produced to justify keeping it alive. It is then passed along in this state without any thoroughgoing preparation of the evidence, without any record of the evidence except a few skimpy notes, and without having received any thoroughgoing analysis or examination by anybody. In this shape it reaches the office of the prosecuting attorney for presentation to the grand jury. These cases are shoveled before the grand jury without much examination into the facts or preparation of the proof and with little or no transcript made of what takes place in the grand jury room. A good percentage of the cases die at this stage, nobody knowing enough of the facts to warrant keeping the case alive or there not being sufficient facts to justify keeping it alive. So though it has gone through this additional stage of grand jury, if it comes through that alive it may be weakened rather than strengthened so far as systematic proof is concerned. After another interval of weeks, perhaps months, it reaches the trial stage. In many cities the trial prosecuting attorney does not begin to look into the case until a few moments before actual trial. He relies upon the skimpy notes which were scratched upon the papers at some earlier stage, or perhaps the inadequacy of the proof has come to his attention so that he decides to nolle the case and drop it.

The machinery is disjointed, uncoordinated. There is no official who has the function of executive direction or control and who can act as the coordinator of these various parts of the apparatus which, when functioning separately, make of the proceedings a series of unprepared steps. England has such a coordinating official in the person of the public prosecutor, who is a national official. We have such an official in our federal administration in the person of



the attorney general. This disjointed, uncoordinated piece of machinery is manned by underpaid men of an inadequate number, inadequately trained, and upon this machinery thus manned the modern urban life is throwing an intolerable load of work. The important work of the prosecuting attorney is intrusted to men whose compensation equals that of the mediocrities rather than that of the successes of their profession. Their offices are equipped more like those of a country law office of pioneer leisurely days than like a successful law office in a modern busy city.

Coming then to the second general classification of weakness due to internal division, namely the geographical or jurisdictional divisions within the administration, police departments are usually municipal departments responsible to municipal officials. Police courts and other courts of preliminary examination are usually municipal courts. Prosecuting attorneys are usually county officials. Under contemporary urban conditions produced by contemporary forces, including the automobile, the boundary lines of any single municipality are arbitrary in the sense that they do not correspond to the actual population unit, the actual business unit, the actual social unit, and, more important in connection with our subject, the actual crime unit. The community which is producing the crime and in which the crimes are committed and hidden and escapes made does not correspond to the political boundary lines of either the single municipality or often of even a single county.

This phase of the problem is quite analogous to the other problems of urban governmental organization. The city tends to become a more and more arbitrary unit. Cleveland, for instance, is really thirty separated municipalities, one of which, the largest, has the name of Cleveland, but the other twenty-nine of which are really the same social community. In this one social community there are thirty police departments, thirty municipal or examining courts, and their work is uncoordinated except by casual unsystematic cooperative action. Such a scheme is obviously inefficient in dealing with organized crime, which is not organized along city or county lines. It indicates the need of developing machinery for dealing with crime along regional and, to some extent, state lines. The trend is shown in the development of such institutions as state bureaus of criminal investigation and identification. The geographical division of the administration of criminal justice, like the internal organization division, shows the need of developing some centralized direction or supervision in the administration of criminal justice.

The third division, which has been called a division in philosophies, is a more subtle and elusive one, but equally important, if not more so. The statutory definitions of crime, the statutory prescriptions of punishment, the statutory statements of the jurisdictions and functions of courts and prosecutors, are based upon the theory that the process and the goal are the discovery of the specific offense as defined in the criminal law, the identification of the offender,



the ascertainment by trial of the commission of the offense as defined in the law, and the application of a schedule of punishment expressed in terms of years of imprisonment.

Gradually, however, there has seeped into our consciousness, including the consciousness of our judges and prosecutors, an entirely different theory as to what we are aiming at or what we should aim at, the theory which is sometimes called the individualization of punishment, the basic thought of which is that the particular offense is not the ultimate fact to be ascertained and the application thereto of a schedule of imprisonment is not the ultimate goal, but that the offense may be a symptom which justifies an investigation into what sort of person the offender is, and that the ultimate process and goal is the ascertainment of what sort of an individual the offender is and the application of treatment appropriate to that sort of individual, the treatment being specified not in a statutory schedule of punishment but in certain new sciences called psychology or psychiatry or other words of similar import.

The trouble comes from the fact that these new ideas or points of view have not yet been given a definite place in either our theory or our practice. No contemporary judge or prosecutor can, however, escape from some groping at least after these new theories and their applications, and a confusion results, particularly a confusion in the minds of the public. A prosecuting attorney is trained to be a lawyer; he is not given any special training in these mental sciences. Similarly, the judge. The law contains very few specific definitions of the place which these mental sciences are to play. The prosecutor and judge continue to speak in terms of laws and schedules of punishment. If the state has been so progressive as to create a probation system, there usually has not yet developed any very specific integration between the work of the probation department and the work of the prosecutor or between the probation department and the court. The public is quite naturally suspicious when it hears of crimes defined in traditional law terms of larceny, burglary, robbery, murder, knows that trials resulted in convictions for these crimes, and then hears that the prisoner was put on probation or paroled. Naturally, in the absence of anything resembling a definite system and definite statement of the basis of such action, the public suspects that these are pleasant and fancy names for sentimentality or political pull. The lack of public confidence in the administration of criminal justice is a weakening factor.

It is interesting and significant to note that this same confusion between these two theories of the treatment of anti-social conduct, or at least this same lack of coordination between them, is reflected in these surveys themselves. For instance, take the Missouri survey. The chapters dealing with prosecutions and courts and court procedure are not only entirely separate from the chapters dealing with the mental or medical phases, or probation, or parole (which separation is quite natural as a matter of organization of the

work and set-up of the work), but neither in their statements of the problem, their analyses of the situation nor their recommendations did the authors of the chapters on prosecution and courts seem to be conscious of, or apply, or use the striking facts developed in the chapters on medical relations, probation, and parole. For instance, these latter chapters disclose that two out of every three inmates of St. Louis correctional institutions were recidivists and that one-half of the persons going through the police courts of that city were repeaters, and that recidivism had increased in that city 100 per cent in twenty years. The bearing of such facts on prosecuting procedure or trial procedure or court procedure hardly received notice and certainly received no definite statement or analysis in the elaborate chapters devoted to those procedures. The able chapter of the Missouri survey on the mental science phases of the situation points out that in the penal institutions of that state from 16 to 42 per cent of the inmates were definitely feebleminded and that 37 per cent in the St. Louis institutions were definitely psychopathic. The bearing of such facts as these upon the problems and procedures of the police, the prosecution, and the courts were not alayzed in the reports on those subjects. The Missouri report contains accounts of some interesting and significant illustrative cases. For instance, the case of a man forty-two years of age who had been arrested seventy-five times, had served four terms in the penitentiary, one for larceny, two for burglary, and one for manslaughter, and who at the time of the report was serving a four months' term for vagrancy. The medical committee found him to be psychopathic. The bearing of such cases on the problems of prosecution, or judicial procedure, or the substantive law of crimes received no substantial recognition. Thus even the surveys reflect the present uncoordinated administration of two different philosophies.

The medical committee's report emphasized that the problem was mainly one of juvenile delinquency. Yet the analyses of and recommendation concerning the administration of the legal machinery dealt almost entirely with adult delinquency.

The Missouri Survey contains an exceedingly able chapter on parole. This disclosed that the state's penal institutions had developed a most mechanical system of parole; that after the inmate had served a designated time, representing an arbitrary percentage of his original sentence, he was entitled automatically to parole unless his conduct had been such as to cause demerits, and the demerits were arithmetical and based solely on conduct in the institution. In other words, the conception of parole was exclusively that of execution of the original sentence imposed by the court mitigated by good conduct in the institution. There entered into it no individualization based on analysis of the mental and moral qualities of the individual offender. The report showed also a constantly increasing reference of parole applications to the prosecuting attorney. As the report well points out, these practices indicate an inadequate

recognition of the part which parole can and should play in the individualization of treatment of the offender.

The medical committee recommended that there be a state department of mental hygiene and suggested that as soon as the prosecution is commenced there be an examination of the accused, and that the results of the examination, reporting the facts concerning the mental and moral characteristics of the accused, be transmitted, before the trial, to the judge and to the prosecutor. This recommendation does represent a recognition of the need for an integration between what in this address has been called the two philosophies. But what is the prosecutor to do with this information when he gets it? He is required by statute to enforce the law. And the law consists of a series of definitions of crimes and a schedule of punishments. What is the prosecutor to do with the information that the accused has such and such a psychopathic personality or that he has such and such a mental age? In the present state of the law are not these facts rather confusing to the prosecutor? The medical committee's recommendation that he be informed of them may represent a good step on the way toward clarity; but at the present stage of our criminal law it represents a confusion of rather than a definite system of coordination between the older and newer conceptions of criminal justice and procedure.

The great problem of the future is that of fitting the applications of these newer mental sciences into the machinery and procedure of the administration of criminal justice, giving to the law and lawyers their definite parts appropriate to their training and to the practitioners of the social and mental sciences their definite parts appropriate to their training, with due coordination between these parts. Despite what may seem to be today a reaction toward emphasis upon the punishment and retributive philosophy, actual progress is going on in the other direction, namely, the direction of increasing emphasis upon the individualization of treatment and the application of modern knowledge in fields of mental and social sciences. The social workers and the social sciences are apt to have perhaps a somewhat snobbish attitude toward the lawyers, but probably the lawyers are becoming educated toward turning over the problem of the treatment of the convicted offender to the social worker and the social scientists just as quickly, if not more quickly, than the latter are becoming qualified for the responsibility. There is in the domain of social work and mental hygiene and psychiatry quite as much superficiality of thinking and lack of coordination in administration, as in the field of law and lawyers. If there be any loss of public confidence in probation and parole, some of it may be due to the deficiencies in the capacity of those who administer probation and parole. The crime surveys disclose nothing to show that it is all the fault of the lawyers and the politicians.

We must all guard ourselves against hasty conclusions. Statements as to the causes of crime, the extent of so-called crime waves, defects in the admin-

tration of justice, should come at the conclusion of thoroughgoing study and not at the beginning. The volume of crime and the adequacies and inadequacies of society's dealing with crime are all interlaced with and but a part of our whole social and political processes. The surveys that have taken place have been useful and well done within the scope assigned. There still remains much to be surveyed, studied deeply, thought out anxiously and searchingly, before we can reach the stage of conclusions. One of the most hopeful signs of our times is that leading law schools, such as Harvard Law School, have realized that research into the problems of administration of criminal justice, research into the possibilities of dealing with evils by legislation, research into social and political organization, are essential under contemporary conditions to anything like an intelligent solution of the problems produced by these contemporary conditions.

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### PROBATION: ITS STATUS AND PROSPECTS

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There has arisen with the popular hue and cry against the criminal a companion antagonism, which is levelled in a threatening manner at those institutions and agencies which are engaged in the treatment and prevention of crime. It is perhaps natural that in dilating at such length on present day banditry and crimes of violence, the press should have come upon instances wherein probation has failed, and so be led to the belief that probation itself is a failure. Criminology also has been brought into public disrepute, and sentiment somehow is abroad that whatever is scientific is intended to coddle and whatever is tinged with vengeance and hysteria is efficacious for the prevention and treatment of delinquency.

Although there are obvious defects in methods for the constructive rehabilitation of offenders and in probation as generally practiced, this germ of error has been seized upon and subjected to the heat of misinformation, exaggeration, and prejudice until it has been made to appear as a monster of social injustice and blundering. Probation is visualized as a stalwart opponent of society and the law, a sort of behemoth figure standing between crime and its punishment, snatching criminals from the grasp of ruthless justice. Moreover, it has been insinuated or openly announced that this rescue of the offender from imminent punishment has all too frequently resulted in the return of the delinquent to his anti-social career. It is in some quarters believed to be favored by the protection of the probation officer, under whose supervision he might develop a Janus-like countenance, revealing to his blinded benefactor the penitent visage of reform and to society in general the sneer of the criminal triumphant.

The critic, enraptured over the accidentals of an isolated case, or enthused over his discovery of specific deficiencies in a difficult service, is loud in his insistence that the criminal regards probation as a "soft snap" and a joke. Reformation, finally, is something which blooms only in the virile atmosphere of our prisons, and rapidly shrivels away under the incurable optimism and myopia and the hot-house sympathy of the probation officer.

That the probation system is frequently weak and ineffective will be denied by none who is familiar with its history. That blunders are frequently made and that inefficiency is often characteristic of its reformatory attempts may be allowed. Whether the advantages, the potentialities, and the practice of probation in certain localities outweigh the errors that may be found within it, is a much mooted question. It is pertinent, therefore, to examine some of the problems of probation in the endeavor to learn whether probation has failed, whether it will fail, and if it fails, whether its downfall will be due to the activities of those within or without its ranks.

*History of probation.*—Historically, the first object of probation was to spare children (and equally so adults) from the stigma and other disadvantages and evils of incarceration. It was a humane substitute for imprisonment. As probation developed, however, as a second aim came the gathering of information concerning the subsequent conduct of those conditionally released by the court, to the end that, in case of relapses, the law might be vindicated. The main duty of the probation officer was to keep posted about the behavior of those under his care. Recently, however, the emphasis has come to rest more and more upon its educative, reformatory possibilities; no longer a mere substitute for something else, and not content with simply securing information, its chief purpose is now generally recognized as being to effect improvement in character and conduct, to achieve, if possible, permanent reformation and rehabilitation. Probation seeks definitely and positively to do constructive work, to mold and improve the individual's habits, to stimulate his ambition and self control, and to aid him in practical ways.

It is interesting to note at the outset that, while crime and various methods of punishing it are recorded in our earliest historical fragments, probation has come upon the scene only in recent years. That it has been able to accomplish so much in a few years where so little had been previously accomplished in many years by other methods, is indicative of its essential soundness and practicality. At times when probation is subjected to a fire of criticism by the public, press, political leaders, and occasionally by social workers, it is well to remember that the system of punishment to fit the crime has blundered on ineffectively for centuries, while probation, with its plan of discipline adapted to the needs of the individual, has led a career of success, which even its errors, mistakes, and failures cannot appreciably besmirch.

Our first juvenile court is but twenty-seven years old. The majority of

our larger courts have been organized on their present basis for periods of from seven to twelve years. During the past twenty-five years, probation has made amazing strides and has developed from a system confined to volunteers and inefficient workers, frequently police officers and others, who by training, experience, and education were unfitted for the work at hand, into a highly organized service, which is an integral part of the modern socialized court. From its humble beginning in Massachusetts, it has spread throughout the United States and, meeting many vicissitudes and almost constant animosity, has held determinedly to the position in which it was established and its achievements have justified its existence.

The history of probation, however, is not entirely a chronicle of success. Of the probation work of children's courts, Van Waters writes: "It should be remembered that intelligent probation service is restricted to a small proportion of juvenile courts. It has not been applied to the majority." Even in those communities which were active in legislation for child welfare and for the general betterment of all conditions surrounding the child delinquent and non-delinquent, adult probation has frequently met with disinterest or disfavor. Being concerned with the adult offender, it has by indirection felt the force of all the vengeance and vehemence which have been hurled against him. With each startling outbreak of crime, the criminal has been flayed by public opinion and has been considered as deserving of nothing but the organized hostility of society. He has been deemed too vicious and too vile to be worthy of understanding and intelligent treatment. It has been, therefore, a task almost resembling martyrdom for anyone to raise a feeble voice in behalf of the adult offender. This public antagonism incidentally has done much to stunt the growth of scientific adult probation systems throughout the country. Despite all these obstacles, however, probation has made an outstanding advance and has now taken a permanent and distinguished place in the history of criminology.

Figures gathered in 1926 show that adult probation has been adopted in 34 states and the District of Columbia: the whole country and its insular possession, with the single exception of Wyoming, have established juvenile probation. In 1925, more than 3,000 paid probation officers and an equal number of volunteers were used by the courts of the United States. In New York State the number of adults on probation increased from 2,852 in 1910 to 17,519 in 1926 (March), an increase of more than 500 per cent over a period of sixteen years. Ten states—Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Vermont—have established some form of supervision over both juvenile and adult probation work. Four states—Alabama, Arkansas, Oregon, and Pennsylvania—maintain state supervision over the probation work in their juvenile courts, and Wisconsin maintains control supervision of adult probation only, outside of the city of Mil-



waukee. The report of the New York State Probation Commission for 1925 shows that in that year the population of correctional institutions of the state was 16,063 and that 22,223 persons were on probation.

In all states except Massachusetts, limitations regarding the seriousness of the offense or previous convictions have been placed upon the use of probation for adults, and yet in the only state where there are no limitations upon the courts regarding who should or should not be placed on probation, the system has proved so successful that no jail has been built in Massachusetts for several decades.

*Probation as a form of punishment.*—To some persons probation indicates the absence or abandonment of punishment and discipline and suggests only clemency. This is not true of probation when the system is properly applied. While probation is humane and beneficent in its purposes, it includes correction and discipline as very essential elements. Where the system is properly carried on, probationers realize very keenly that probation is something serious. If necessary, the surveillance over the probationer may be so close, and the requirements as to conduct so exacting, as to become a very real form of punishment.

That probation may be made punitive is shown by the following facts: probation requires obedience to certain conditions and instructions and restricts the liberty of the probationer with respect to his actions, habits, recreations, associations, work, and place of abode; probation requires the probationer to report to the probation officer, or to the court, at specified times—sometimes as often as once a day; and such reporting is often an inconvenience and hardship; probation keeps the probationer under surveillance and subjects him to visitation in his home and elsewhere and to investigation as to his whereabouts and actions; probation often causes a probationer humiliation and leads to sincere remorse; the probationer is made to realize that for violating his probation he may be rearrested, imprisoned, fined, or have the probation lengthened and made more exacting (about one-tenth of those placed on probation are subsequently committed for violating its conditions); probation may include the requirement that the probationer while on probation pay a fine, restitution, reparation, or weekly payments for the support of his family. In some cases probation is more of a punishment than would be imprisonment in jail, the imposition of a fine, or the requiring of bonds. Not a few men would prefer loafing in a warm jail during the winter months, to being obliged to work, to conduct themselves properly, and to be under probationary oversight and restriction. Disorderly persons often would prefer to be placed under bonds instead of being subjected to the supervision and direction of a probation officer.

In so far as probation is punitive, and in so far as punishment acts as a deterrent, probation has deterring effects.

*Strengthening the system.*—In the history of probation, probation officers



often have failed to administer it in a way that would produce good results. This poor social practice has resulted from a lack of qualifications in the probation officers, from the overload on each of them or from the lack of proper supervision.

The first great task of probation is to make sure that the work which is being done is being done adequately. Methods of work should be constantly analyzed and checked up. Results of probation efforts should be tested currently. The great driving human motive behind probation should not be permitted to degenerate into mawkish sentimentality, and emotional fervor should not be allowed to become a makeshift substitute for concrete results. Sympathy without science means sentimentality and futility. Science without sympathy, on the other hand, is cold and blind in dealing with human beings. The tree is judged by the fruit it bears. Probation will be judged by the lasting and constructive impressions it leaves upon the characters of the persons with whom it deals. Probation, therefore, must be continually on its guard against mechanical methods and superficial effort. Sincere and skillful workmanship must be its constant ideal.

*Difficulties of the task.*—The analysis of causes and the improvement through treatment of human behavior is a problem that has received the attention of educators, reformers, scientists, and social leaders since the beginning of time. Probation, however, is perhaps the first thoroughly organized system which has for its objective the mental, physical, and moral rehabilitation of delinquents.

In attempting to mold a worthwhile citizen from the material with which the school, the home, and society in general has failed, probation is endeavoring to supply all that has been lacking in the past life of the individual and to give him certain constructive benefits which no other agency is organized to supply. In the attempt to alter the delinquent's character and habits, social case work, as practiced by probation, is concerned with the health, education, family relationships, industrial status, recreational habits, attitude toward religion, and all the mysteries of the personality and conduct of the individual. Under probationary supervision, the delinquent is often receiving for the first time a scientific examination with a view to determining just what are his needs and just what methods of treatment may be used to bring about in him a favorable metamorphosis.

Modern probation considers the infinite variations which exist in human personality and insists on treating each delinquent as an individual. It takes into account the great diversity of conditions and factors which operate to shape and modify the individual's character and conduct with the result that a specific plan of treatment is evolved to fit the peculiar requirements of each case. This modern and scientific attitude of probation is most convincingly demonstrated by the fact that it is ever on the alert to incorporate in its meth-

odology and to apply in its plans of treatment the latest findings of science relating to human conduct and behavior.

Probation finally is accepting a tremendous responsibility in that probationers are released into the community with opportunities for freedom of action. In attempting this task of reclamation, while the individual retains practically all of his freedom, probation, aptly called "a reformatory without walls," is engaged in an upbuilding work as comprehensive and as difficult as any now entrusted to any social agency and institution.

For the successful accomplishment of constructive rehabilitation as outlined above, it is obvious that the probation system must have at its service the most competent personnel and the most modern facilities. Let us examine for a moment the conditions under which the theories of probation are frequently operating and let us determine, if we can, whether the deficiencies of probation may be traced to some unsoundness in the theory of probation itself, or to incompetency among its workers, inadequate finances, and general public disinterestedness.

*The probation officer.*—Dr. Van Waters writes:

There are certain areas of human work which must reject all but the very fittest; that art, religion, psychiatry, and social work suggest themselves as fields whose full harvest yields up only in response to some special kind of human energy. They each demand a submission of one's self to discipline, something beyond learning the mere technique, or of practicing the rules of a profession. Ability to succeed requires something more than talent, and those who seek to deal with the responding human personality need qualities other than those due to training and intelligence as commonly conceived. Sheer cleverness does not create beauty or holiness or social response in human beings, although it may build bridges, erect institutions, run machines, make social investigations or compile statistics.

The probation officer should be a person of good educational background, of special training in social work, and should bring to his task a warm sympathy and a deep rooted respect for the human personality. Unless he possesses a genuine liking for people as he finds them, he cannot expect to understand and guide human character and conduct. The probation officer must appreciate the profound importance of his task and have a genuine devotion to it.

The probation field is inadequately manned as to both the number and quality of its workers. Too many probation officers are not fitted for the work and lack the fundamental qualities of personality and the background resulting from training and experience which constitute the basis for rich growth and development. Moran writes:

The probation field is cluttered with well meaning men and women who possibly have served their communities well but who should be pensioned. It is too much to expect that they will be interested in new methods of work. Because of lack of training or personality or knowledge, only a limited number of probation officers play an important part in the broader movements of the day. In no sense can the majority of the probation officers be considered community leaders. In reality a number are "shut in personalities" but these are the officers who are inclined to be critical and caustic of the probation officers who are real leaders, and of new methods of work.

Although there are many excellent workers in the field of probation who regard probation work as a profession, it is sadly true that there are also a great many who are unfitted by training and experience for the task before them and who have drudged along content to occupy an uncertain position in the world of social service. At the present time there exist on every hand means and material for professional training. Schools of social work and university departments of the social sciences have been established, and foundations and clinics throughout the country have published their findings and made them available to all who are interested. The responsibility, therefore, for inefficiency, the use of antiquated methods, and a general lack of professional spirit is to be directly borne by probation officers who have not taken advantage of the facilities for learning that are at their disposal.

Especially in the use of mental clinics and in the interpretation of the findings of psychiatrists and in those phases of rehabilitation which deal directly with practical psychology and the influencing of character and behavior, lack of professional training constitutes a serious handicap. Much too often we find excellent clinics, performing admirable scientific work in diagnosis and prognosis, whose efforts are accomplishing very little because the probation officers to whom their reports are submitted are incapable of interpreting them and carrying out the plans suggested.

The average salary of the 125 probation officers serving in the courts of New York State outside of greater New York equals about \$31.05 per week, after an average service of eight years. In view of these facts, it is not to be wondered at that there are only a few courts in the United States that have definite standards regarding the educational background of the persons selected to serve as probation officers. Because of the inadequate salaries paid, men and women with desirable educational qualifications, and with specialized training, are entering other fields of social service.

The existence of a great number of probation officers who are unfitted for their positions is attributable, therefore, first to the governing bodies of communities which do not see to it that adequate salaries calculated to attract workers of a high type are paid; and secondly, to the officers themselves, who, struggling under a low wage system, are content to perform their duties in the easiest way possible and with no thought to the practical improvement of themselves and their work.

*Lack of effective probation methodology.*—Unlike other professions, such as law, medicine, and engineering, which have formulated and adopted a well-defined and effective methodology, probation and other social sciences are still in varying degrees carrying on their work in a highly individualized manner, which is responsible for the fact that the type of work done in any given locality is largely colored by the person directing it. Due to the lack of aggressive and able leadership in the probation field, there has been a distressing delay in

the formation of definite probation objectives and the crystallization of a scientific methodology of probation diagnosis and treatment. Probation has been consequently a more or less "hit or miss" affair with various standards of practice existing throughout the country.

We thus discover at the present time an unbelievable unevenness in probation work. The good impression made by a few excellent examples is rapidly obscured by the countless instances of mediocre and very poor service. We find probation officers who are totally unfamiliar with case study and treatment, and whose efforts have little in common with the standards of modern social work. Few courts are properly acquainted with the advantages of intensive and comprehensive social diagnosis.

As a direct result of the blundering, unscientific preliminary investigations in vogue in many courts, unsuitable persons are placed on probation and the probation officer has added to his own deficiencies and to the problems arising from his lack of adequate equipment the further difficulty of attempting to reconstruct material for which the probation process is totally unsuited. In courts where mental and physical examinations are not made, the feeble-minded with fixed anti-social habits, the diseased, the drug addict, and the emotionally unbalanced are undoubtedly placed on probation when there are no facilities available to the probation officer for their proper treatment. Under such conditions as these, it is not to be wondered at that probation results in failure, or at best, in the stagnation of the individual under its supervision.

Not only is the diagnosis inadequate, but supervision is often inadequate or is merely legal oversight, unconstructive and unimpressive. Often the probation officer, because of the great pressure of investigations, finds it impossible to devote sufficient time to the supervision of delinquents. It must be taken as an unquestioned principle that the results of supervision are in proportion to the time, ability, and energy devoted to this work. Effective case treatment cannot consist of routine reporting, exhortation, and miscellaneous advice, or infrequent and hurried visits to the home. With the termination of probation at the expiration of a few months, moreover, there is no hope of accomplishing any definite and lasting results in the development of character in the probationer. Thus, for example, in New York State, the home visits averaged less than eight a year to each probationer and lasted from ten to fifteen minutes each. In only five courts do the probation bureaus utilize a definite plan of constructive treatment. In other cases there is no assurance that the supervision is not indefinite, purposeless, negative discipline, and lacking in constructive imagination and sound guidance. Sometimes one wonders if probationers would not have made equally intelligent adjustments without the kind of aid they receive from some probation officers.

Supervision cannot continue in a lax, haphazard manner without arousing

the contempt of the probationer. It is, of course, empty optimism to expect any tangible and enduring results from supervision when the probation officer depends principally upon the reporting system, or is compelled to attend to too many cases, in some instances reaching the impossible total of two or three hundred. Under such conditions probation is the subject of general derision and becomes a menace to the community. What is necessary is an all-embracing standardization of the working conditions of probation, the formulation of a methodology of supervision, and a vigorous application of its principles in the work of rebuilding the character of the delinquent.

*Probation not appreciated by public authorities.*—The general faults to be found in probation by anyone who seriously reviews its history and its present status are those which might be eliminated by the proper evaluation and sympathetic understanding of its aims and functions by legislators and public authorities.

The New York State Probation Commission states:

The possibilities of utilizing probation as an effective method of changing unsocial habits of offenders have not as yet been realized because the probation system is handicapped by city and county authorities failing to make proper provisions for probation service, and because public officials and private citizens as yet fail to realize that probation is as much a part of the correctional system of the state as our prisons, reformatories, or jails, and that communities have the responsibility of providing for a sufficient number of probation officers so that the community is protected and the individuals released by the courts on probation are given constructive treatment.

It cannot be expected that standard probation work will be realized until public opinion demands that the proper fiscal authorities of the state, county, or city provide sufficient funds to make available to the probation service of the courts adequate clerical help, modern equipment, and a sufficient number of probation officers. Whatever weaknesses exist in the present administration of the probation system are fundamentally due to the lack of social vision on the part of those who hold the public purse strings. It would be as logical for the destructive critics of probation to discard an automobile as unsound and useless when they refused to buy gasoline for it as it is for them to decry present probation methods when they will not provide the funds which are essential to the efficient operation of any organization.

*Probation handicapped by legal traditions.*—In addition to the difficulties which surround it through the negligence and disinterest of public authorities, probation finds itself allied too closely with the existing legal machinery and too often not accorded sufficient importance by court authorities. It sometimes finds its own efforts to reach a new era in the scientific handling of delinquents severely handicapped by hampering legal precedents, traditions, and conservative points of view. Obsolete principles of criminology and medieval theories of punishment, which have too often animated court procedure, have done

much to make rather difficult the general acceptance of such a socialized concept of justice as probation implies.

Our existent legal machinery was constructed for the most part before probation came on the scene, and since the arrival of this embodiment of the theory of individualized justice, progress has been slow in the alteration of this machinery so that the work of probation might be synchronized with a social and scientific procedure. There is perhaps no greater evidence of this than the fact that the probation officer all too frequently has considered himself first as a court officer and second as a social worker, with the result that in probation case work, supervision has been guided not infrequently by belief in force rather than in knowledge.

*Larger goals of probation not realized.*—As a brief examination of the field has shown, the larger aims and goals of probation are not recognized by a great number of probation officers, despite the fact that in a few isolated instances there exist probation bureaus whose work is commensurate with the standards of other social agencies. Potentially, probation represents an evolution in criminology far more important than any previous method of dealing with delinquents. Probation in its final analysis represents the faith of society and the belief of science in the possibilities of altering and reforming human character and the adjustment of the individual to society.

Merely giving the offender another chance is not probation. It is highly probable that he has already been given too many chances, and such a conception places upon him a responsibility in which he has usually lamentably failed. Showing his incapacity for self direction by his anti-social conduct, the offender is evidently in need of a vital, inspiring, constructive force in his life which has been lacking. This is the task of the probation officer. Probation is not so much supervision as it is intensive rehabilitative cooperation. Understanding and guidance, not repression and exhortation, are its keynotes.

The twin sciences of psychology and psychiatry have introduced to the art of dealing with human beings new knowledge which, if properly applied, is capable of making worthwhile contributions to the development of human character and the progress of social reform. To date, probation officers have been derelict in the appropriation of the findings and principles of these sciences. Consequently, unequipped with essential erudition, and possessing an inadequate and ineffectual knowledge of the problems they face and the solutions to them, their efforts toward the reformation of delinquent characters have too often failed. Unless probation officers and leaders can grasp the fundamental principles and the great vision of the scientific task of probation, their efforts will be little more than pathetic, and their dabbings with the delinquent will probably result in greater social wastage and injustice than might follow from even the devitalizing experience of a prison sentence.

*Probation a profession.*—Probation is a professional work, demanding spe-



cial aptitudes and intensive training both on the part of the executive and the probation officer. Higher ideals of methods and attainment have been evolved, requirements of diagnosis have become more searching and subjective, and the agencies and channels of rehabilitation have become more numerous and varied. For the probation officer merely to master the principles of advanced probation methodology requires a rich background of training and experience and intensive study under the guidance of executives of vision. The further mastery of the task at hand requires exceptional ability and persistence if high standards are to be met.

Above all, probation now demands the leadership of alert, capable, and well trained men and women who, by personality and the wealth of their experience, are qualified to transform archaic probation systems into scientific bureaus on a par with, or superior to, the finest types of social service agencies. It devolves upon judges and social leaders and those who are at present occupying executive positions to acquaint themselves with the most modern principles, practices, and resources of probation, to apply these to their own problems, and to endeavor further to establish new and finer methods of probation procedure.

Slovenly and haphazard probation work, antiquated in vision and method, can no longer survive public criticism and investigation. Probation must be of such a high quality that it will be beyond even the suspicion of ineffectiveness. Many probation leaders contend that the inauguration of modern probation methods is impossible because they are unable to obtain adequate financial support and to pay attractive salaries and purchase essential equipment. To these we would say that it devolves upon them as leaders and pioneers to bring to the public an appreciation of their wants and to present their claims and needs to the proper authorities in a manner that will obtain the necessary financial support.

*Probation and criminology.*—Probation occupies a strategic position for the diagnosis of the contributory factors of crime. From probation records kept in an efficient and business-like manner can be drawn invaluable data as to the various elements involved in the anti-social conduct of the delinquent. Through scientific research similar to that of the physician who studies the pathology of the body's functioning and is thus better able to formulate a program of preventive medicine, probation can in turn suggest the precautions to be taken and the constructive and progressive steps to be initiated in the prevention of crime.

Probation, dealing with abnormal conduct in its acute pathological state and touching behavior on such a great variety of points, possesses a unique opportunity for outlying and testing effective methods for the improvement and normalization of human conduct. It can, if properly carried on, function

not only as an invaluable aid to the court, but can also throw additional light on the problem of crime causation and treatment.

*Recapitulation.*—The future development of probation depends to a great extent upon the attitude toward it of the public and the public authorities. Should they continue a policy of condemnation without examination, it is evident that at the hands of a crime-inflated press and a hysteria-seized public, probation will not only be severely hampered in its efforts at bringing socialized justice to our courts, but will probably be so surrounded with prohibitions and taboos that it will become almost a negligible factor in our correctional machinery.

An educated public opinion, however, will be of inestimable service to the cause of probation and thus to the cause of justice and the scientific and rational handling of delinquents. It will demand that probation be given the support that will aid its progress and will further make it necessary that probation officers, who have often in the past been slipshod in their methods, keep abreast of modern scientific trends in the fields of character-understanding and development. A wise public opinion will appreciate the fact that probation has never been, and is not now, perfect, but will also understand that the theory of probation is essentially sound and worthy of preservation. It will note, too, that the theory has in many instances been successfully applied and that the high standard of work which has prevailed in one community can, under proper direction, be secured in another.

Probation has failed in many instances, but its percentage is less than that of our prisons and no higher than that of social and legal institutions. It must be said for probation that many of its difficulties have been directly attributable not to the system itself, but to maladministration and to the failure to realize in practice its theory and plan. Its difficulties have been those of the pioneer. If we are to strike the figure of probation from the legal scene because there have been instances in which it has not accomplished all that was expected of it, we should logically also abolish our police, our prosecutors, our courts, and our prisons.

What the teacher is to the education system, the probation officer is to the probation system. Probation is fundamentally a personal oversight and service. The searching for information, the counselling, the admonishing, the restraining, the encouraging, the aiding that go day after day and month after month to make up the real substance of probation, emanate largely from the probation officer. The intelligence with which the system operates, its sympathy, its grip, its true value, are for the most part what he makes it. If he is a pusher, the probation has push; if he is a sluggard, the probation is sluggish. If he possesses insight, knowledge, and adroitness, his methods are sensible, ingenious, and fruitful; if he is ignorant and unimaginative, his actions will be perfunctory and foredoomed to failure. This does not imply that the part

played by the judge is not important; it means that in the long run probation is chiefly what the probation officer makes it.

As our vision of socialized justice is enlarged and as we begin to appreciate more thoroughly the potentialities of the scientific method in a field where stupidity and a stultifying sameness of procedure have prevailed for ages, probation will become an ever more important factor in our court machinery. This change, however, will not be brought about by any sudden magic of the moment or any lightening-like awakening of those in the places of power. It will come only after a long period of error, repeated demonstrations of probation's value, and energetic campaigns by probation executives and others who are in a position to broadcast its results and findings to the world. But come it will, or we must return along the opposite path to the tortures, horrors, brutalities, and blunderings that were enshrined with the Goddess of Justice in other ages. Probation is today, and will be tomorrow, as successful as public authorities and probation workers permit it to be. Its progress or retrogression will be attributable, in the final analysis, not so much to probation itself, but to the intelligence and capability, or stupidity and incapacity, of those who guide its destinies.

For the probation officer, as an expression of what he should be, might have been written the noble words of Emerson:

The spirit only can teach. Not any profane man, not any sensual, not any liar, not any slave can teach, but only he can give, who has; he only can create, who is. The man on whom the soul descends, through whom the soul speaks, alone can teach. Courage, piety, love, wisdom, can teach; and every man can open his door to these angels, and they shall bring him the gift of tongues. But the man who aims to speak as books enable, as synods use, as the fashion guides, and as interest commands, babbles. Let him hush.

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### THE REHABILITATION OF DISABLED PERSONS

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*The historic background.*—Since the dawn of recorded history the human race as a whole has advanced through a series of attitudes toward those afflicted by disease or misfortune. These changing points of view can be roughly described as a succession of ages, some of them covering many centuries. The titles that might well be given those eras will serve here to describe the corresponding stages at which the world has arrived in dealing with the unfortunate, particularly "the lame, the halt, and the blind": the age of cruelty and elimination; the age of indifference and neglect; the age of pity and pauperism; the age of charity and individual responsibility; the age of social responsibility and experiment; and the age of constructive treatment of the dependent and the handicapped.

All of these attitudes still linger in the world. The savage tribes of the

dark places have never evolved beyond the first age. Some barbaric people are still in the second. Some civilized nations have attained the fourth. All self determining democracies recognize their social responsibility, within limits at least, for the dependent and the handicapped. Our own country has the honor of being the first to see the redemption of the disabled as a wise venture in human conservation and to begin the handling of it in a constructive way. This seeing and doing of things for the nation's handicapped constitutes the rehabilitation movement.

The justification of this movement for the more efficient social treatment of the disabled citizens of this democracy rests upon both humanitarian and conservation grounds. We have long recognized the first; we are beginning to carry out the plain implications of the second. Into the humanitarian attitude, plain pity, the spirit of human brotherhood and good will, a growing sense of responsibility for the welfare of others and the Christian obligation exemplified by the Good Samaritan have all entered and paved the way for a more scientific dealing with the problem.

It was inevitable that this growing solicitude for the unfortunate, which constitutes one of the richest, if not the richest asset of this democracy, would in time lead to the application of the conservation idea to their treatment, and substitute rehabilitation for relief. This conservation idea finds large justification—perhaps its largest justification—in a constructive program for the handicapped. Back of this program are such conservation policies as reducing the human waste pile, helping others to help themselves, the substitution of self help for dependency, the utilization of latent human assets, the practice of real economy in social relief, the removal of social discontent among the less fortunate, the building of a sounder foundation for society, the safeguarding of the future of this nation, and the promotion of the individual and collective efficiency of our citizenship.

The constructive period in the rehabilitation of disabled persons has passed through a number of stages. It began as private effort and experiment; advanced to public support and effort; and is now making rapid progress in a most needed cooperation between the two. It began in the more systematic treatment of the dependent handicapped and has added one by one the vital service of medical care and relief, economic help by placement, and the improvement of economic help by training, placement, and follow up. When public support supplemented private philanthropy, the public effort was first purely local, became a matter of state concern and has culminated in a cooperative scheme between the nation and the several states already so well under way that now private effort supplements the widening public program.

*The sources of present day rehabilitation* are most clearly set forth by Sullivan and Snortum in their timely book on *Disabled Persons—Their Education and Rehabilitation* published in 1926 by the Century Company. In that

comprehensive and authoritative work, from which I have not hesitated to quote freely, the authors give to three different movements the major credit for the rapid progress which has been made during the past two decades in our treatment of the handicapped: the rise of scientific social work, the movement to reclaim crippled children, and the spread of workmen's compensation.

*The rise of scientific social work.*—Half a century ago, charity organization societies arose in the United States, having as their declared aim "the avoidance of duplication, the procurement of relief and other treatment strictly on the basis of need, and the restoration of the dependent to independence wherever possible." For the purposes of this discussion, all this may perhaps be best expressed in the phrase, so frequently used by these societies, "Helping others to help themselves."

In their hands case work or service to each individual or family according to his or her best interests was developed into a technique. Under such circumstances, it was inevitable that at times efforts should be made to make some of the handicapped self supporting through placement, through provision of tools and occasionally through training.

Before the close of the last century a few charity organization societies established special bureaus for the disabled but these did little more than find such employment as they could for the disabled. Buried as they have been under the tremendous task of developing sound methods for those not disabled, the charity organization societies have as yet not developed the application of scientific charity to the handicapped as they can and should. They need to do this in cooperation with all the agencies now engaged in this work.

It is evident that the charity organization societies, now usually known as family welfare associations, contributed to the rehabilitation movement the case work technique and the ideal of striving to make an independent citizen out of a dependent.

*The reclaiming of crippled children.*—Custodial care of crippled children arose somewhat earlier but the effort to rehabilitate them so that they could carry on for themselves in later life started about the time when the charity organization societies began to "help people to help themselves." This service was developed just in proportion as orthopedic surgery and therapeutic measures improved. As early as 1863, the first hospital for the resoration of crippled children opened in New York, but it was not until thirty years later that the first school for such children having vocational training as its object was established in Boston. Four years later the first publicly supported institution of this kind was authorized by a Minnesota statute and by 1914 public school classes for crippled children were being operated in four large cities. By that date thirty-seven institutions for such children were in existence and since that time, thanks largely to the generous and intelligent way in which various fraternal orders and service clubs have interested themselves in the work, our provisions for these unfortunates has grown literally by leaps and bounds. The experimental work of the earlier ventures in this field showed, as was clearly pointed out by Edith Reeves in her book on the Care and Education of Crippled Children in the United States, that a wide variety of pursuits was feasible for the crippled and that a careful study should be made of the matter. In

commenting on this, Sullivan and Snortum conclude by saying, "The seeds of the vocational rehabilitation movement were therefore clearly present in the work for crippled children as well as interest in and development of orthopedic and therapeutic treatment."

*The spread of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents.*—Originating in Germany and spreading through Europe, this reform did not reach the United States until 1911, but after that date it quickly spread from state to state. Although slow to begin the compensation program here, the states did develop more rapidly than European countries the idea of the importance of the restoration to efficiency of the industrially disabled. The very first national meeting of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions (1914) declared one of its objects to be standardizing of "means for the reeducation of injured workmen and their restoration to industry" and later included within the scope of this objective all such things as restorative surgery, therapeutic treatment, bedside occupations, vocational advisement, vocational training, placement, and follow up work. To this association must be given large credit for its powerful support of the National Vocational Rehabilitation Act described at a later point. Without the cooperation of these accident boards and commissions in the various states, the reeducation work under the federal statutes could not have succeeded. Groups covered by compensation laws have had the funds with which to support themselves while in training and have been encouraged and stimulated to make their futures safe in this way, while in some of the states an additional stipend for support while in training has been made a regular part of the total compensation award. In the minds of those responsible for this service, rehabilitation both physical and vocational has become inevitable for the group covered by the compensation laws. Until we come to recognize the necessity and the wisdom of providing support while in training for those unfortunates whose handicaps are not the results of compensable accidents and who are without the means by which to support themselves while taking training to overcome their disability, compensation cases will continue to constitute the bulk of those who are being retrained at public expense for a renewed independence.

In my opinion, Sullivan and Snortum are correct when they regard two other very important happenings as stimulating factors in the rehabilitation work rather than sources of the movement itself. One of these factors was the movement for the reclamation of disabled service men and the other is the National Vocational Education Act.

*The effect of soldier rehabilitation.*—Contrary to common belief, the rehabilitation work for disabled civilians was well on its way before we entered upon this same work for soldiers but "the need brought about by the war did, however, give an impetus to the service for civilians and hasten by a few years



its onset." In pointing out the contrast between the situation in Europe and in the United States, Sullivan and Snortum say:

In European countries, the lessons of surgery, functional restoration and vocational readjustment that had already been learned in the workmen's compensation system were immediately applied to saving the human wreckage caused by the war. Similarly in the United States, there was a transference of benefits from the medical and therapeutic measures that had been evolved, but on the vocational training side nothing could be borrowed because it was just in its beginnings. A system of training had first, therefore, to be hurriedly created for the service men.

We are now engaged through state departments of rehabilitation in extending the same general kind of service in its various aspects to the disabled among the civilian population. Undoubtedly the national interest in the restoration of shattered soldiers to normal lives as self supporting citizens developed very rapidly the public sentiment that led our national Congress to grant federal aid to the states for the restoration of handicapped civilians.

*The vocational education act.*—The circumstances leading up to this Act have been so well stated by Sullivan and Snortum that I quote them in full:

The other development which had an influence upon the rehabilitation movement was the rise and growth of vocational education. As a nation wide movement this did not begin until 1913, when the National Society for the Promotion of Vocational Education was founded. As a system of national scope, it dates from 1917 when the Smith-Hughes Act was passed. This had many important provisions for vocational education which were later to prove useful for the purposes of the rehabilitation movement. One was the creation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. It was in effect a national agency separate from the overburdened and routine clogged departments, organized to conduct a states relation service involving matters of vocational education. A second provision was the one which resulted in the designation in each state of state boards for vocational education, thereby bringing into being a corresponding and fairly uniform machinery throughout the country for dealing with vocational education and affairs with such a content. The third important provision was the appropriation of federal aid to stimulate vocational education in the states. The creation of this machinery and the subsequent enlargement of vocational training work in the states gave the nation ready at hand a means for establishing a national system to train the war service men and later the civilian handicapped. It came at a fortunate moment for exerting profound influences upon rehabilitation. While not one of the sources, it should be credited with stimulating and hastening the founding of the system.

The national Vocational Rehabilitation Act adopted in 1920 which will be discussed more fully later makes grants to the states of sums of money according to their population to aid them in the reeducation of disabled civilians. In *Poverty and Dependency*, John L. Gillin declares,

This legislation of the United States for sighted wisdom and liberality has not been surpassed. . . . It contemplates that the laissez faire policy of the government concerning cripples shall be definitely abandoned, and a constructive effort made to place them on a self-supporting basis. Followed out a few years, it is probable that this law will show such constructive results that every state in the union will accept it, and thus we shall have a nation-wide attempt to rehabilitate the injured person, rather than leave him to the mercies of a dole-giving public.

*The founding of a national system.*—While the national legislation on the subject was not a source of the rehabilitation movement, it did nationalize the problem and the movement. Previous to its adoption a few states here and there had made beginnings in this service through state accident boards and otherwise. It is not possible here to give more than a very brief résumé of the provisions of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. It carries an appropriation of \$1,000,000 annually to the states to be distributed according to their respective populations. Whatever the state spends of its allotment must be matched by another equal sum contributed by the state for the maintenance of vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons and their return to civil employment. The act is administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the use of the federal moneys by any state is under the control and supervision of the State Board for Vocational Education which in most states is composed of the same members as the State Board of Education. Under the provisions of the federal statute, the funds allotted to the states are to be used for the vocational and not the physical restoration of beneficiaries, thus leaving to the states and local communities the duty of providing for the latter. Undoubtedly the Smith-Hughes Act commonly known as the Vocational Education Act had prepared Congress and the nation for the use of federal moneys for the training of the handicapped. Our fear of paternalistic legislation made it impossible to secure the appropriation of federal moneys for physical restoration—a service for which generally speaking we must still rely on private and semiprivate agencies. I do not hesitate to express my belief that the time will come when legislation will place the physical, as well as the vocational, rehabilitation of disabled persons within the scope of national and state support. Under the national act as well as under the state acts of most states, however, public moneys can be applied to every phase of training from prevocational experiences in hospitals to placement and follow up work after training for some specific occupation.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act nationalized the movement in many ways. It set up a most liberal definition of persons disabled who were to be the beneficiaries of the legislation.

Persons disabled shall be construed to mean any person who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, disease or injury, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation. . . . The term "rehabilitation" shall be construed to mean the rendering of a person disabled fit to engage in a remunerative occupation.

In all subsequent state legislation, these definitions were copied and thus gave us a broad and liberal policy that became almost at once nation wide.

Through the Federal Board for Vocational Education which also administers the rehabilitation act, a close cooperation was established with state boards for vocational education for developing the new service. A national advising

service was provided in the act by a special appropriation to the federal board, for making studies, investigations, and reports on vocational rehabilitation for the information of the states. To use the language of Sullivan and Snortum, both of whom have had long official experience in the administration of the act for Minnesota, "the diffusion of helpful ideas was facilitated but a cramping standardization was avoided."

Perhaps the most potent effect of the federal act in nationalizing the rehabilitative program was the stimulus it gave the states to undertake the new service. Indeed that was precisely what those who labored to secure its adoption by Congress hoped to accomplish most of all, and their hopes were justified. Within three years after Congress had acted, thirty-six states had accepted the benefits of the national legislation and were on their way to the development of programs suited to their respective and widely varying problems and conditions.

The magnitude of the problem from a national standpoint became apparent as soon as the matter was presented to Congress. The figures presented were so startling that they disarmed all opposition to the argument that something must be done in a national way to aid the states in undertaking its solution. At the Congressional hearing, Charles H. Verrill, a member of the United States Employees Compensation Commission, whom I regard, along with the authors of the book *Disabled Persons*, as one of the most conservative and trustworthy statisticians in the country, gave it as his estimate that approximately 14,000 permanent disabilities occur among American wage earners every year so serious as to make them industrial cripples.

As these disabled are on the average between 30 and 33 years of age, we may reasonably assume that on the average these industrial cripples might continue to be wage earners for a period of 20 years. This is very conservative, I think. If this assumption is correct, it follows that the number of such industrial cripples existing at the present time in the United States who might be wage earners is approximately 280,000.

These figures, of course, do not include those disabled from the effects of disease or congenital condition.

For the purposes of the federal board an official conclusion had to be made as a measure of the situation which it faced in the administration of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. This conclusion was set forth by Miss Tracy Copp in a paper read at the National Conference of Social Work at Toronto, in 1924. These conclusions are paraphrased here by taking from them certain statements: "Available accident statistics indicate that each year 180,000 persons suffer permanent physical disabilities from public and industrial accidents." Those disabled by disease or congenital condition "probably would raise the total to 225,000 per year." "Of course, not all of the 225,000 disabled persons have vocational handicaps." "However, information at hand seems to indicate that at least 50 per cent of the group are vocationally handicapped. This makes 112,000 each year. Experience has shown, however, that not all need the as-

sistance of the state rehabilitation service. . . . A fair deduction on account of those who are not susceptible of rehabilitation and of those who do not need assistance out of public funds would appear to be 25 per cent." The problem then becomes one of rehabilitating annually 84,000 persons disabled vocationally and in need of rehabilitation.

Any studies of the various estimates that have been made by different persons leads back to such conclusions as these: All of them show that the problem is greater than most persons, even social workers, recognize. Even in the years we were engaged in the great war, our toll of disabilities from accident and disease back home was greater than those resulting from our casualties on foreign battle fields. During any decade of peace in this land, the shattered victims of a proud industrial age dwarf in their number all the havoc which all the infernal mechanism of war wrought on American soldiers, sailors, and marines during the recent great world conflict. The resulting social cost and social waste from unemployment and dependency staggers the imagination. Any problem of such magnitude cannot be ignored and every consideration of social justice and social economy calls for remedial action. The facts are known, the situation has been analyzed, a program has been formulated and the need and feasibility of the service have been demonstrated. We shall get ahead from the vantage ground thus far won only as all the forces interested in the constructive relief of the unfortunate recognize both the importance of the rehabilitation service and the soundness of the principles upon which it has been founded. These forces cannot then do otherwise than make common cause with those specially engaged in that service. Then will come the fulfilment upon which it waits.

A remarkable record of achievement has been well summarized by Sullivan and Snortum:

The achievement has been a remarkable one. In a period of a very few years rehabilitation has been written into the public policy of the great majority of the states and the federal government. The tradition of ages that the disabled are worthless has been discarded.

Nor has vocational rehabilitation been the only phase to receive impetus. Although almost all of the laws were restricted to vocational rehabilitation, the agencies usually found that they needed a physical rehabilitation system to articulate with theirs. They have set about promoting, organizing, or stimulating such activities. They have also found that supplementary legislation or changes in public policy were required. They set about securing such things. They fostered amendments to compensation acts providing for increased medical service, for artificial members, for special compensation during training, for eliminating discrimination due to second injury hazards, and the like. They sought disabilities. They effected coordination with other departments that were doing work for special classes of the handicapped. . . . The United States has embarked upon the most far-reaching program for the handicapped ever undertaken in human history, and the effects cannot be measured by any official statistics on the number rehabilitated each year.

Every man and every social reform has a creed to guide it. If I were writing the credo of the rehabilitation movement, I would state it in terms of

three main considerations on which to me it is founded: social justice; social wisdom; and social economy.

The social justice of the program can be set forth in part at least in these propositions: first, if it be social justice to give every man an equality of opportunity to make the most of himself, then there cannot be even the beginnings of real social justice for disabled persons until they have been given an opportunity to have their physical and vocational handicaps removed as far as this may be possible; second, if it be social justice to provide every citizen, when necessary, with the necessities of life at public expense, then it is also social justice to remove all the physical handicaps at public expense, which prevent him from providing such necessities for himself; third, if it be social justice to support the handicapped men at public expense, then it is also social justice to equip him with the vocational assets at public expense by which he may support himself and those dependent upon him; fourth, if it be social justice to provide the undischarged youth with vocational advisement at public expense, then it is only social justice to provide at least the same kind of service in the same way for the benefit of disabled youth and disabled men; fifth, if it be social justice to assist normal men at public expense to secure employment, then it is also social justice to render this same service at public expense for handicapped persons; sixth, if it be social justice to provide normal men with expensive training out of public funds which will equip them for self dependent careers, then it is social justice to do the same thing for disabled men; seventh, if it be social justice to provide for the rehabilitation of disabled men in this democracy, then there can be no real social justice for this group until the rehabilitation program has been developed in every state so that it serves the needs of every handicapped person in this democracy; eighth, if the complete rehabilitation of the handicapped man requires, as it does, both physical and vocational rehabilitation and if these in turn include, as they should, proper medical and surgical care, therapeutic training, prevocational training, vocational advisement, vocational training, placement, and follow up, then there can be no equality of social justice among handicapped persons or for handicapped persons, unless and until any and all these services are provided for every disabled person who needs them.

The social wisdom of the program can also be set forth in such statements as the following: first, if it be social wisdom to train non-disabled persons for economic independence, at public expense, then it is also social wisdom to train disabled persons for economic independence at public expense; second, if it be social wisdom to spare no effort and no expense in our attempts to rehabilitate morally those who have committed crimes against society, then it is also social wisdom to provide at public expense for the rehabilitation, physically and vocationally, of disabled persons, who have committed no crime, and this policy is justifiable also as a preventive measure which protects them against the neces-

sity of committing crime; third, if it be social wisdom to provide custodial care at large public expense for those unable to care for themselves, then it is also social wisdom to use public money for the rehabilitation of disabled persons so that they can take care of themselves; fourth, if it be social wisdom to use public money for the development of the interests, the aptitudes, and the abilities of normal people so that they can make their contribution to this democracy, then it is social wisdom to follow the same policy in the treatment of the disabled; fifth, if it be social wisdom to use public money for the rehabilitation (physical and vocational) of handicapped people through custodial care and training, then it is also social wisdom to do the same thing as constructive out-relief for those disabled persons who can best be served in this way; sixth, if it be social wisdom to use public money for the support of handicapped people in custodial institutions while they are undergoing physical and vocational rehabilitation, then it is also social wisdom to use public money for the support of such people while they are receiving proper physical and vocational restoration, outside of such institutions; seventh, if it be social wisdom to alleviate social unrest in large groups of our population by special provisions for their temporary relief in time of special distress, then it is also social wisdom to apply this same policy to disabled persons by providing constructive relief for them in their physical and economic distress; eighth, if it be social wisdom to promote the individual and collective efficiency of our citizenship, then it is also social wisdom to promote that of our great group of handicapped persons by the only program which will open the door of opportunity to them—physical and vocational rehabilitation; ninth, if it be social wisdom to reduce the human waste pile by the special treatment at public expense of special groups, then it is clearly social wisdom to do this by a special and widespread program for our great army of disabled citizens; tenth, if it be social wisdom to invest as deferred dividends public funds in the preparation of favored groups for future usefulness, then it is social wisdom to follow this same policy in dealing with disabled citizens.

The social economy of the program rests upon such considerations as these: first, if it be social economy to help people to help themselves, then the rehabilitation program for the disabled is wise social economy; second, if it be social economy to cure or to prevent social dependency rather than to merely alleviate it, then the restoration of handicapped persons to economic self help is wise social economy; third, if it be admitted that the ultimate cost of continued doles for dependent, disabled persons and those dependent upon them is far greater than the temporary larger expenditures of moneys to make such disabled persons self supporting, then the latter policy is the wisest social economy; fourth, if it is social economy to provide support for disabled persons while in training for economic independence in order to avoid the larger social cost of permanent dependency, then such support should not be denied by pri-



vate agencies on the ground that "it costs too much" or by public agencies because of the traditional fear that "it goes too far as a paternalistic policy." In either case the money expended for support is an economic use of funds and whatever prevents permanent dependency is in the end a *laissez faire*, and not a paternalistic policy; fifth, if it be admitted that the only way to insure the rehabilitation of disabled persons is to provide for them, in so far as each may require, the complete round of services, which the best experience has found necessary—proper medical and surgical care, therapeutic training, prevocational experience, vocational advisement, vocational training, support while necessary when in training, and placement and follow up—then any other policy is not wise social economy; sixth, if this be true, then piecemeal, spasmodic, partial, or narrow treatment of the case is false economy; seventh, if this be true, then any effective program of rehabilitation for disabled persons can never be a series of isolated helps but one total service that must function in complete restoration as far as the handicap in any given case will permit; eighth, if this be true, then although the services to be rendered the disabled man must of necessity be discussed separately and to a large extent performed separately, they constitute only phases of this treatment, all of which must be interrelated. The service should be a unity of services, each playing its distinct and valuable part in the complete program planned for restoration.

*The part of the social worker in the movement.*—What can social workers do to aid the rehabilitation program? For some unaccountable reason this work has been very slow in securing the recognition it deserves from the social agencies of the country. For more than a decade the subject has been a live topic at many state and national gatherings of educators, business men, labor unions, and accident and compensation boards. This is the first year, however, that any discussion of the problem has ever been provided for on the main program of this conference. This is all the more strange when we remember that the charity organization societies, as has already been stated, gave the rehabilitation movement both its case work technique and its principle of help to dependents as restoration to independence. Certain it is that those engaged in the rehabilitation of disabled persons are working in a common cause and carrying out common principles, with all those concerned in any way with dependent people. All this argues that the two groups should get together and learn to cooperate more closely in their common task.

There is one thing which social workers should do at an early date and that is give substantial and winning support to the Rehabilitation Act. Its provisions have already been discussed. This act became effective June 2, 1920. Unlike the Vocational Education Act which carries an appropriation without date and therefore insures, until its repeal, continuous funds for the training of normal people, the Rehabilitation Act authorized such appropriations for a fixed period of four years only. In 1924, when the altruistic sentiment had

greatly ebbed under the constant pressure for retrenchment, the renewal of this act for a period of six years was accomplished only with extreme difficulty. While this was undoubtedly accomplished with the hearty good will of all social workers and the active support of social workers here and there, it must be admitted that the extension of the federal subsidy was due far more to educators, trade unionists, employers, and the like than to any organized effort on the part of social workers. Certain it is that the organized social agencies of this country gave far more support to the federal maternity bill than to the rehabilitation bill. This is probably due to their lack of understanding of the importance of this measure. Unless we want to see the second great constructive social measure go into the same wastebasket with the maternity act, social workers through their organizations should now take up the cudgel in its behalf. They should pass resolutions which demand in no uncertain tone the continuation of the federal subsidy to the states under the Vocational Act, until the states have had a chance to get the new work fully established themselves. The withdrawal of the federal appropriation would be disastrous to the cause in which we are all interested.

Those specially engaged in social work of any kind should know about the rehabilitation movement. They need to read Sullivan and Snortum's book on *Disabled Persons—Their Education and Rehabilitation*. They need to become not only thoroughly sold on the great value of this work but they need to recognize that it is only part and parcel of exactly the same cause in which they are themselves engaged.

Social workers can do many things to help. They can speak a good word for the state work to the laymen with whom they come in contact. They can get in touch with the State Department of Rehabilitation. By all means, the State Department of Rehabilitation needs to get in touch with them. We need to educate each other. Meetings need to be held; conferences need to be called; cooperative efforts of every kind need to be set up. All these things are necessary not only in order to educate a sound public sentiment regarding the problem, but to secure the efficient performance of the task. Well might those engaged in the rehabilitation movement say to all social workers, local, state, and national: "Come over into Macedonia and help us." To this cry, there should be added what was implied in Paul's appeal, when you do, you will at the same time help yourselves.

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## REHABILITATING THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

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The government effort, federal and state, to rehabilitate the physically handicapped is entering upon the second stage of its development. The Federal Act making an appropriation to the states to undertake the work became a

law on June 2, 1920. Thirty-eight states now have bureaus of rehabilitation in the state departments of education, three states have been engaged in the work for more than six years, nine for five and a half years, nineteen for five years and seven for two years. There are 147 persons employed in supervision and field work. In each of eight states there is only one field worker, but in the remaining thirty the staffs range from two to twenty. The first stage has been one of promotion, organization, and an initial experience. Since the movement was started, approximately 25,000 physically handicapped persons have been returned to gainful occupations by these governmental agencies.

In order to determine the real value of the service and to discover weaknesses and establish sounder policies and better methods, the states are now engaged in making a review of the first four years' work, visiting each rehabilitant whenever he can be found and ascertaining from him or from others how successfully he has been able to carry on. Reports of each case reviewed are to be sent to the Federal Board for its study, from which it is expected that the states will receive much useful information to improve the service.

*Review Buffalo District.*—Table I shows the status of 369 rehabilitants for the years 1921-25 of the Buffalo District at the time of review. The average weekly wage at time of rehabilitation was \$20.38 and the average age, thirty years.

EMPLOYED WAGES			OUT OF DISTRICT		CONVAL.	DEAD	NOT EMP.	NOT FOUND	TOTAL
Inc.	Same	Deccr.	Prob. Emp.	Prob. Not Emp.					
146	46	32	46	8	18	15	12	46	369
40%	13%	9%	12%	2%	5%	4%	3%	12%	100%

The figures in Table I indicate that physically handicapped persons, skillfully handled, and returned to employment are quite as stable as normal workers and perhaps as large a number are increased in wages. Buffalo is a good district in which to measure the value of rehabilitation as it includes a large industrial center with a mixed population, and also several small cities, many towns, and rural sections.

*What is rehabilitation?*—Perhaps at the outset, it is well to define the word rehabilitation as used by the government. The law says, "Rehabilitation shall mean the rendering of a person physically handicapped fit to engage in a remunerative occupation" and it defines a physically handicapped person to be "one who by reason of a physical defect, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury, or disease is or may be expected to be totally or partially incapacitated for a remunerative occupation." This is quite a wide and compre-

hensive definition of the physically handicapped, but most state acts limit the definition by excluding aged or helpless persons requiring custodial care, the epileptic and feeble-minded, persons confined in penal institutions, and in some states the blind, and leaves with the rehabilitation authorities to determine what persons otherwise within this broad definition may be susceptible of rehabilitation.

The acts contain many specific and flexible provisions which are to be used in developing the rehabilitation process. These include the social service that is necessary, therapeutic treatment, artificial appliances, special training courses, vocational advice and guidance, and placement in jobs. While the law declares that rehabilitation means rendering a physically handicapped person fit to engage in a remunerative occupation, the administrative agencies have added fitting of the handicapped into jobs to determine their rehabilitation.

*Not all susceptible.*—We have discovered by experience that not all the physically handicapped who are eligible under the law are susceptible of rehabilitation and that a large number who might profit by the service do not care to accept it. Many workers receive injuries or are so disabled by disease that they go through life with a vocational handicap but who, by their own initiative and the assistance of friends and employers, return to work when they ought to accept the help of the rehabilitation agencies to acquire a new skill for a different and better occupation. On the other hand, there is a large number of physically handicapped of all ages who are not susceptible of being rehabilitated. When the work was started, it was quite natural that many of these should be referred to the bureaus. Social agencies, insurance adjusters, employers, physicians, and surgeons all knew of badly crippled people whom they referred for help. It was necessary to interview them at the offices or in their homes and frequently workers undertook to do the impossible. The lack of discrimination in referring cases was illustrated by an insurance adjuster who insisted that work should be secured for a man, sixty-five years of age, who had fallen from a scaffold and received such severe injuries to his back, knees, feet, and face that he was hardly able to walk with the aid of a cane, and when seated in a chair, needed the assistance of others to arise. The adjuster brought the case to repeated hearings of the compensation officials insisting that the old man still had a working ability and his compensation should be reduced. He tried to load on to the rehabilitation service something that the best physicians and surgeons in the city could not do because the worker's body had been so badly shattered that he could never be reconstructed and brought up to the standard of anything like normal physical activity. But it was necessary for a rehabilitation worker to determine by actual trial that the man was unemployable and a permanent total liability for the insurance company to carry.

This same adjuster did not recognize that a young man only twenty-three

years of age, who fell as a structural iron worker and was left with a badly disabled left arm and stiff elbow, which would be a vocational handicap for the rest of his life, was a suitable case for rehabilitation. The young worker was full of pluck and did not know that his disability would be a permanent hindrance to him in following his trade. He received proper medical and surgical attention, of course, and they paid his compensation, and when he could return to any work, they wished his case closed with nearly all of his life before him, but with a stiff elbow, which made it necessary for him to be trained for some other job than that of an iron worker.

In almost every state the futile effort has been made to rehabilitate the home-bound crippled, the so-called "shut-ins," many of them with bright minds and winsome personalities, who have been disabled by diseases of various kinds. Many of these are young people and they have been especially appealing to the rehabilitation workers. A great deal of time and effort have been put forth to train them only to find that the rehabilitation service had to become a sales agency for articles made in the home and that at best the disabled person could earn only a few dollars a week. Perhaps they are engaged in remunerative occupations, but hardly in the meaning of the rehabilitation law.

No doubt these illustrations are sufficient to indicate that both under the law and by the nature of the work, the rehabilitation service must carefully select the physically handicapped which it should serve. The law sets up a definite objective, viz., remunerative occupations, and it also excludes certain types of disabled people who cannot be placed in normal employment. The law further places upon the administrative officials the responsibility to exclude types of cases which experience demonstrates are not susceptible of being restored to positions of self support.

This service is not an extension of the charitable functions of the state, but it is a distinct effort to restore and conserve the working ability of those who have received a vocational handicap by accident, disease, or congenital defect, but which handicap may be overcome by advice, training, guidance, and placement in suitable occupations. Many crippled people are so helpless that they cannot work at all, or only part time, or in their homes. They should be assisted by other agencies than the rehabilitation service.

Experience has demonstrated that a more careful selection must be made or the service will break down and in a few years be discarded as a governmental activity for there are sufficient agencies in most states to care for the crippled people who are not susceptible of rehabilitation without establishing another agency in their behalf. This does not mean that rehabilitation will be easy. When workers meet with bodily injuries which prevent their returning to their former occupations, the handicap is usually serious and involved and they require many forms of service to enable them to surmount the handicap.

*Five handicaps to be overcome.*—First of all, there is a lowered morale.

The workers are injured not only in their bodies, but in their minds and are depressed in spirit. The medical and surgical service needed to restore them physically is but the beginning of their rehabilitation. They must be restored to an attitude of hope and cheerfulness and be encouraged to engage again in a remunerative work. Often the upbuilding of the morale of the physically handicapped is the most difficult and also the most necessary part of their rehabilitation.

Second, when an industrial worker loses a hand, arm, foot, leg, eye, or suffers a serious bodily injury, this physical disability requires a complete reorientation in industry before the person can become a normal worker. This may be accomplished by a course of training, the learning of a new operation, a skilful adaptation of the remaining members of the body to a trade, but it always involves the forming of new habits and methods of work.

Third, most industrial workers who suffer bodily injuries have received usually but a meager education and have only a limited knowledge of industrial opportunities. Having followed one or two lines of work for several years and being habituated to such tasks, when they are disassociated from the work in which they have become skilful, they are frequently at a total loss to think of any other opportunities which they might find in industry. The door of opportunity seems closed to them.

Fourth, added to the lowered morale, loss of hope, and lack of knowledge of other occupations, they often find themselves confronted by involved questions of compensation and medical and surgical attention. Seriously injured in body, without work, without income and apparently without an opportunity, a complex of fear overtakes them lest they should lose their compensation, be permanently disabled, and never again be able to earn their livelihood. It is difficult for one who has never had such an experience to appreciate how genuine and deep seated this fear of helplessness becomes in some of the physically handicapped.

Fifth, perhaps public opinion about the physically disabled is one of the greatest handicaps which has to be overcome. Injured individuals may have friends and an occasional employer who will encourage and assist them to return to gainful occupations, but public opinion as a whole has not dealt very wisely or hopefully with the physically handicapped. The injured worker is often made skeptical of his ability to render satisfactory service because the general public assumes that it would be impossible for him to do so. He has lost his place in the industrial order by losing a part of his physical strength and skill. At best, he must be an odd job man and never again hope to compete with normal workers in the standard industries or business. Unfortunately, this is the common judgment of society concerning the physically handicapped which reacts discouragingly upon them.

*Attitude of employers.*—The attitude of employers toward the physically



handicapped is one of sympathy for the individual but a dislike to employ any considerable number of them. Employers want standard workers, which usually means workers without physical defects, and they can only be induced to accept those who have suffered physical disabilities by being assured that they are competent to render satisfactory service. Many large companies are accepting gladly the rehabilitation service in behalf of their own employees and are cooperating in a generous fashion to restore them to employment. The majority of physically handicapped persons, however, meet with their disabilities in small industries and it becomes necessary for the service to be versatile and have a wide knowledge of small industries where many opportunities can be found for the physically handicapped. This does not mean the traditional jobs as watchmen, gate keepers, and street peddlers, but real occupations in the many small establishments and specialized industries. There must be a wide distribution in industry of the trainees of the rehabilitation service. They can no more be absorbed by industry in groups than they can be trained in groups. Of 6,000 rehabilitants studied by the Federal Board, it was found that they were engaged in more than 600 different occupations.

*Training.*—Rehabilitation is best accomplished when in addition to all else that is done for a physically handicapped person he be given definite training for a specific job, either in a trade, technical, or business school, or by a tutor, and frequently by a foreman in a plant.

The review now being made indicates that the rehabilitation service must place more emphasis upon training for specific jobs as those who were trained and then placed in positions have been more securely and satisfactorily employed than those who were placed in employment without training. Perhaps 50 per cent of the physically handicapped who are eligible under the law and who are susceptible of rehabilitation cannot or will not take formal courses of instruction because of age, economic conditions, and mental attitude. The best that can be done for them is a piece of skilful social work by adjusting compensation questions, advising in regard to health and artificial appliances, family conditions, and employment relations. The danger, however, in this phase of the work is that rehabilitation may become mere job finding without due attention being given to health conditions, social surroundings, vocational ability, and proper placement. The result has often been brief employment, lowered morale, disappointed employers, and a general adverse attitude toward the physically handicapped.

Experience has shown that more attention must be given to the physical condition of the physically handicapped. It is useless to train around the handicap when good surgery or medical treatment would remove it. Rehabilitation workers from the first have availed themselves of the advice and assistance of physicians, surgeons, and hospitals, and enduring results make it imperative that the health factor in rehabilitation must be further emphasized.

*Case work methods.*—As already intimated, rehabilitation is accomplished by the principles and methods of social case work. Each physically handicapped person presents a number of problems which must be carefully analyzed, well understood, and skilfully handled in relationship to the individual, his family, his physician, his compensation, and his employer. When they are placed in schools for training, not many of them will be in the same school or take the same course of instruction. An individual complex technical service must be rendered by the rehabilitation agent.

*Qualifications of workers.*—Perhaps there is no form of government service which requires a more varied experience in workers and more sterling qualities in order to accomplish good results than is needed in the rehabilitation service. This also has been demonstrated by the initial period through which we have been passing. Most of the workers engaged in the various states have been drawn from the field of vocational education, social work, and safety work in industry. Many of them had a background of experience equipping them to be skilful, but on the whole, we have all had to learn on the job.

In most states the workers have been selected through the civil service. Qualifications for the work have been established by the Civil Service Commission. The standards set up in New York were as follows:

District Director. Salary \$4,000 to \$4,750. Appointees will have charge of the administration of district rehabilitation offices. The duties will include the advisement of disabled persons in regard to suitable occupations, the development of suitable training courses, and the supervision of training, placement, and follow-up work, and will involve office management as well as the development of cooperative relationship with industries, medical, civic and social agencies. Candidates must have the equivalent of a high school education and additional credit will be given for additional education and training. They must have had actual practical experience in industry and must have had a total of not less than five years of successful experience in at least two of the following groups: (a) administrative work in industry or commercial business; (b) industrial safety supervision requiring a knowledge of workmen's compensation insurance; (c) the organization or supervision of day or evening vocational schools or classes, and social work including case work experience; (d) organization and case work experience in industrial rehabilitation; (e) administration of social work with case work experience.

Qualifications for assistants who are paid from \$2,500 to \$3,000 are similar to those for a district director except that the rank in position is not as high and the experience three years instead of five.

It will be observed at once that these are rather high qualifications and that only a limited number of people would have them. We have discovered that no one line of experience is sufficient. Training in social case work is an asset but most social workers do not have a broad and intimate knowledge of industry. Experience in vocational education is a help but few vocational teachers have been trained in social case work and have little experience with the maladjustments of life. Successful experience in industrial safety, perhaps, more nearly qualifies one to be a good rehabilitation worker than any other spe-

cific occupation as it involves an intimate knowledge of industry, the handling of workers individually and collectively, preventing accidents and dealing with the results, and also a knowledge of workmen's compensation. But unless a safety man becomes an all round case worker, he does not succeed in rehabilitation. Case workers plus are needed. They must have a practical knowledge of the rehabilitation laws, workmen's compensation laws, a working knowledge of medicine and surgery, of practical educational facilities, be good psychologists, grounded in case work principles, cooperative in spirit, having a growing knowledge of employment opportunities, ability to meet with employers, and a practical judgment and economic sense which will keep them from attempting the impossible and fail of the objective. Perhaps more important than any line of experience which people have had is their character, and a genuine sympathy for the physically handicapped and a belief that it is just and right for them to have an opportunity to earn their own livelihood. Without integrity of purpose and a sustained inner motor power, one would not stay in the rehabilitation service longer than he can find an opportunity to do something else. In a peculiar sense courage, faith, and hope must pass from the worker to the physically handicapped. Rehabilitation cannot be accomplished by a cut and dried formula. Ingenuity, imagination, sympathy, and perseverance must be constantly at work.

A promising factor in this rehabilitation effort is the fact that most workers entered the service with enthusiasm and have been imbued with the real spirit of service in trying to accomplish something worth while in a baffling and difficult field. This speaks well for a public effort but there is always the danger of a public service becoming standardized, perfunctory, and routine, without enthusiasm and growing effectiveness.

*Training centers.*—When the study of the first four years of rehabilitation work has been completed and the findings are published, it is to be hoped that the schools of philanthropy and perhaps some of the universities will establish training courses for those who are engaged in the rehabilitation service and for others who may care to enter the field. As it requires a year or more to train an intelligent young woman of good character to become a visitor or assistant in a family welfare society and at least three years to be made a district superintendent, how much more intensive and thorough must be the training of rehabilitation workers who are to deal with the complex factors of health, compensation, vocational advice and guidance, training and placement of the physically handicapped. The best training for workers may be on the job, but it needs to be supplemented at least with short courses, well wrought out and carefully taught by experienced people in the schools of philanthropy and the universities. More good orthopedic surgeons must be furnished by the medical schools and hospitals, and an effort must be made to develop a new technique among those who serve the physically handicapped.

It is a difficult art to help a human being and it is twice difficult to help a crippled child or adult to surmount his handicaps. The problem is baffling and only practical skill sustained by enthusiasm and heartfelt interest will ever restore even the restorable cripples to the joy and usefulness of life. It is much easier to promote an enterprise or launch a movement than it is to administer one on a high standard of efficiency. It is the old problem of bringing our vision into focus with the realities of life and there causing it to function. I have seen many fine and promising programs go to pieces when the actual work was to be done. Perhaps one of our chief defects as a people is to formulate paper programs for the improvement of something in society, either by private or governmental effort, and then assume that the work was done when it was only begun. This danger inheres in the rehabilitation program; hence we should be on our guard lest the fine sympathy and enthusiasm which have been aroused should be permitted to evaporate and become perfunctory and useless for the lack of building up through training and experience a competent personnel to do the work which the country needs to have done; which the conscience and hearts of the people say ought to be done; and for which the pocketbooks of the people will provide the means if it is well done and merits a continuous support.

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#### INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

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Social welfare is variously defined to include everything from a protective tariff on toy balloons to judicial protection against legislative encroachment upon the natural and inalienable rights of women and children to contract freely to work for as long hours and as short wages as employers may choose to grant them. The elevation of the 16-inch guns on battle ships; the conservation of natural resources; the improvement of the rivers and harbors of Nevada and the Mojave Desert; the restriction and control of migration; research work in the production of poison gas and high explosives; workers' disability compensation and social insurance; and hundreds of other specific measures are all advocated as measures of social welfare. The field is so broad that only a small section can be covered within the necessary time limits. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks to a discussion of the general principles and a brief historical survey of the attempts to advance social and economic welfare through international action intended to affect wages, hours, and conditions of the workers in all countries.

Labor legislation is of two kinds: first, legislation designed to protect employers and the public by controlling, restricting, or prohibiting free movement association or action on the part of the workers; second, legislation intended to protect the workers and the public against exploitation or unfair treatment by employers. The first kind is a limitation upon the freedom of the worker, the second a limitation upon the freedom of the employer. Until the so-called industrial revolution, the first kind of restriction was the only kind of labor legislation on the statute books. When the new power machinery and the new economic doctrine of *laissez faire* had wrought their perfect work in England, the workers of that country were reduced almost to the conditions of slaves to the machines. The devices and tools which were proclaimed as the means to emancipate the workers became the means of their enslavement. The greed of the most unscrupulous and ruthless employers determined the wages, hours, and conditions of labor. In those days arose and flourished those business methods and practices which were formulated into the most pessimistic version of the Malthusian doctrine of population and its corollary, the iron law of wages. According to these disagreeable doctrines, the misguided employer who, through soft-hearted and soft-headed sentimentalism, committed the sinful folly of paying a wage above the subsistence level, not only wasted his own substance in senseless extravagance, but was guilty of unpatriotic conduct; disturbed the natural order of things; caused useless dissatisfaction among the workers of sane and sound employers; raised vain hopes; promoted the indulgence of expenditures for such demoralizing extravagances as shoes, stockings, and even meat; and, in the end, created a worse state of affairs than existed before, by thus subsidizing the workers to bring more children into the world, thus depressing wages to a still lower level and making the miserable lot of the miserable workers still more miserable. It seems hardly possible that men once believed such a grisly train of mutually exclusive evils could follow from such a small act of humanity. Small wonder that the new science of political economy was dubbed the dismal science!

At one point in the course of her marvelous adventures in Wonderland, Alice sagely remarks: "If things were different they would be quite otherwise." One of the most otherwise of the different things that occurred to prevent the industrial revolution from being still more revolutionary was war. Had it not been for the diversion of the French Revolution and its aftermath, the Napoleonic Wars, the consequences of the industrial revolution would have been still more serious. In this period, political war proved to be an antidote to industrial war. The killing of men, the destruction of capital and consumption of goods, the diversion of production from economic to non-economic ends, tended to restore a semblance of balance to an economic system which had been knocked completely off its foundations by steam engines, cotton gins, flying shuttles, power looms, spinning frames, steamships, steam railroads. I do

not say that the Napoleonic Wars were a progressive beneficial influence. I do say, however, that the evils of economic and industrial war may be and have been almost if not quite as bad as the evils of political war, and that the two evils may act and sometimes have acted as antidotes or counter irritants to each other. Bad as were the conditions of labor in the early years of the nineteenth century, they would probably have been even worse had it not been for the depletion of man power and the artificial stimulation of demand for manufactured commodities because of the wars.

The first Factory Act of 1802 was a by-product of war. It is doubtful if this measure could have been forced through Parliament but for the support or acquiescence of the more enlightened employers who realized that the labor supply of the future was endangered by the uncontrolled and inhuman exploitation of child labor. This first beginning in the regulation of employment by social action seems pitifully small and trifling, considered in the light of present day restrictive legislation. The act forbade the employment of children under nine years, prohibited all night work by children, and restricted the hours of work for children over nine years old to twelve hours per day. These excessively feeble prohibitions and restrictions were made still more futile because they were limited to cotton factories. In woolen mills, chain factories, mines, and all other work places including the British home, women and children of both sexes and all ages were left full and unrestricted freedom to work as many hours for as little wages as the iron law of wages and the conditions of supply and demand in the labor market might dictate. Freedom of contract, whose sacred inviolability has to this day been preserved and safeguarded practically unimpaired within the borders of the United States, thanks to the somnolent vigilance of our judiciary, was thus destroyed in England, albeit at first only in cotton manufacturing. Lest we think that we are progressing at too high speed for safety, it is well to note that the arguments today set forth, the prophecies of calamities now foretold regarding restrictive, hampering labor legislation, are in substance the same old arguments and prophecies used in 1800.

Social action for the protection of the workers, which began in England in 1802, may be divided into two types: namely, national legislation and international agreements. At first, national legislation was confined to Great Britain; and British employers in opposing such legislative interference with their inalienable rights could only quote the laissez faire economists, the Malthusian doctrine, and the iron law of wages. When Belgium, France, and Germany began to use power machinery in manufacturing and transportation, these old arguments were reinforced by a new one, international competition. Of course international competition has always existed from the beginning of tribal societies; but the severity of competitive production costs in different countries was greatly emphasized by large scale machine production for foreign markets. It became increasingly evident that wages, hours, and conditions of employ-



ment could not be determined by a country for itself alone without reference to conditions in other and competing countries. The employers could and did maintain, with reasoning both sound and specious, the impossibility of restricting hours and improving labor conditions until rival countries enacted the same or similar restrictions.

In 1818, Robert Owen presented a memorial to the Holy Alliance at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in which he proposed that liberal policies toward the workers be undertaken in the several countries of Europe. This proposal was nearly twenty years in advance of the economic conditions of that time, and at least the same number of centuries in advance of the political and social philosophy of the Holy Alliance. It was not until 1840 that a serious attempt was made by an Alsatian, Le Grand, to arouse the attention of governments to the desirability and practicability of giving equal protection to workers in different countries by means of collective treaties among these countries. His efforts accomplished nothing, which is not astonishing since the employers were hostile, the workers helpless, and the governments utterly indifferent.

During the next half-century trade unions and socialist organizations grew rapidly and became powerful enough to influence the policies of most European countries. It is well known that Germany's experiments with state socialism were undertaken by Bismarck not out of any feeling of sympathy toward the workers, but as a means of taking the wind out of the sails of the socialists and radicals. But Bismarck had no comprehension of, nor sympathy with, the international movement for the social and economic advancement of the workers. He regarded social insurance against the hazards of sickness, work accidents, invalidity, and old age as strictly national measures, to be enacted for national ends to win the loyal support of the workers to the empire and to enable Germany to compete successfully and outdo her rivals. There is much sound economics and shrewd common sense in Bismarck's philosophy of state socialism which has apparently been ignored or lost sight of by the advocates of international action in recent years.

Switzerland took the lead in the international liberal movement during this whole period. It was through the efforts of Swiss citizens, Swiss officials, and the Swiss government that the first International Congress on Labor was agreed upon to be convened at Berne in May, 1890. As indicated already, Germany under the leadership of Bismarck had up to this time remained aloof or hostile to the international movement to improve the conditions of labor. Suddenly in February, 1890, ex-Emperor William II commanded Bismarck to invite the other European governments to send delegates to a conference to deliberate upon labor matters. With characteristic egotism the late emperor utterly ignored Switzerland and made no reference to the fact that all arrangements had already been made for this International Labor Conference. To her enduring credit, the Swiss government after all its years of effort, of agi-

tation, and of failure graciously stepped aside in deference to this new imperial champion of labor and liberalism. So the first International Labor Conference which was made possible by the efforts of Switzerland in spite of the indifference or hostility of the German government, instead of meeting as arranged in Berne under the auspices of the Swiss government, actually convened at Berlin on March 15, 1890, under the auspices of the German government.

The conference, representing fourteen countries, was composed of statesmen, diplomats, manufacturers, engineers, and one lone working man. Russia, although included in the conference arranged by Switzerland, was for some reason left out by the German emperor. After a fortnight of oratory and eating, the conference agreed almost unanimously upon six highly moral yearnings which were dressed up in virtuous verbiage in the form of "it is desirable" suggestions for the moral edification of governments and employers who might perchance be seeking for the pathway to perfect peace through pious platitudes. Disappointed critics are wont to condemn this first International Labor Conference as a failure; but it cannot be so classified. It was the beginning of international action which has culminated in the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the World Court. It was a necessary step in the development of international labor regulation. The net results up to the beginning of the great World War of a century of agitation and struggle for the advancement and protection of labor through international action were two international treaties finally drafted in 1906 and some thirty bi-partite agreements. These latter were treaties between two countries only and were concerned almost wholly with the granting to alien workers of the right to receive the compensation provided by law for native workers in case of disability due to illness or work accidents. One of the international treaties forbade the use of white or yellow phosphorus in the making of matches; the other prohibited night work of women. All these two-power agreements and these two international treaties were drafted after 1904. The original International Labor Office was established at Basel, Switzerland, in 1901, and the formulation and adoption of these international agreements were largely stimulated and aided by the office. The output of all these efforts is meager; it would probably have been nil, but for the old International Labor Office.

*The World War and the League of Nations.*—The World War in its four years of horror did more as a catalytic agent to advance social welfare than all the efforts of statesmen and philanthropists during the preceding century. Men were thoroughly scared and their fright drove them to make radical concessions in order to reestablish peace. Doubtless some of the politicians and so called statesmen who subscribed reluctantly to these concessions can be pretty accurately described by the old doggerel rhyme:

The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,  
The devil is well, the devil a monk is he.

The League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the World Court are the positive gains achieved through war. Since 1919, when the League and the International Labor Organization were established, in addition to immeasurable gains to social welfare through political, economic, and financial stabilization, the League has brought epidemic and endemic diseases under control; instituted a worldwide program of public health; made great advances toward the total abolition of slave labor; set up the means for protecting the people in mandated territories against exploitation; greatly reduced the traffic in women and children; made substantial progress toward the control of the traffic in narcotic drugs; outlined a program for reduction of armaments and the control of private manufacture and sale of arms and munitions; studied the problems involved in the distribution of raw materials; begun the task of standardizing statistics of labor, production and commerce; encouraged and protected intellectual cooperation. In fact there is no field which touches on social and economic welfare that is not covered by the League and the International Labor Organization.

Before the World War social welfare legislation and custom were almost wholly confined within national boundaries, and the enforcement of national laws was rendered extremely difficult or impossible by reason of the conflicting laws and regulations or lack of laws and regulations in different countries. The World War is blamed for all the ills society and individuals are suffering from. It is only just that the items on the other side of the ledger should be considered. But for the World War there would now be no League of Nations and no International Labor Office. The nations of the world would still be engaged unrestrainedly in the fearful game of military bluff and bluster. Competition in armaments, limited only by the capacity to borrow and the willingness of the people to bear the increasing burden of debt, would be the accepted policy in international relations. Secret diplomacy would whisper behind locked doors and turn out its crop of secret treaties intended to give the contracting parties an unsuspected advantage over other nations in peace and in the war which everybody knew was inevitable and nobody would believe must come. The politico-statesmen would burn the midnight kilowatt, laboring in their political laboratories in their idiotic efforts to solve the problem of political perpetual motion by a magic formula which would preserve the sacred "balance of power" at the same time that their own particular nation would be advanced to the position of preponderating importance and power, politically, economically, and culturally. The alchemists of old never worked more feverishly or more foolishly in their search for the fabulous philosophers' stone, than did these politico-alchemists in their endeavor to invent the fools' formula for achieving unlimited wealth through waste and destruction, peace through preparation for, and participation in, war, happiness through slaughter, national welfare through individual misery.

I sometimes doubt the sincerity of many who denounce the League of Nations as an instrument of the devil and declare it responsible for all the evils which afflict us to today. Those who bewail the evils of today and extol the good old ante bellum days, either have forgotten or never knew much about conditions before or since the war. I boldly assert that the world is a better world today than it was in 1914. The results which have followed the great war, while far short of what we hoped and dreamed for while the dreadful struggle was raging, are worth all and more than they have cost. The demolition of works of art; the destruction of producers' and consumers' goods; the slaughter of human beings; the intensification of human suffering; the recrudescence of blatant national patriotisms; the aggravation of race antipathies; the revival of bitter, violent hatreds growing out of long past wrongs; the deterioration of ideals; the decadence of moral sense and moral control, are heavy costs indeed, but they are more than counterbalanced by the benefits won. The war was a good investment. It created more than it cost. It was truly a war for democracy and for justice. And the war was won. It was not a war without victory—a war lost by all and won by none. It was won, not by the Allied and Associated Powers; not by Germany and her Allies; but by mankind. Our men and women did not sacrifice, suffer, and die in vain. They fought, served, and sacrificed for a great ideal, and although the victory was not complete, it was a victory. Had there been no war, there could have been no peace, no assembling of the nations around the council table for the purpose of dealing with the economic, political, social, and racial problems which have existed since the beginning of human society. Without the war there could have been no association of the peoples of the world into a great organization built up for the purpose of smoothing out difficulties and adjusting disputes which excite animosities and often lead to war.

War is so ugly that it is unnecessary to lie about it for the purpose of proving it an evil. Wars, with few exceptions, prove that out of evil only evil can come. Glancing rapidly over the whole course of human history, few indeed can be selected from the many thousands of bloody struggles fought by men, as having contributed to the advancement of mankind. Of all the wars ever fought the worst and the best is the great World War. Few people attempt to mitigate its unspeakable horrors. Many seem to be utterly ignorant of or oblivious to its inestimable benefits. The World War brought the possibility of world union. It may be that this great boon will yet be lost to mankind, that men will fail to realize the possibilities of order as against chaos. As the world stands today, however, an enormous balance exists on the credit side of the World War ledger. I am made weary by the lamentations of those who date all evil from the World War. It would appear from the Jeremiads uttered by some of our more hopeless pessimists that the world was "doing fine" until the Germans came along and broke up the ante bellum Paradise. The notion that

the world is as bad as possible and is growing worse at terrific speed is nonsense. All the evils now in the world were here before 1914 and in great abundance. One thing that puts our judgments all askew is the fact that we know so much more about the world today than we knew of that fools' Paradise in which we dwelt before the war. We have become wiser, disillusioned, dissatisfied, and somewhat alarmed at our potentialities for downright cussedness. We have become better acquainted with our neighbors—and with ourselves. The revelation is rather shocking to our self-esteem and to our peace of mind. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing. The less there is of it the more dangerous it is. Yesterday a few hundred bankers, business men, and politicians understood something and misunderstood vastly more about the relation of coal, petroleum, iron, wheat, and commerce to war. Today millions of men understand something of these relations.

It may well be that there is a larger quantity of evil in the world today than in 1914. Who can say, since no standard or unit for the quantitative measurement of moral qualities has yet been devised or even attempted. Whether there be more or less evil is a matter of no great significance. What is of great importance are the means available for combatting and controlling evil. I once heard an evangelist illustrate the phenomenon of conversion in this wise. He pictured a great inclined highway leading from highest Heaven downward to uttermost Hell. All along this great highway men were scattered, some plodding upward, others drifting downward, some moving slowly, others rapidly. The act or process of conversion consists in a person who is moving downward toward destruction making an about-face. He is no different morally just after conversion than before. Morally, he is the same man located at the same point on the moral highway. But there is all the difference in the world, for he is faced the other way. The progress he makes, every step he may take, will bring him onward and upward toward the light instead of bringing him further down toward the abyss of despair and destruction.

So it is with the nations of Earth. They have undergone the miracle of conversion. There has occurred, as a result of the Peace Treaty, a complete revolution in the methods of carrying on international affairs. The nations are today just as full of guile, greed, hypocrisy, and selfishness as they were in 1914, but they are faced the other way on the political highway. Every step onward now means a step upward, a step toward mutual understanding, a step nearer international tolerance and cooperation. It is a long, long road to the final goal of world union and universal peace, order, and good will; but we are on the way. The scoffers, the sophists, the pessimists, and the militarists have been thus far foiled in their efforts to strangle the infant League in its crib. If they can be prevented from setting the world on fire for yet another dozen years, international organization will have become better perfected and the habit of settling international disputes by peaceful, orderly conference instead

of unsettling everything by military force will have become more firmly established and we may hope for an enduring world unification.

*The International Labor Organization.*—The International Labor Organization is that agency created by the treaties of peace for dealing with those problems which concern labor exclusively or most intimately. The name is a piece of unhappy christening. In the United States, the International Labor Organization is frequently described as an international trade union. By some it has even been confused with the International Federation of Trade Unions. A few Americans, who should know better, have asked me to tell them why the Communists came to establish the International Labor Organization, and just how the organization is maintained by the Third or Communist or Red International, whose headquarters are at Moscow and whose identity is usually indistinguishable from that of the Central Government of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of Russia. The International Labor Organization has no more connection with workers' organizations than with employers' organizations. It has not even a speaking acquaintance with the Moscow International, which is bitterly hostile to the Organization, denouncing it as a tool of capitalism. Both employers and employees have equal representation in the International Labor Organization, while governments as such have as many representatives as both employers and workers combined.

The International Labor Organization was created by the Treaty of Peace and is maintained by the taxpayers of the member nations in order to establish more humane and equitable conditions in industry throughout the whole world. It is a public, official agency supported by the public just as much as the Department of State or of Labor in our own federal government. It is somewhat analogous to a great International Department of Labor and Industry. Certain Americans with high powered imaginations have tried to frighten their fellow citizens with considerable success by describing the International Labor Organization as a superstate possessing autocratic powers to compel the state governments, the employers, and the workers of the United States to obey its despotic decrees. It ought not to be necessary to refute this absurdly grotesque misrepresentation. It is possible that in the far distant future men may become so unified and civilized that the several nations and races of mankind will form a world state with power to enact and enforce international laws and regulations, thus realizing the prophet's vision and the poet's dream of "The parliament of man, the federation of the world." It is not worth talking about that remote possibility in these days of hectic national pride and passionate patriotism. Such a world union can only come about if and when the nations of the world are ready for it. If they ever become ready for union, the union will come, despite all the opposition of the Patrick Henrys and the Borahs of the past, the present and the future, and if it comes it will function just as our federal union of states functions through the power of public opinion.



The International Labor Organization is coordinate with the League of Nations, and is independent in its organization, work, and administration. The only link connecting the two organizations is a financial nexus. Each organization maps out its program of work and decides upon the amount of the budget needed to carry it out. These budgets must be submitted to the Financial Commission of the League Assembly for approval. The Financial Commission has never yet disapproved or changed an item in the Budget of the International Labor Organization, although it has often examined very searchingly into the program of work and the sums estimated. The Report of the Financial Commission is regarded by the Assembly as the Budget Bill of the League Administration and is adopted as a matter of course.

The organization of the International Labor Organization is quite similar to that of the League. The General Conference of the Organization, more commonly called the International Labor Conference, corresponds in the labor and industrial world to the League Assembly in the political and economic world. The governing body of the International Labor Organization is roughly analogous to the Council of the League, and the International Labor Office corresponds to the League Secretariat.

The bases of representation in the two organizations are, however, quite different. In the League the basis of representation is the state and as the delegates are selected by the governments only the official views of the governments are brought before the Assembly. In the Organization representation is based upon the three interests or parties participating in industry. Each nation is entitled to four delegates, two representing the government as the spokesmen for the public, one representing employers, and one representing employees. In the League, each nation *may* send four delegates, but each nation has but one vote. In the Organization, each delegate has one vote, so that delegations are often split. Sometimes the government delegates vote with the employers' delegate, sometimes with the workers' delegate. In a few instances employers' and workers' delegates vote together in opposition to their own government. This representation of different and often bitterly antagonistic industrial interests results in frequent open clashes and is fraught with considerable peril of disruption. However, if industrial-labor problems are to be dealt with frankly and constructively, this risk must be taken. The dangers under this new system of "open diplomacy"—"open agreements, openly arrived at"—are immeasurably less than under the old system of secret diplomacy or no diplomacy at all, under which wrongs were not only left unrighted but protests were rigidly suppressed and left to fester and breed hatred and the spirit of revolution. The clashes in the League Assembly and Council are between states or groups of states. The clashes in the conference and governing body of the International Labor Organization are between different interests which transcend national

boundaries and bring into sharp opposition the different policies and aims of governments, employers, and workers. The League occupies the limelight because it deals with the so called "political" side of international relations. Most of these "political" issues are really economic and social. After the novelty of the idea of meeting together and settling disputes by conference and mutual agreement instead of unsettling everything by war has worn off, the fundamental importance of the work of the International Labor Organization is bound to be recognized. The International Labor Organization will come to play a leading part in the breaking down of national and race prejudices and the formation of a true association of the various peoples of the world.

The functions of the International Labor Organization are: first, to gather and publish facts relating to industry and labor in all countries; and second, to adopt conventions laying down standards for employers and workers, for submission to the different governments. The former is, in my judgment, the more important, although the equalization of working conditions and labor costs is of great importance in the program of world stabilization and pacification. The meager attention given to the International Labor Organization in America has been almost exclusively centered upon the conventions. They have been called super-laws of a super-legislature. In fact, they are only drafts of treaties which must first be adopted by a two-thirds vote of the Labor Conference before they can even be submitted to the nations belonging to the International Labor Organization for such action as they may see fit to take. These conventions have no validity whatsoever until they are ratified by the competent authority of a nation, and then only in the nation or nations so ratifying.

As one indication of continuous and accelerating progress in social action it should be mentioned that since 1920, twenty-four draft conventions and twenty-eight recommendations have been agreed upon in the International Labor Conferences. Since there are fifty-six members of the Organization there should be, theoretically,  $24 \times 56$ , or 1,344 ratifications of these twenty-four draft conventions. Actually only about two hundred ratifications have been received by the office in Geneva up to the present. In fact, the situation is nothing like as unsatisfactory as the raw, uninterpreted statistics would seem to indicate. The majority of the nations are agricultural or undeveloped industrially so that less than half the conventions apply to all countries. Some other industrial countries like Great Britain have refused or refrained from ratifying the eight-hour day convention and other important conventions on the plea that their labor legislation already fulfils the terms of the conventions or goes beyond them and they do not want to be tied down to an agreement which cannot be changed for a period of ten years.

There is no doubt that the United States has benefited very considerably

because of the existence of the International Labor Organization. Labor standards in backward countries have been raised not so much by international agreement as by international public opinion acting upon national pride and opinion. Costs of production have been brought more nearly to a par with our costs and this has enabled us to hold some foreign markets that otherwise would have been taken from us.

The humiliating thing to an American with red, white, and blue blood in his veins and arteries is that the gains to our employers and workers and the enhancement of our national income have come to us free of cost as an "unearned increment" resulting from the successful efforts of the International Labor Organization to improve industrial-labor standards by means of its publications as well as through the draft conventions. We have done nothing to merit these benefits. We, through our government, have done nothing to help and much to hinder this work of international economic and social betterment. It is greatly to our advantage that the International Labor Organization should continue and flourish. Without it or some similar organization it will be difficult or impossible for us to maintain our higher standards of living, wages, and work against the low standards of the densely peopled low wage countries. Common sense, as well as common honesty, would indicate that our government should contribute at least as much as Great Britain, France, and Germany toward the support of the International Labor Organization, even though pride and prejudice should prevent our politicians from permitting the United States to join it.

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### SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMMIGRATION LAW

*Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago*

Some of you, I am sure, have had opportunity to attend the fine programs held in the Division on Immigration, where the speakers have taken up, case by case, the effect of the present immigration law on family life; where they have instanced broken families whose members were parted before the first law went into effect in 1921 and who have been unable to reunite themselves since. Because divisions of this Conference pass no resolutions, some of the members of this division have formed a temporary organization of their own which is going to petition the government of the United States that if no other way to unite these broken families can be found, the quota regulation be suspended in regard to them until this intolerable situation can be adjusted. There are about 173,000 of these so called "fireside relatives," people living in other countries dependent upon relatives in this country. The relatives include husbands, wives, parents, and children. We think that when the law was passed some provision ought to have been made for such cases. Every social worker who comes in contact with these broken families knows the im-

portance of doing something to reunite them. Many of them had been separated before the war, could do nothing during the years of broken down transportation, and before normal conditions were restored were placed under the operation of the quota law without warning. One man who found himself in this situation and could do nothing to adjust his affairs said, doubtless under great provocation, that the United States by this law was encouraging bigamy.

There is another aspect of the quota law in which we are all interested; the difference which a restricted immigration is supposed to make upon the economic life of the United States by the reduction of unskilled and surplus labor. The quota law was put through Congress largely on arguments based on that aspect. In the old days there was a curious relation between prosperous times and increased immigration and between depressed times and a lessening immigration. Many immigrants, for instance, came in the spring to work upon railroad construction and repairs and then went home to spend the winter. Thirty-eight years ago, when I first came to Hull House, many Italians went home every winter to save coal bills. In those days, an Italian could go from Chicago to Naples for \$26.00. Of course, the accommodations were not very decent, but it could be done. All this rough adjustment of immigration to prosperity has now come to an end. Under the quota an effort has been made to proportion the arrivals month by month throughout the year. The natural adjustment having been broken, some wise people are doubting whether there is not something to be said for the mobility of labor and for the increasing use of highly developed transportation facilities in contradistinction to the methods of shutting the gates. This aspect of the situation is for the economists to determine, and some of them, I am happy to say, are making a careful study of it. I think the economists themselves, however, have never sufficiently stressed the fact that the great number of immigrants formerly arriving resulted in an enormous mass of consumers. We forget that they ate a great deal, that they needed houses, that they bought an enormous quantity of shoes and of everything else.

At the opening of this Conference, we were told of the great difficulties encountered by the farmers of the Middle West, and especially this great state, that come from overproduction; that sheer plethora brings down the price of corn and of all other commodities. We are told that in this country of ours every person on the average eats about five bushels of grain in a year. Before the war approximately a million people a year were coming in as immigrants. If this number had been resumed after the war, if a million a year had entered since 1921 when the first quota law was passed, I leave it to you to calculate how much of the farmer's produce they would have consumed. It is certainly possible that they would have made an impression upon it! During the post-war period I went to Kansas on behalf of the Quakers who were still working in sections of starving Europe. At that moment many farmers in Kansas and Nebraska were using corn for fuel because they could not sell it. At a meet-

ing which I had been invited to address the farmers' associations of the state with the governor presiding, a speaker from West Virginia told them that the only thing to do was to cut down production, as had been done in his state by the cultivators of tobacco. He made a strong plea and begged them to determine what proportion of their land could advantageously be cultivated and then to stick to it. When my turn came I told of the shortage of food all over Europe and urged them to give all they could to the Quakers who were doing relief work in parts of the world where it was impossible for people to get enough to eat. The Quakers had rented a grain elevator at Wichita and were urging the farmers to fill it with their surplus. Finally, an old man in the audience arose and very impressively demanded that we have a "showdown" on this thing. He said, "These two speakers tell us two different stories, and what are we to do about it? Let's find out whether or not there is too much corn in the world and whether or not we ought to stop growing it." The two opposing views were thus put into a nutshell; but on this occasion we might add, let the people who need our surplus come here to earn money with which to buy it. We were earlier accustomed to have markets come to us, and there are all sorts of difficulties in disposing of our products across the water. This surplusage of raw material in America is one consequence of immigration restriction which ought to be considered by those who are here. It certainly has some bearing on the situation.

Another consequence of the immigration law brought out at the meetings of the Division on Immigration were the effect upon American life when European labor is withdrawn and new problems are raised by the large number of Mexicans who are coming in, and by the great changes in the lives of our colored people who have come from the south into northern industrial centers.

The increase of crime in relation to the younger immigrants was, of course, discussed in the Division and we were told by a careful professor that there is not an undue proportion of crime among immigrants or their children although those of us who come from large cities where the newspapers play up the crimes of the "foreigner," find this hard to believe. For instance, we have in Chicago a notorious situation with two sets of bootleggers between whom there has been a lively war. Part of it was the ruthlessness of early business when each gang was trying to get control of the sale of all the illicit liquor produced in a given area, for while it is comparatively easy to make illicit liquor it is a perilous matter to sell it. These two gangs of people almost exterminated each other and the entire Sicilian population of helpless immigrants suffered in consequence.

There are other social consequences of the immigration law. One of them arises from the fact that immigrants expect more when they come to the United States for the most part than we are able to give them. Graham Taylor, the other day, reminded us of that question which people throughout the ages have put to the Sphinx: "Is the universe friendly?" Mankind has always

wanted to discover an affirmative answer, and because the immigrants to the United States expect us to be friendly they quickly catch anything which seems to them harsh or unfair. It is curious how quickly they find out friendliness in even remote places which pertains to their problems. In 1921 a conference on migratory labor was held in Geneva by the International Labor Office. Italians in our neighborhood became enormously interested and came to talk to me about it with real enthusiasm. Certain Italians had been going down each year to South America in order to harvest a crop south of the equator, and then to work their way up through Central America and the western states, all the way to Canada, following the ripening of the grain and harvesting as they went. They sometimes got into trouble, were even threatened with peonage in places remote from an Italian consul. When they heard there was going to be some care taken of these migratory laborers, that there was an organization over in Geneva which was at least interested in this very useful business of harvesting the grain of the world, these men felt reassured that such a friendly thing could happen to them, and that it was on an international scale made it more wonderful.

It would be impossible to talk of the social consequences of immigration without referring to the Japanese situation. The Japanese people naturally felt discriminated against by the Exclusion Act. If Japan had been placed under the quota they would have sent less than a hundred and fifty people a year. The lack of even handed justice is felt strongly between nationalities as between groups of children. If you treat everyone alike children will discuss almost everything with you, but you can do almost nothing for them if they feel they are being treated with "partiality," as we used to call it in those ages ago when I was a child.

I should like to illustrate the entire situation of our relation to immigrants by mentioning a case we all have in mind, the case in Massachusetts involving the trial of two Italians. Sacco and Vanzetti are known all over the world. I cannot tell you how many times I was asked about them in Europe last summer. The things said about them were similar to those said when the Dreyfus case was being discussed for more than a decade in France. The French felt that Dreyfus had not had a fair trial, that no one knew whether he was guilty or not because he had not been tried for the charges preferred but for his racial affiliations. Europeans are quite sure that this is happening in regard to these two Italians; that the things they did are not the things they were tried for, that their affiliations were so unpopular that the trial did not get down to the actual facts of the case. Evidently one of the things people get roused about is the trial of a man upon his affiliations, religions, political, social, or racial. They instinctively realize that this has been the historic basis of intolerance. They are now challenging the courts of Massachusetts as once before they challenged the courts of France. Great men like Zola continued to fight for justice in the Dreyfus affair during the years the man was an exiled

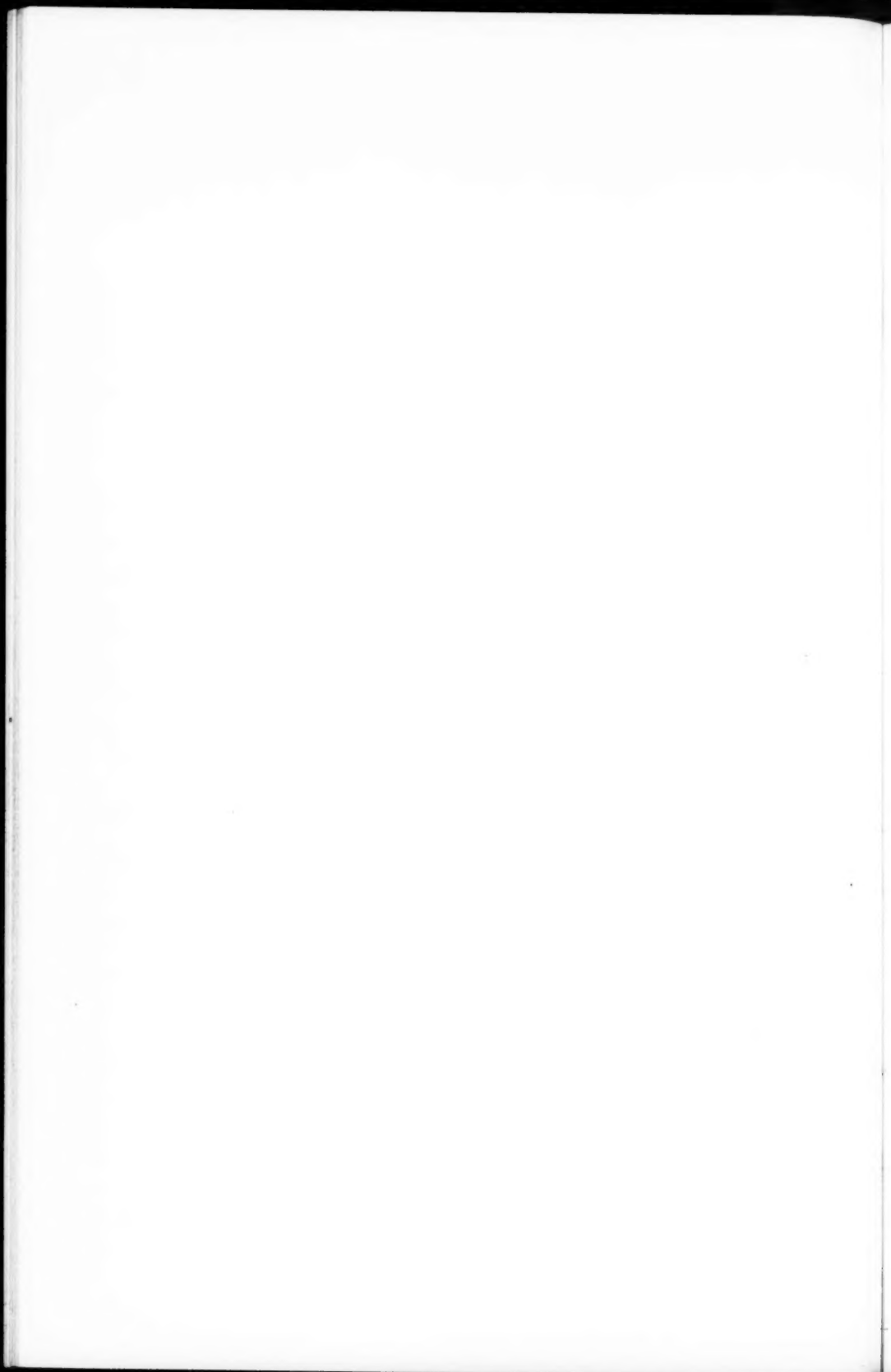


prisoner, until the matter was finally righted. It is to the credit of human nature—such an effort—and I suspect we are going to see something like this prolonged in the Sacco-Vanzetti case until the matter is gone into with such thoroughness that people shall be relieved of their suspicions. To live in an Italian neighborhood when men of that nationality are suspected of being treated unfairly makes one realize that fair dealing to the immigrants who come to this country is of primary importance. We must be scrupulous in the justice that is dealt out to them, not only what seems just to us but what seems just to them. Perhaps we are having an acid test of American life just now in this trial of two humble Italians in what we used to call one of our most advanced states. People all over the country and from many parts of the world have sent petitions to the governor of Massachusetts asking for a pardon for these men. The pardoning power vested in the executive is an integral part of our system of jurisprudence and a recognized safeguard against the miscarriage of justice.

Something of that same sort has just now come home to us in regard to Anita Whitney who has become entangled in an organization composed largely of "foreigners." Many of us know Miss Whitney as a social worker. She was secretary of the Charity Organization Society in Oakland, California, an early probation officer, an advocate of suffrage for women. During the war she was arrested because she belonged to a syndicalist organization. I have known Miss Whitney for years in connection with her work for suffrage and I do not remember her as a radical person. There has been no charge against her character, no charge against anything she has done or said, but she was tried and convicted for breaking the syndicalist law of California simply because she was a member of a given organization. I hope some of you will wish to remain after this meeting, that we may organize a committee to do what we can in her behalf.

It is difficult to sum up the situation, but I beg of you to keep informed of what happens in Congress. Some changes are being considered in the immigration law. The Secretary of Labor is advocating that members of broken families be admitted under certain conditions, and probably some action will be taken in regard to Mexico. Let us insist upon a careful study of the human relations involved and of the economic consequences of restricted immigration. These studies should include the point of view of the social workers with the experiences that come to us day by day in dealing with immigrant families. We are challenged in regard to the social consequences of the present immigration law.

## **B. DIVISION MEETINGS**



## I. CHILDREN

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### THE UNTOUCHED FIELD IN SOCIAL WORK: THE SMALL TOWN AND THE RURAL DISTRICT

#### UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK: THE SUREST APPROACH TO RURAL SOCIAL WORK. ITS CHALLENGE AND ITS OPPORTUNITY (FROM THE SCHOOL)

*Mrs. Janet Davison Baskett, Visiting Teacher, Boone County Rural Schools,  
Columbia, Missouri*

Rural social case work from the school as a base has distinct advantages. Attachment to the office of the rural superintendent of schools gives, from the beginning, prestige. It ordinarily furnishes a valuable source of information about families, communities, local conditions, the most nearly passable roads, and ways of reaching necessary destinations. An annual meeting with all teachers to plan the year's work gives opportunity for every teacher in the county to know at least what the worker looks like, and for the worker to place before a relatively trained group special forward looking plans for the year and to get into the hands of this group materials which will enable the members to contribute more effective a part in local community life.

The teachers themselves in rural communities are a splendid social resource. In one county the superintendent has cooperated to the extent of asking each teacher to make at least one visit to every home in his district early in the fall and to report progress on these visits to him. In that same county special attention is given each year to some aspect of school work which has a direct bearing on prevention of delinquency. Information, exhibits, and materials have been collected for the initial teachers' meeting to aid them in organizing, or furthering interest in, such definitely social movements as parent-teacher associations, 4-H clubs, the Junior Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, traveling libraries, and the Knighthood of Youth. A newly organized county teachers' association has resulted in a greater sense of solidarity and a wider vision of this body's relation to the welfare of its county. And night classes, with teachers coming from one to nineteen miles to the weekly meeting place, have given them some understanding of case work methods and their application, so that some of them handle successfully actual cases, having learned to recognize the problem, to get necessary information, and after talking over plans with the visiting teacher to carry a case to a re-

markably satisfactory conclusion. In one instance a young teacher, winning the confidence of a fourteen year old girl, from an undesirable environment, learned she had a venereal infection; at this point the teacher's skill resulted in getting the girl to bring her own problem to the visiting teacher. The majority of rural teachers seem never too busy or too tired to serve their children or their communities.

Another group with which identification is most natural for the school social worker, is the parent-teacher association, within whose membership are both leaders to assist in social work and parents with problems to talk over. It is a usual thing for members of this group to refer their own problems to the visiting teacher, giving unreserved cooperation in working out solutions.

A newspaper reporter who had "made" the visiting teacher's office daily for some weeks exclaimed, "Why, this office is a real clearing house where community resources are comprehended and each social problem brought into contact with the resources for its solution." This boy possibly had an ultra-objective point of view; to the worker in the office so simple a summary is hard to formulate.

Various functions which in a socially organized community one would associate definitely with a family agency, are on occasion performed through the visiting teacher's office. The county board requests investigations on applications for relief. In some cases where grocery orders are given to families having children, the mother comes each week and plans her order to buy the most nutrition for the money allowed, if possibly affording variety from week to week by adding to whatever is left from previous orders. The visiting teacher also has a small clothing room, from which clothing is sparingly dispensed, wherever practical garments being made over by the mother of the family. The Christmas giving which extends from the city into the country, including toys, clothing, and food, has for three years been done through the visiting teacher's office, the teachers often being utilized to find out from parents in needy families what is appropriate and wise to give and in what way these outside gifts can definitely fit in with their own Christmas plans. Typical of the more subtle phases of family work are the following: securing the decision of a deserting father to return to the care of his family; helping the dull-minded mother of a girl who had had sex experience to "grow up" to her maternal responsibilities; interpreting to a mother how she is substituting her nine-year old "youngest" for his dead father; consultations in connection with separations and divorces; securing information in questions of property referred by the probate judge; interpreting the law to ignorant adults who hate or fear it; assisting tenant farmers to get placed in situations where success looks possible; trying to build up self respect in adults whose inferiority feeling is actively stunting their children. Wherever feasible, families accepted for case work contain at least one child, though this limitation is not always humanely possible. On the other

hand, very often families referred have already been referred through the school.

Child welfare in every aspect seems a more natural activity than family work, so called. Misconduct is referred through school, community, or juvenile court, and forging, stealing, lying, truancy, assistant bootlegging, rape, and the "what's it" called *incurability* all come the visiting teacher's way. These and neglect and dependency call for such services as commitment to institutions, placement in boarding, working, or free homes, careful supervision in own homes, preparation of histories for the use of a child guidance clinic, and actual probation work on the part of the rural visiting teacher. Strange to say, connection with the juvenile court in few instances has made the regular visiting teacher work, "through influence rather than force," more difficult.

When a social worker joined the school force in this particular county there was no county health organization. Since then this important resource has been added, and it has materially reduced the social worker's responsibility along health lines. There still remains much definite health service, in securing diagnoses and treatment, and in encouraging a wholesome personal attitude to physical conditions. It is interesting to note that through the visiting teacher's office have passed, in the past three years, cases of trachoma, strabismus, photophobia, deafness, defective heart, gum infection, bronchitis, asthma, tuberculosis, scabies, boils, cancer, gonorrhea, enuresis, postscarletinal nephritis, muscular atrophy, pregnancy of the mature and immature, masturbation, "nervous breakdown," epilepsy, dementia praecox, cretinism, and infantilism. These with the ubiquitous malnutrition, diseased tonsils, and no longer orthodox "children's diseases," make a fair cross section of human ailments, rural or urban. Social hygiene also must receive some attention, both from the educational standpoint and in securing treatment and supervision in special cases.

More closely in line with a definite visiting teacher job are the functions of securing employment, particularly for rural young people desiring to attend high school, securing scholarship aid, furnishing some vocational guidance, and handling attendance problems having distinct social cause or significance.

To anyone with a knowledge of rural conditions the challenge to service is obvious. The opportunity opened to a social worker connected with the schools is overwhelming. Schools give access to Everyman's child, and thence to Everyman. No mere question of poverty, neglect, or immorality necessarily here: human needs of all types present themselves. There is an entrance to homes where no excuse other than "I have become so interested in your little boy, and want to know his mother" would be honored; yet these homes often hide the most intricate emotional problems and other tangles in human relationships which might never have been reached except through the democratic medium of the public school. An obvious disadvantage, which answers also as a challenge, is the "scatter" of the field and the consequent great danger of care-



less, patchy work. The challenge is often to be answered by delegating the doing of the actual task to someone else; dangerous and yet, if wisely delegated, sound, in that it develops leadership which should remain to carry on after an individual worker has gone her way.

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UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK: THE SUREST APPROACH TO  
RURAL WORK. ITS CHALLENGE AND ITS OPPORTUNITY  
(FROM THE PRIVATE AGENCY)

*Constance E. Hastings, Assistant Director, County Agency Department, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania has done child placing for the past forty-five years. Our territory includes forty counties in eastern Pennsylvania, with Philadelphia, our main office, in the extreme southeastern corner. Until five years ago we worked on a centralized plan, bringing children to Philadelphia and placing them principally in counties directly adjacent. Originally, it was planned to have local committees, but these died out or in some cases did work independently on a volunteer basis. Thus the bulk of the work of our organization was with Philadelphia children, although there was scattered work upstate.

We eventually came to realize that as a state society we could render more adequate and economical service on a decentralized basis. We, therefore, discontinued taking children from outside Philadelphia, but offered to help organize a branch of our society in any county that wished to form a committee, engage a trained social worker, and be responsible for its own dependent and neglected children. To date eight counties are organized. In two of them, volunteer societies were taken over and in the other six, where no society existed, new committees were formed. We go into a county upon invitation only, usually from some interested citizen. The program of work is thought out with the local committee. Our contribution is technical knowledge and experience in other counties, while theirs is the need and conditions in the community.

We have subsidized to some extent in each of the counties, our subsidy depending on the resources of the county, and decreasing as the work grows. Our State Department of Welfare, which was organized shortly before we decentralized our work, has been responsible for many of our invitations to organize, as they have had noteworthy success in raising standards and creating an interest in social work throughout the state.

To our mind a state society, organized with a county as a unit, holds many advantages both for the community and for the worker. It places responsibility for the work directly upon the community, since the work is done under a local committee and the money raised by them. As a result, interest is genuine and

is accompanied by the feeling that the project is their own and not something foisted upon them by outsiders. The link with the state society assures continuity and better standards to the work, gives opportunity to learn from the experience of other counties and to use the resources of the central office when necessary.

From the worker's point of view, professional isolation is lessened by frequent contacts with other county secretaries and by consultation with representatives from the main office on either case work or community problems. Success has professional value such as equal success cannot have where a worker is linked with the community only.

Because we are a children's agency, our avenue of approach to the rural county is through offering care for its neglected and dependent children. In a state which has every known variety of poor relief and where in a majority of counties children are still being placed by public officials uneducated in social work, or by other untrained groups, the problem of neglected and dependent children is sufficiently outstanding to make it an excellent approach. That it leads most surely to undifferentiated case work, our experience proves most forcibly. Our program must, of necessity, be as flexible as our territory is varied. In the two counties suburban to Philadelphia social resources are almost as adequate as in Philadelphia itself, and there we can do a straight child placement job. In the counties with no community larger than four thousand and with their worker the first social worker ever in the county, we must do whatever comes to hand. Some of our counties have a family society which covers part of the county. In such circumstances we do children's work in that area, and in the balance do undifferentiated case work with any problem in which children are involved.

Our problem in organizing Pennsylvania counties has not been in securing interest and support from the counties themselves. Our real difficulty lies in securing workers who have either training or interest in rural work. Upon the rural social worker rests a wider responsibility than upon the worker in the city. In many cases she is the only social worker the community has known and upon her success or failure rests the community's appraisal of social work. The rural worker must have not only training in case work, but also must be able to relate the agency successfully to the community, and herself to both the community and her committee. Resourcefulness and initiative are necessary, as well as adaptability. She has a real responsibility for social education, not only through contacts which come to her in her case work and work with other organizations, but also in speaking to small groups and in newspaper publicity.

Rural agencies for the most part do not give training and workers trained in city agencies naturally have their interest focused upon city work. Schools of social work teach some rural work, but offer little field work with rural agencies. The adjustment of the city trained worker to a rural community is diffi-

cult for the average individual. To illustrate, let me compare the job of a visitor in a city child placing agency with that of a country secretary.

The visitor is responsible for her own case work, with the privilege of daily consultation. She supervises children placed in foster homes and does some home finding in conjunction with her home finding department. A reception department has investigated and received the child before he comes to her. A home finding department has probably found his home, a medical clinic is available for the child's physical needs and a psychologist is available for necessary consultation. The visitor has no responsibility for working out the details of office management, but must be able to adjust herself successfully to the necessary office machinery. Board is handled by a financial department and clothing by a clothing department. In contrast, take the county secretary of one of our more rural counties. She carries a case load equal to that of the average visitor and must do her own reception work and foster home finding. The nearest medical clinic is eighteen miles from her office and a traveling state mental clinic comes once a month. She has stenographic assistance, but must herself be responsible for organizing the office details and getting a system started. The Poor Board always know each child for whom they pay board to her, and she must keep on friendly terms with them and be able to explain why she must pay board for Nellie Jones instead of placing her free. She must watch her case load to see that she does not overburden herself to the extent of neglecting children already in care. At the same time she must keep track of the applications turned down, with a view to proving the necessity of an assistant secretary before she is completely swamped. She must get items of interest to the newspapers, keep her committee interested, and enter into whatever activities the community life offers. It is not an easy job, but it does hold vital interest, as many of us who are working in the rural field can testify.

Our agency is embarking on an experiment this year, which we hope may lead to a partial solution of our problem. In the counties where we now have two trained workers, we are adding a third untrained. In partnership with the New York School of Social Work we will give these recruits training over a three year period. The recruits are college girls from this year's graduating class. We are impressed in talking with the college seniors, that this is a resource worth tapping. Each class has a number of its most worthwhile members who are genuinely interested in rural social work, and seeking an opportunity to enter it. Our plan calls for nine months' field work and three of school each year for three years. The field work is to be done under the direction of the School and projects will be carried through in the field under its direction. At the end of the third school quarter a diploma will be awarded to those trainees who have completed the training period satisfactorily. We realize this is not a "cure-all" for the rural personnel problem, but at least it is a beginning in securing workers interested in the rural field, who will be actually trained for this field.

UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK: THE SUREST APPROACH TO  
RURAL WORK. ITS CHALLENGE AND ITS OPPORTUNITY  
(FROM THE PUBLIC DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE)

*Lydia S. Eicher, Field Representative, State Bureau of Child Welfare, Santa Fe*

For the past eleven years spent in so called small cities and rural districts, my experience in each place has merely intensified and clarified the issue that the case work method is the chief means of bringing the basic principles of social service to the general public and of awakening the consciousness of the citizenry to the many social maladjustments, present because of inadequacies in our system of government and civilization. For centuries our economists have propounded theoretical republics where the responsibilities for public welfare are placed unreservedly upon the state. Europe with an older civilization and government has little objection to the public departments regulating the order of living but the American method has taken the opposite approach. In our field the public departments have waited for private agencies to develop the ways and methods of assistance to an individual in trouble.

Certain responsibilities have always been held by public departments, as there is no state in the union in which some machinery for public service, no matter how crude or inadequate, is not provided. The statutes vary in the wording of the duties of these commissions, departments, bureaus, or officials, from Massachusetts where the statute provides for a careful definition of responsibilities to New Mexico where the very wording of the law allows a latitude almost analogous to the power granted the public health department insuring sanitary conditions. The original act, providing for the state work in New Mexico in the field of child welfare, authorizes the board "to cooperate in its activities with the federal departments, as well as the State Board of Health and all voluntary organizations in all matters touching the betterment of the children of the state." The 1915 Code, providing for work for indigents, says "the Boards of County Commissioners . . . and the council or other governing board of incorporated cities, towns and villages of the state are hereby authorized and empowered to make such provision as they may deem proper for the relief of deserving indigent persons who are objects of charity, residing within their respective limits." Again, the law states, "the court shall have power to appoint a probation officer or officers, who shall, at all times be subject to the order of the court and who shall report to the court concerning their duties and services as the court shall direct." There are no mutual restrictions nor is there any reason for an overlapping of responsibility.

A public agency, in no matter what field, carries a duty of service to each and every citizen whether that citizen is reporting the need of someone else or himself. On account of the obligation of taxation alone, indiscriminating assistance must be granted. The range of problems found is just as wide and inclusive in a rural district as in a metropolitan.

In this untouched field of social work, the social worker arrives in different guises with varying official cloaks as suits the community social conditions. Sometimes the matter of organization of the community decides her title, sometimes the pressure of a certain type of problem, or sometimes the actual factor of cash on hand in the budget of an appropriate department. Whatever gate she enters she soon finds herself involved in every field, chiefly from the fact that there is no one else, and a social problem is a social problem demanding immediate and skilled attention. Because she is a social worker she cannot refuse to take any case that is referred and an attempt at selective intake is hard to explain.

As a public worker she is equipped with a confraternity of state, county, city officials whose work is needfully integrated with hers. She can expect more ready cooperation and confidence than a private agency for she has the same public prestige. In my experience with very few exceptions, the local officials have found their mutual responsibility with the worker and have faithfully assisted in the treatment. It must be noted here that many rural officials are skeptical of the social worker who is represented to them as a "high brow" or "reformer." It takes an adjustable personality and a few practical demonstrations in case work to break down that reserve. However, when the confidence of a small town official is once gained, he will fight for the cause. By working together with the same family step by step, intelligent approach and valuable support are gained along with the understanding of those basic principles of social service which result in the establishment of the permanent program and development of social concepts for legislation and organization.

Another mutual responsibility which the public worker bears with the officials is that of law observance. The approach to enforcement is made by the social worker from the case work angle and the importance of her opportunity of showing why the law was passed, the benefits derived, and the protection gained from a seemingly prohibitive statute cannot be overemphasized.

Because of quick communication and easy access to officials and individuals complete histories and information are rapidly gathered. Everybody easily knows the ancestry as well as the daily life of everybody else. By allowing a discrimination in evidence on account of some personal or political prejudice a fairly accurate picture is gained. For that reason diagnosis is simple.

One now turns abruptly to the community resources. They are not many and are quickly found. Cooperating agencies are most often conspicuous by their absence. The state resources are easily tabulated.

This very reason of lack of the necessary equipment for handling social problems is the cause for the high standard of requirements by those organizing and developing rural units in selecting personnel: the long distances to doctors; the absence of specialists in every field; the lack of accommodation in institutions already overcrowded; the slender budget, if any, for relief and

constructive case work; no provision made for groups who are suffering from mental or physical handicap; little or no employment and meager appropriation for vocational training for the crippled. One strikes at this and at that as a substitute for the high class care which is so available in cities.

The lack of funds in county appropriations and the need for certain relief or financial treatment not allowed by law from public funds is a common one, whether rural or metropolitan. The rural worker by having personal knowledge of local potential philanthropists can make her demands as suits the qualifications of the benefactors. It is not always cash that is obtained. More often homes and friendly interest of the natural neighbor, known a lifetime, can straighten tangles and promote the preventive side of the work.

The rural worker then develops her resources. When she outlines a course of treatment she not only sees that the program is carried through but she must with unusual tact tell the person assisting in the treatment how it is to be done. Very few of the professional men who are called upon so often have ever been in any community before with a social worker and must be apprized of their part in the family plan.

The rural worker cannot come in with a flare of drums with any degree of success. A trained full time worker who assumes her duties under a public board who have been wheedled into accepting her, and her profession, knowing nothing of either, has a difficult task to prove herself the panacea claimed. Rather she and her work stay longer when she quietly enters the community, goes to work, and slowly and patiently makes good the experiment. A rural worker has this double obligation in doing good case work for her client and community. Every case is practically a test case and stands as an example of her treatment. She must remember to expect that everything she does is talked over by the least and the greatest. That is the privilege of the small community. Likewise professionally she has to watch the appearance of each step to leave no loophole for suspicion of crooked dealing. There are some types of people who honestly believe that every public office holder, large or small, is intrinsically a grafter, schemer, liar, and thief, not to mention the malicious desires they may harbor to do personal injury. It is quite worth risking that reputation, however, to become a public official and learn the fine spirit, responsive natures, and honest souls found among colleagues.

A most baffling difficulty encountered which is a true danger to future work since it is fallen into innocently before the trap is realized is what logically follows establishing local confidence in the worker. Too often the worker "sells" herself instead of her work and the local concept of her work, merely a picture of what she herself has accomplished. As a public worker she is pledged to further the public consciousness in social problems by means of her case work and case contacts day by day. She is the standard bearer for the basic principles of social justice and equal opportunity and her work will live



in the hearts of her clients and the life of the community as those doctrines are not obscured by superficial artifices to gain an immediate end.

The reiterated disadvantage to the development of standards and the maintenance of them in public work, which is offered by those in private agencies is the bogie of politics. There is no claim that it does not enter even in the highest type of work done. Too many disastrous losses have been suffered because of political changes in personnel. This is perhaps more easily handled in the rural communities where there is simpler political organization and more credit given to proved worth.

The relationship of the public social worker to all civic projects is vital. She is the interpreter of the state's responsibility to its citizens and the mouth-piece of the citizen to the state.

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#### ORGANIZATION NEEDED TO SUPPORT AND FREE THE LOCAL WORKER FOR UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK

*Louise Cottrell, Extension Director, University of Iowa, Iowa City*

The facts regarding social needs in rural communities have been so vividly presented by the preceding speakers that general opinion to the contrary, this audience will grant, first, that social problems identical with those in cities exist in villages and in the country; and, second, that they exist in sufficient numbers to warrant organization for their study and treatment.

The minimum organization for adequate work in dealing with these problems must include a strong state agency, a countywide program of undifferentiated case work indorsed by the local county officials charged with the administration of public relief, a governing board representative of the county with county jurisdiction, local advisory committees, and the organized help of township officials and volunteers.

The state agency may be under private or public auspices. It may be entirely without formal authority. But to be of real service it must be equipped to offer able help to the counties of the state in the following ways: first, through educational methods to convince local people of the existence of serious social problems in their own communities, of the damaging results of these, and of the value of skilled service in dealing with them; second, through familiarity with problems and resources in state and county so to guide the organization of the local county work that the program planned will meet the primary needs of the county concerned; third, to help in finding a worker whose qualifications are especially suited to the program and the personality of the county; fourth, to keep in sufficiently close contact with worker and board that both not only welcome advice and help but seek it, not alone in time of crisis but whenever broader experience would give needed enlightenment.

When the relationship between state and county agencies is sufficiently close and sympathetic, then the county agency will recognize new policies and facilities needed throughout the state and will supply the wider understanding and support needed to bring them about.

Before undertaking a local program of undifferentiated case work, it is necessary to win the understanding and support of county officials charged by statute with the administration of public relief. We feel that the opposition of these officials can so neutralize the value of the work that effort is better invested in winning the understanding of opposing officials than in trying to carry on against their opposition. If, as is seldom the case, their minds are so closed on the subject that reason has no appeal, then the wiser course lies in educating the public to demand either a change of attitude in the officials or a change of officials before the program is undertaken. A convinced official becomes a veritable rock of Gibraltar.

The county is the logical and the simplest unit for work in states largely rural because it is the governmental unit. Taxation is levied by counties, and in rural work tax funds usually support a substantial share of the financial cost of the work. Furthermore, it is unjust to tax an entire county to support work limited to incorporated places. Unless the county unit system is adopted, it is difficult to devise a system which will eventually include all of the territory of the state in a program of social work. We have already noted that social problems exist in rural places. These would probably be excluded from treatment if incorporated places became the units for work. Finally it is difficult to ignore county boundaries. Combining parts of two counties into one jurisdiction makes it necessary for the worker to deal with two sets of officials instead of one.

The county governing board may, and in most cases should, include public officials charged by statute with the control of public relief expenditures and resident judges. But it must include a group of private citizens so convinced of the local need for the work that they have reached that "white heat of determination," made famous by Mr. McLean to launch and maintain the work "in sickness and in health until death do them part." After having thus assumed definite responsibility for the organization of the local work, this board shares its burden with the staff continuously. It meets in regular session at least monthly. It serves in an advisory way to the executive in formulating policies and it helps interpret the work to the community and the community to the worker. The county organization should encourage definite program planning among the local agencies. This means frequent meetings of county case worker, public health nurse, farm bureau workers, county superintendent of schools, and local representatives of national agencies. The county board's clear realization of the tremendous demands on the local worker with the resulting physical fatigue and nervous strain places it in a position to counter-

balance this strain to a marked degree. This realization on the board's part should lead to consideration for the worker expressed by effort to lift from her all of the burden of the work possible for the board and its individual members to assume. This will include entire responsibility for budget raising, considerable public speaking, provision for increase of staff when the work makes that necessary, arrangements for adequate vacation periods, attendance at state and national conferences, and opportunity for some recreation. The habit which some board members have adopted of dropping in at the office occasionally for personal interviews with the worker, if they are opportunely timed, affords an encouragement to the worker little realized by those board members themselves.

Local committees in certain population centers throughout the county are extremely valuable. The organization of these had best be postponed until the first local worker has had long enough experience in the county to know prospective committee members personally, to predict with some accuracy what contribution each would make as a committee member, and to learn to what degree his or her leadership is accepted in the local community. Local committees assume leadership for the work locally and function at small subboards. Through regular meetings and continuous work they become an informed group and an educational force. They give thought and study to local problems involving determination of policy and offer recommendations to the county board but do not act independently of it. Local committees should be represented on the county board in order that a common understanding of common problems may be maintained.

A program of undifferentiated case work integrates case work services of all varieties into one program instead of limiting itself to one specialized field as do most city agencies. It employs one staff which in a rural county usually consists of a case worker and a stenographer. Schools, courts, churches, physicians, hospitals, public officials, private agencies, and individuals all use this one organization in their work with people in trouble. Local agencies outside the county as well as state and national agencies call on the county organization for help in service to people from the local county in trouble elsewhere or to relatives of local residents under treatment by those agencies. The duties of the social worker are as varied as her organization's program.

It is humanly impossible for one person alone to carry this variety and volume of work. The worker's salvation and that of her work lies not in her doing it all herself but in her seeing that it gets done. In the country volunteer help is a necessity, and under skilled leadership it accomplishes much. I have seen a board member, long a devoted volunteer, in a rural county, assume temporarily an acting secretaryship and carry on a piece of constructive case work of which any trained worker might well be proud. Outside of a wealth of individual volunteers, the rural county supplies a few local agencies usually

pressed into service in a case work program. The way in which these agencies stretch the letter of their law in order to maintain the spirit of it furnishes outstanding cheer for the future of county organizations for undifferentiated case work. The superintendent of a small hospital received as a patient a perfectly well delinquent girl, then hid her clothing to prevent escape in order to keep the child from spending a night in jail awaiting the train that was to take her to the institution to which she had been committed. A Young Men's Christian Association secretary served as chauffeur for the local county worker in order that she might make a necessary night visit fourteen miles distant over bad roads, thus adding to his own strenuous day's work. A busy neighbor drove into the country at a cost of half a day to attend a sale where for seventy-five cents she equipped a kitchen in a motherless home of very limited means. An over-worked nurse appeared as witness on a court case on which the county case worker was collecting evidence. But in spite of the finest possible organization of volunteer help within the county, the local worker is largely dependent on resources outside the limits of her county. Here again her ingenuity in the use of resources is taxed to the limit. Not alone must she know the usual state agencies equipped to serve local people and the correct procedure for securing their service, but she must call on some for unusual service. One clever county worker called on the state insurance commissioner for help in forcing the collection of insurance benefits due a local family. On behalf of the local worker, state workers visiting a particular community outside the county concerned have given volunteer service in taking an interview with a reference located there. Cleverly directed volunteer service multiplies the skill of the worker many times; in fact it is an essential without which rural work cannot carry on.

This entire Conference emphasizes an increasing realization of the need for the extension of organization for social work to include rural as well as city territory. As a result various national agencies are fostering county programs. This new interest in the rural situation, unless wisely guided, is accompanied by grave dangers that may retard social progress in small communities and in the country instead of fostering it. The logical agency for guiding the extension of work into the rural communities is the state agency already outlined above in terms of organization and function. National agencies are prone to interpret the interest in rural work as a call for local organization of their specialized services. When this results in even three or four such trying to organize in a local county independent of each other, only chaos can follow. The very forces that should unite and direct social thinking create cliques and separations. Local social forces which need to be cemented for the common good are driven farther apart through the efforts of various local cliques trying each to outstrip the other in winning public support. And unfortunately it is not infrequent that these local divisions are each following the voice of leadership of national agencies which should have conferred together in advance of enter-

ing the county but did not. Local people at first interested and responsive become confused and either withdraw their participation or realizing the waste of time, effort, and money, condemn future efforts to provide adequate organization for effective work. Consultation with the state agency by the national agency concerning local organization parallels the use of the confidential exchange by city agencies, because the county agency already knows the local agencies and the local units of the national agencies which are at work in the county concerned. The state agency is also apt to be acquainted with prominent local leaders. By this more intimate knowledge than is possible to most national agencies, the state agency can serve the national agencies at the same time that it helps the county build a program to meet primary local needs. In Iowa we have counties in which the public poor department, the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, a statewide children's agency and the extension division of the state university are all working simultaneously. Some of these agencies have integrated their programs, but the fact that any two began functioning locally without consulting the other is eloquent of the absence of the spirit of teamwork which constitutes the danger already mentioned. Before the most effective program for undifferentiated case work in the rural communities can be attained national, state, and local agencies must drop organization loyalties and unite in real teamwork to study the county as a whole and then build a program to meet the county's primary social needs in the most direct and effective way possible.

My subject includes no mention of the qualifications of the county social worker, but since they determine so largely the success or failure of the local program, this paper would be incomplete without some mention of them. The county worker must have case work skill and capacity for executive work. But the one qualification more important than any other is her sympathy with country people which comes from an understanding of rural life. Without these three, plus health, resourcefulness, and a quick sense of humor, the worker in the country cannot carry on: and no county organization, no matter how strongly built, or how strongly backed by state and national agencies, can long survive under the leadership of a worker who does not possess both adequate professional training and a personality which especially qualifies her for work in the country.

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#### CHILD WELFARE WORK SINCE THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

*C. C. Carstens, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America,  
New York City*

*The United States Children's Bureau.*—The most important development in the child welfare field since 1919 is the establishment of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The studies, surveys, and in-

vestigations that the Bureau has made and the educational work it has done have profoundly influenced and modified the child welfare work of this country and of other countries as well. Under the leadership of Miss Julia Lathrop and now of Miss Grace Abbott, it has become the most important child welfare enterprise of the nation. It deserves the hearty support of us all in its program of expansion of service to all the children of the land.

*The foster home program.*—In the historical development of foster home care, placement for adoption has had an important part. But in the field of children's work, adoptions are proportionately not as numerous as they once were even if they are more useful than formerly because they are now made a part of a plan rather than a mere general procedure as in the past. The placement of infants for adoption is readily undertaken, but the placement of older children with the design that they be adopted into the family where they have been placed raises all the difficulties of a foster home program. If adoption may be permitted to grow out of placement, it becomes the wholesome result of good placement work but to start with the theory of adoption, often leads to the most serious complications in the individual case and to a frozen program of child care in the community.

In many parts of the country, free home placement is still resorted to as the most important part of foster home care. Perhaps during the years when economic conditions were better, when there always seemed to be room for another child in almost every household, free home placement solved more of the problems that came up in foster home care than seems now possible. At the present time, however, free home placement is subject to question largely because older dependent children are often expected to contribute too much to the household in order to give him a free place in it. This form of foster home care is most subject to the danger of child exploitation.

The fact that children's needs are now understood also lays an additional obligation upon the agency that undertakes free home placement. All these forces are bringing it about that in parts of the country where the United States dependent children's census of 1923 indicated that the method of boarding home placement was but slightly used, it is now beginning to be turned to in some measure to meet the needs of children that have peculiar limitations or are difficult to adjust.

These various groups of children, difficult to place in free homes, are often called problem children. These problems are the result of physical, mental, or emotional peculiarities and may be the result of all three. But to call a child a "problem" child is often merely to confess one's own lack of understanding or misunderstanding. When the so called "problem" child is understood, he very frequently becomes a normal child. While boarding home care does not provide a panacea for all these difficulties, it is perhaps the most useful single method now in vogue in meeting these needs. The care of these children,



whether in institutional or in foster home, is expensive. It requires careful preliminary study and diagnosis, the selection of exceptional homes, and a constant and skilled follow up service. In certain instances, the collaboration of an institution with the boarding home method is of the greatest value especially where the institution undertakes an extensive program of a comparatively small group both in the formation of habits and in the training of the hand and brain, thus preparing the way for permanent care in a suitable foster home adapted to the child's needs.

*The institution.*—A discussion of the institution for the care of dependent children in the past frequently degenerated into a discussion of foster home care versus the institution. This question of rivalry is not as serious as it used to be. We recognize now that foster home care and institutions both are needed in making provision for all the various groups of children that need attention. Assuming that a good foster home is desirable for every child capable of being placed in it, the advocates of the foster home are coming to realize that in most communities the number of foster homes is as yet too limited to be able to take care of all those that are easily placed and much too limited for the proper care of all difficult children.

On the other hand, institutional executives and workers are becoming increasingly impressed with the difficulties and limitations that an institution has for certain classes of children. The sifting process as to which can benefit by institution and which by foster home care is going on. This is a most hopeful sign when we come to consider the question not in any wholesale way but what benefits the child under consideration is likely to get under either plan. In general, the varieties of institutional needs may perhaps be described as follows:

First, there is in many communities need for shelter, receiving, or study homes which the child enters for temporary care either because of exigencies that have arisen in the family life or because there are some qualities and characteristics that need to be explored before the right kind of adjustment can be made, whether that adjustment is finally to be in an institution or foster home. To the development of these study homes, medical and child guidance clinics have contributed in a substantial way.

Second, there is need for institutions that are equipping themselves to meet special problems and provide special opportunities for training and education. The trend of specialization in children's institutions aside from classifications of sex, age, and religious affiliations has just begun but as far as it has gone, it is a hopeful sign that the process of individualization is going on to determine what is best for each child that comes to the attention of a child welfare agency.

The third group of institutions is at present the largest. While this group is not perhaps intentionally supplemental to a child placing program, at foun-

dation it is in that situation. If it were possible to give every child suitable for foster home care just the kind of family home he required, the need for the third group would be much smaller. At the present time, however, the need is great and will continue to be for a long time to come. A few agencies in this group also in some measure belong in the other groups.

Children's institutions are becoming smaller and are being divided up into smaller units on the cottage plan. A considerable number of institutions now have units of not more than twelve in a cottage or are planning to build units for ten or twelve. The one-story cottage is being advantageously utilized. The central kitchen is not used as much as formerly but kitchens are being provided in individual cottages. Institutions for infants not needing hospital care are not as numerous as previously since infants thrive best under careful boarding home conditions. Certain institutions have all the brothers and sisters above the baby age in the same cottage and inculcate a family solidarity and instil a family responsibility in the older members of the family. The words orphan asylum, homes for the friendless, refuge, and similar terms that are misnomers and that set off these children from other children in the community and seem to date back to the feudal period of social service are beginning to disappear. The term "school" is in some measure taking the place of the word "home" or "institution." This is a good change if by that fact we do not misinterpret the function of the agency when it is called a school by considering it no longer a social agency subject to the conditions and standards that obtain in other children's institutions.

*Intake, adjustment, and mothers' aid service.*—If we conceive of children's institutions, whether on a congregate or a cottage plan, as somewhat in the same relationship to child care as the foster home itself, we are then likely to come to appreciate the part that the institution is to play in the scheme of child care. It does not correspond with the whole program of foster home care, including investigation, home finding, placement, and supervision but only with the placement part and therefore intake investigation, family adjustment, and follow up supervision are needed with both institutions and with foster homes. There is an almost exact correspondence in the forms of service in these two fields.

In many communities, it has become an accepted fact and in many others a theoretical principle, that where there is a good mother able and willing to take care of the children, she should be given that opportunity preferably through mothers' aid coming from public funds but, if necessary, from private sources, even including institutional resources. While there are still six states without mothers' aid laws, on the whole in most states we now do not need more law but a better utilization of existing laws through a social and generous administration.

The first question, therefore, that presents itself in connection with intake

of either the child placing society or an institution is whether the service asked for is needed or whether either by mothers' aid funds, public or private, or by some other adjustment the child can be as well or better provided for without the necessity of removal from its own home.

Children's aid societies have for some time felt the influence of this intake and adjustment program. As these agencies have become increasingly effective, they have received into their care a smaller proportion of the children for whom application was made. Sometimes this proportion is as low as 20 per cent. Institutions have only recently begun to feel the effect of legislative program for mothers' aid and of the adjustment service which is now being rendered by a few institutions themselves, by some central children's bureaus created for the purpose or by some other agency already existing in the community extending its service to meet the institution's need.

Where such service has been provided, the institutions have in larger measure come to serve the children for whom they were presumably established. As children through such adjustment service are returned more frequently to their own families, a larger number of different children are served and the waiting lists are substantially cut down. Another effect noticed is that institutions are not as full as they used to be and some of them have found it necessary to reconsider their programs because with mothers' aid and adjustment work there has not seemed to be as great need for care outside of the child's home as before.

There is also a financial phase to this development. If intake, adjustment work, and mothers' aid provide for saving the home or reestablishing it, the actual expense for the care of the individual family or child is likely to be a smaller item and therefore the new program is more economical to the community or to the agency or institution. If an average of ten children are kept out of an institution for a whole year at an expense of \$25 a month, there is a saving of \$3,000. Assuming that part of this is needed for service, there will still be a net saving that can be achieved.

*Discharge and follow up.*—Not much headway has been made in the country as a whole for providing an intelligent discharge service. The child placing agencies and institutions are equipping themselves to provide some service to the family of the child in care if the family continues to exist. This service is still apt to be haphazard, spasmodic, and superficial. If we believe that his family is generally the child's priceless asset, more time, money, and energy must be spent upon discharge or preparation for discharge. When a child comes into care the extra-mural responsibility should also be assumed, even if up to the time of the child's reception, contact with the family has been made by another agency. When a child comes into care whenever possible the family should come with him. By such means, reconstructive and recreative work with families becomes possible, the child does not remain away from his home any

longer than is necessary, and there is ample opportunity for his adjustment and careful follow up. The longer the child has been away, the longer the supervisory follow up must be continued after foster home or institution has returned him home or into the care of some other agency or person at the later adolescent stage. Much remains to be done in this field. We have in a few places made only a good beginning.

*The field of delinquency.*—Juvenile delinquency has decreased in proportion to the population and in many communities in actual amount irrespective of the population. This may be attributed to better methods of treatment and to the development of the juvenile courts and the philosophy that lies back of them. In an increasing number of cities and states, the child who has broken the law is dealt with as a ward needing protection and training rather than as a culprit requiring punishment.

Unfortunately, the punitive attitude and practice is still very common even in so called juvenile courts. In many places where the punitive attitude has largely disappeared, a "milk and water" attitude has taken its place and the child comes to "report" or to be given to a big brother with the risk that nothing constructive and preventive is done. Probation officers, often chosen for other reasons than fitness, without training or experience in children's work, take over a large case load, partly because they do not know what to do with a smaller one. The child's home, often the cause of delinquency, does not feel the effects of his work. The child becomes a repeater, he is later committed to an industrial school where his associations may corrupt his morals and habits still farther and he is on the way to adult delinquency.

The application of good case work principles is impossible, even with efficient workers if a case load of over forty girls or fifty boys is carried. "Big brother" work has begun in a few communities to apply case work principles with careful investigation, diagnosis, planning, and volunteer supervisory visiting. Only the last, however, should be the "big brothers" function. The child guidance clinic also here becomes an important adjunct for understanding the "little brother."

The use of the foster home carefully selected for the delinquent boy or girl in question has also become a valuable adjunct in certain centers. The great values here lie in the discovery of foster parents devoted to the task in a home that is an insulation station for individual treatment. Another important adjunct in the prevention of delinquency is the work of visiting teachers which has had a notable development during this period. The visiting teacher's interpretation of the home's problems to the school, of the ideals, services, and difficulties of the school to the home and the personal work with the child make an important addition both to the school program and to the social work programs of our communities. Good visiting teacher work strengthens the bond

between home and school, steadies the child's school habits and prevents truancy and delinquency.

*Protective service.*—Protective work for children began in the seventies of the previous century with the establishment of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. The children's protective program was later on added to humane societies which had previously been established for various other protective purposes. This protective work laid great emphasis on obtaining effective legislation and upon law enforcement generally by their being an arm of the police or by their police methods. Preventive phases connected with social case work were lost sight of until about twenty years ago and have not yet become established as important parts of the whole protective movement.

Private children's protective societies, whatever the title may be, have often come to assume a legalistic or police attitude toward social work or to suffer seriously from "dry rot." During the last two decades, a number of such agencies, however, have sought alliance with societies performing the children's aid function and have saved themselves for usefulness by broadening their programs. Many children's protective agencies have withdrawn themselves from social work by their narrow interpretations. They are in an eddy rather than in the stream of progressive social work at this time.

Naturally, there has come a revolt against the police methods in vogue in certain areas, and as an expression of this revolt two things have happened in the protective field. Various forms of protective services are being rendered by other agencies, such as juvenile courts, children's aid societies, or family welfare societies; and new societies often called juvenile protective associations or girls' protective societies have been instituted for the development of broader programs.

It is not at all clear what the general trend of development is likely to be. Either children's protective societies will broaden their programs, or new societies will be created, or the protective work will be absorbed by other agencies concerning themselves with families or children, or all of these things will occur, even sometimes in the same community.

The importance of the protective program itself does not seem to be as much appreciated as formerly. With the development of policewomen's service, of effective children's aid societies, and of juvenile courts, the protective function has been divided in some communities among many agencies. There is, however, an important question to be considered, namely, whether disciplinary case work in the social work field has been made an effective adjunct by such division. In the enforcement of law, public agencies have perhaps the larger part to play and the juvenile court is being turned to for protective service. Much protective work is, however, to be done at the stage where it either will not come to the attention of the court or the court is not the logical agency to render the service. Non-court agencies, like public boards of chil-

dren's guardians, or county boards of child welfare or public welfare, are perhaps the most logical places in the long run to which to attach the protective service. Meanwhile, if it must be done privately, there is enough experience to show that one strong agency can perhaps do all the work most effectively.

*Public service.*—In the development of children's work in any community, county or state, the part that shall be played by public service is of the greatest importance. In the children's as in other fields, private service as a rule comes first. The most flagrant conditions and most pressing needs are first met. Gradually, the most preventive and constructive phases of the children's program come to the front. When this happens, there is a considerable expansion in the kind of work needed to be done. This program has the tendency to out-run the resources which private organizations can muster and public service is inevitably turned to, to help out.

Generally, the phases that are turned over to public service are those that are connected with statewide responsibilities. While there is a great diversity in these, they are principally of three kinds: first, an educational program for advice and stimulation in the development of good work; second, licensing and inspection of private agencies, in some states, limited to those that receive funds from taxation sources; third, the actual care of children either by states or by local units.

There are now children's bureaus either set up in a segregated way or as a part of other state departments in forty-two different states including the District of Columbia. The three functions above enumerated are differently emphasized in different states but all three are often found at one time in the programs of the same state.

The antagonism which has been felt in certain states on the part of private agencies against the development of public service is disappearing. This antagonism was due in part to a feeling that supervisory inspection might militate against the program of the private agency or the state might step in to undertake the work which the private agency had undertaken to do and so crowd it to the wall. The history of the development of public and private service does not justify either of these fears. An organization that cannot stand inspection would under ordinary circumstances not be entitled to licensing. The program of child care is so broad that even if a public department seeks to undertake work with children direct, it is likely to do only those things which private agencies are in no position to do themselves. If the state is by chance inclined to persecute, it is not for long. Both public and private agencies can be of help to each other: the public, by clearing away the dishonest and inefficient work now being done, and by developing good work for children; the private, by providing that informed public opinion which will be of great service as a backing for the public service and by undertaking temporary and experimental care which the public department is rarely equipped to render. A few



states are as yet without forms of public service for children in their statewide capacity, but even in those, public opinion is gradually crystallizing in the direction for the development of public service.

*Medical and mental hygiene.*—At the present time, the children's agencies are appreciating as never before the importance of good medical and psychological work. Both private and public organizations for the care of children decide from the examinations whether a child shall come into the care of a children's agency and if so what shall be done for him. A satisfactory program of clinical service provides: first, a thorough evaluation of the physical health of the child, rendered at the time when the possibility of infections are looked for or at a later stage; second, a periodical reexamination, at least once yearly; third, a continuous health supervision to see that defects are corrected and general health is improved; fourth, a psychometric examination to determine mental age and to form the basis for advice regarding education and work.

When the social agencies have come to the point where they can undertake systematic service in these fields, they should then also seek to develop a more highly specialized psychiatric or child guidance service which is often not an economical investment when children's case work and medical follow up have not yet developed. The great extension of this service including psychiatric service to new fields has been noticeable during the past few years.

*State child welfare commissions.*—Since the first Children's Code Commission of Ohio was appointed by the governor in 1913, about thirty such commissions have been appointed in about as many different states. These bodies have usually had a temporary status although in several states they are of permanent tenure. In all cases, whether temporary or permanent they are charged with the responsibility of recommending to the legislatures certain changes in the laws relating to children that seem needed for their greater protection, training, and care. In a few states, the commissions have been self-appointed committees, but the high character of their personnel and the wisdom of the recommendations have even then brought substantial returns in new legislation. The movement has been a vital one and is still bringing results. A number of states have commissions at work at this time. Other states are preparing to ask for their appointment.

The legislation recommended has differed materially in the various states, because necessarily the new legislation was shaped to supplement what was already on the statute books. It is striking, however, that in some particulars there was a great similarity in recommendations, especially as dealing with children born out of wedlock, the licensing of maternity and boarding homes, adoptions, the care of the feeble-minded, and the establishment of a state children's bureau. There is probably no greater single result of these commissions than the creation of some state children's agency, either standing alone or as a part of a larger state body.

*The training of children's workers.*—For the purpose of meeting all these needs, it goes without saying that trained service is required. The greatest need at the present time is training in children's case work. Training and experience in family welfare work which is taught in many schools of social work is of great value as a background but the technique of children's case work needs greater emphasis than it has had up to the present time. There are but few schools in the United States where courses in child welfare are supplemented with supervised training in children's case work. The demand for persons so trained has been unusually large during the last few years and especially for those who could become supervisors. For a person to have a complete training in the children's field, there should be supervised field work in child placing and a period of supervised field work in the distinct protective side of the work. This is at the present time not as largely available as is desired but gives a background to those trained in both fields which makes them able to give more efficient service in any of the different phases of the children's program.

*Summary.*—To sum up, the following seem to be the principal developments in recent years: first, the development of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; second, the development of the boarding home program in new cities and states; third, the development of a consciousness on the part of institutional managers of their responsibility not only to children while within their gates but also to children in their extramural relationships; fourth, the development of intake, adjustment, and mothers' aid in connection with both child placing agencies and institutions; fifth, the beginnings of systematic methods of discharge and of family and children's follow up supervision; sixth, the development of children's case work in the field of delinquency, even though only a beginning; seventh, the readjustments now going on in the children's protective field; eighth, the great extension of public service and the development of children's bureaus in various states; ninth, the development of medical, psychological, and psychiatric service in a considerable number of cities to be of great value as adjuncts to social case work for children; tenth, the appointment of state child welfare commissions and the impetus they have brought to progressive child welfare legislation; eleventh, the call for children's case workers technically trained in the children's field.

## RESEARCH IN THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

### A STUDY OF INTAKE IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

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This report on the two year intake study of commitments in Westchester County is presented from three points of view: first, the reason for undertaking the study; second, some of the facts discovered through the study; third, the significance of any such piece of research. Within the scope of this paper no more than a general summary of these three points will be possible. The third aspect, that is, the significance of the study, may be considered, both in relation to Westchester County and to the child welfare field in general.

Several questions which kept occurring to all who were interested in the development of the Department of Child Welfare were responsible for the study being undertaken. Efforts had been made over a period of years to improve the care given the committed children. Certain limitations on the opportunities which the Department could at best offer these children convinced all who gave any thought to the problem that the very fact that the children must be removed from the home made it impossible to meet some of their most important needs. One of the questions therefore was: Is it necessary for all these children to be committed? and another, What situations in their homes and in their own makeup are responsible for these commitments?

In Westchester County, as in most communities, children are committed on one of three charges: destitution; no proper guardianship; juvenile delinquency. The arrangements made for the care of the children, following their commitment, were to a large extent determined by these charges. It was important therefore to know whether any intrinsic significance could be attached to these charges or whether they were outworn legal phrases. In order to avoid a selection of cases which might affect this comparative study of commitment charges, it was decided to include the total number of children who were committed (and to take the cases chronologically over a period of two years). These were, therefore, all the children in the county who, during these two years, had to be removed from their homes and cared for at the county's expense. In brief, then, the study was undertaken to answer these questions: Why is there so much dependency? What are the dependent children like? Are there fundamental differences between the delinquent and the destitute and neglected children? In how far can a public department make provision for the needs of these children placed in its care?

There was nothing unusual in the years 1921 or 1922 which might have affected the intake, that is, no epidemics such as the "flu" epidemic of 1918, nor any unemployment crisis; nothing, in fact, atypical in respect to the nature of the commitments. In contrast to many other communities, there is no private child caring agency in Westchester to take children of better backgrounds

who in many communities can avoid becoming public charges through private placement. Troublesome children from the homes of the very rich could be provided for in private schools to escape falling into the hands of the court; but this situation is characteristic of all communities. With the exception perhaps of a little more variety (brought about by the absence of private agencies in the county), the intake of the Department was typical of that of any public agency.

The Department must review all applications for commitment under the Poor Law (and may refuse or accept them). It has no prerogative, however, in respect to the court commitments, except to give care after commitment. The children committed by the courts in 1921 and 1922 passed through the hands of any one of the ninety-six committing justices of the county whose occupations varied from lawyers to tinsmiths. All commitments occurring from January 2, 1921, to December 31, 1922, became subjects of the study. Four hundred and forty-three children were committed between these dates (a few cases of temporary commitment for hospital care or of recurrent commitments for some special service being excluded since they were not typical). The last examination was made in May, 1923; work on the study was begun in the fall of that year and was completed in June, 1926.

An investigation of each of these commitments was made by a Department of Child Welfare agent attached to the clinic. These agents had had special psychiatric as well as general case work training, and in surveying the situation sought information which threw light on the personality aspects of the child and his parents, as well as on the emotional interplay at home and at school. Following the extensive investigation given each case, the child received a complete physical and psychiatric examination, and a psychological test.

As case workers who worked on the study were of the opinion that only through the whole picture of each child's situation could an adequate answer to the questions stated above be given, a scale was devised to measure the effect upon the child's adjustment of the adequacy of his social situation in its economic, domestic, parental, educational, emotional, and intellectual aspects. The scale used by Dr. Harold Williams for the grading of homes gave us the suggestion for a device of this sort to bring out the case work values in an impersonal way and by a method which permitted some quantitative analysis. This schedule as finally formulated made it possible to grade under sixty-nine different headings the information contained in the records. Each of these factors was graded A, B, C, and D, each grading being defined as carefully as possible.

Some of the factors were: the parental supervision and control; the relation between the father and child; the relation between the mother and the child; the safety and security of the neighborhood; group activities in which

the child took part; as well as other factors more commonly recorded, such as economic condition, marital status, steadiness of the father's employment. By this scale the children from one type of commitment were compared with those from another.

If the answers to our inquiry as to what our study revealed were given with the same brevity as the question stated farther back, we need only give an adaptation of the definition of case work: first, every child presents an individual problem; second, his individuality is independent of his type of commitment; third, every member of his family must be considered in any plan of treatment if we are to have any success either in preventing commitment or in making an adjustment after commitment. It would be misleading, however, to stop with this brief summary of our results. I have not brought a display of tables and charts to give a detailed analysis of our findings, but there are a few outstanding facts, which I shall briefly run over.

According to our analysis of all the constructive and destructive factors in each family situation by the scale mentioned above, we concluded that there was a small group of cases in which destructive forces had not been at work long enough to have produced serious consequences. These families might have been held together with slight effort on the part of the community. A larger percentage had gone on so long without any constructive forces at work, and presented such a combination of low standards, vicious habits, ill health, and other disintegrating influences, that only the most radical treatment could offer the children any opportunity for a decent life. The bulk of the cases fell between these two; that is, with thought and effort on the community's part, there seemed to be a possibility of preserving much that was worth while for the development of the children in these homes. But every lost opportunity would throw them farther into the group of unadjustable cases.

In all three types of commitment, we found cases in which children were taken from home situations which offered them too much to justify their removal. In certain poor law cases, for instance, children of responsible widowers who with some guidance and assured of adequate supervision for their children would have made every effort to maintain their homes. No ready solution of their problems was at hand. Case work with such aids as visiting housekeepers, nurseries, organized recreation, and other supervisory substitutes constitutes the kind of adjustment by which the necessity for such commitments can be obviated. It is not at present a practical possibility for the Department of Child Welfare, except in relation to its mother's allowance work, to give long time supervision of families in which there are no committed children, and there was no other countywide agency to stand between these children and commitment.

In this connection mention might be made of the comparatively slight extent of actual destitution, as it is defined by law. Poverty, of course, was

found and in a few cases of all types of commitment, there was abject, degrading poverty, and in all cases except perhaps a very small number of court commitments, the family was unable to provide in any adequate way for the child away from the domestic unit as set up. But no unprejudiced person analyzing these records could escape the conclusion that few of these situations would have been affected constructively to any appreciable extent by the application of money alone.

The proportion of unnecessary court commitments was very much higher than those for destitution. Preliminary inquiry into the family's resources might have in many cases offered a satisfactory adjustment without the necessity even in such cases of long time supervision. The lack of facilities of probation, psychiatric clinics, and other aids to court work was shocking. So long as children could be committed by justices of the peace scattered in nearly a hundred places throughout the county, little could be done to remedy this situation. The present children's court was established the month after the study was closed, that is, in January, 1923, so that some of the implications in the commitment procedure are not applicable to the present court.

Of the specific findings one of the most startling was the fact that only about a third of the children were of average intelligence. The part played in the commitment of the other two-thirds, by their low intelligence, cannot of course be stated. Moreover the multiplicity of factors which played a part in commitment as brought out by the use of the scale mentioned above, makes it impossible to single out any one factor as preeminently important. It is certain, nevertheless, in relation to these children of low intelligence, that the schools were not functioning in the provision of special classes, or in the efforts of teachers to understand either the child's home situation or his intellectual or emotional needs. In three-fifths of the cases there was very definite evidence of emotional warping of the children begun in the homes and carried over into school maladjustment.

All of the eighteen girls committed for delinquency were retarded in school two years or more, and 75 per cent of the delinquent and neglected older boys were similarly retarded. Throughout the study the children were classified into two age groups, those under ten years and those over ten years, in order to make more valid our comparisons between the delinquent children and those committed on the other charges. In the matter of school retardation, the younger children were showing the same problem as the older group, though in lesser proportion, and like them were truanting and taking out their irritation in the classroom in disrupting behavior. Whatever relation any of these facts bears to the actual commitment of the children, our credulity is not challenged by the statement that the schools are doing nothing to prevent commitment so long as they continue to function in their routine way, without special provision for the retarded, underequipped child, and without awareness



of the interplay of domestic and emotional disturbance upon the child's school adjustment. Not only was there no organized effort by the school to meet the needs of children who were failing, but even in the individual case it was the rule, not the exception, to learn upon investigation that the school had not itself tried or had not enlisted the services of any agency to attempt an adjustment of the child's situation, though there was evidence in his attitude, his conduct and his school work of serious disturbance.

Nearly a third of the children received no stimulus at home to make any effort in school, no appreciation of school regulation, no discipline or healthy habits to offset their dull or defective intellectual makeup. Emotional disturbances, that is, unhealthy emotional states, were found in about one-fourth of the children and less than 7 per cent appeared as free, well-balanced personalities.

While only about 25 per cent of the children were underfed or showed the results of poor eating habits, nearly 75 per cent slept in badly ventilated, overcrowded rooms, sharing a bed with from two to four persons, indiscriminately as to sex and age, often as to relationship. In about 50 per cent of the cases there was impairment of health serious enough to demand attention.

I shall not go on reciting figures to show the distintegrating influences in the personalities of the parents, their poor health, incompetence, childish behavior, their own thwarting shown in emotional twists, unwillingness to work, and the like, all of which rendered them unable and unfit, in a large percentage of the cases, to maintain a home for their children, no less than to control them or direct their lives. Apart from the influence upon commitment of these parental inadequacies, the study shows the failure on the part of the community to substitute some opportunities to make up for these deprivations which have so conditioned the children that only when applied with the greatest skill can remedial measures hold out much hope of an adjustment which is satisfying for the child and socially acceptable as well.

When all the information contained in each record of 443 children is analyzed, as this was done under 69 headings, and is presented and interpreted, anyone, however limited his social training, must admit that there is no panacea, social or legislative. Research of this sort is merely a social diagnosis of a large number of cases and has the same value that the analysis of an individual case has. Though we acknowledge that we cannot accomplish the whole job, we see wherein lie our chances for some success and wherein lie our greatest needs and risks, and, impressed with the size of the whole job, we realize the importance of preventive measures as against remedial.

And what of the treatment? The treatment for all these cases is fundamentally (only one kind, that is) case work adapted to the individual needs of each child. It cannot be legislated and ritualistically defined. Our chances for success in handling these children are the chances for success in all case work

effort with all children. They depend wholly on our ability to secure more understanding and sympathy with each child's actual needs, and with the needs of all who come in contact with him, and to meet these with more intelligence, greater objectivity, and a scrapping of the routine, treadmill method of allocating this problem here and that problem there. Every factor within each family situation which can check or ward off social breakdown must be recognized as well as the forces working toward maladjustment. In the careful nurturing of every hopeful force lies our greatest chance for real success.

However socially conscious and resourceful a public department or a private agency may be, it can offer too little to any child to justify the breaking up of a single home without a thorough search into all the possibilities within the home itself; and a weighing of all the possible advantages of removal from home against the almost inevitable emotional disruption consequent upon commitment. The classifying of the disintegrating factors as they appear in emotional and domestic disturbances, school failures, community indifference, and legal formalism further convinces us that no agency, public or private, can alone get anywhere with any program of social treatment. A public department is in many ways even more handicapped than a private agency because of restriction on its personnel and the attitude of the public toward social experiment.

The study has brought home to us the need for more and better case work with emphasis on the subtle interplay of relationships not only between parents and children, but between teachers and their pupils as well as between social workers in every field, and client, school, and court. If we see farther than the school or court sees, it is up to us to get over to these agencies their opportunities. The content of case work situations, as revealed through such a study, is not fixed and unchangeable. Evaluation and revaluation of the results of a program formulated from such a study must be continuous, not only to help us to orient ourselves to our job, but in order that we may be so steeped in its implications that we can keep our public informed of changing points of view, of new insight into old problems, and of new suggestions for meeting them.

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#### THE SURVEY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LOCAL CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM

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The child guidance clinic as a quick way out for a community not doing well by its children struck the fancy of a group of energetic young women in a southern city. Being accustomed to getting what they wanted, they went directly to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to procure one. They had ample reason to think something was needed. There was in the city an in-

stitution with good intentions but no access to case work service, a small child placing society which placed infants for adoption, a family agency which was almost solely a relief giving agency but had departments dealing ineffectively with girls and neglected children, a juvenile court which was swamped under a load that reduced it to touch-and-go contacts with emergencies, several commercial and one non-commercial maternity homes dealing with illegitimacy, and a girls' training school which accepted those girls who in the opinion of the superintendent would not seriously injure the tone of the whole group made up of girls committed because of dependency and milder delinquency. Mothers' aid was spread thinly over a number of families, but many were on the waiting list with small prospect of even that inadequate assistance. There was no case work of acceptable grade in the community.

Taking this fact into account, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene proposed that a survey precede any plans for a clinic, preferring not to introduce so specialized an instrument into so crude a situation. It was easily apparent that case work service performed by personnel with real training had to be brought in; the question was, where and how? An organization survey and a study of selected cases was made to get local facts and to evaluate what was there.

As a result the community accepted a plan to develop a case work service, of which the institution board should be the base and in which the institution facilities should perform receiving and study home functions. The random work with girls was detached from the family society and, with the local work of the adoption agency, given a protective program which includes case work service with the one non-commercial maternity home, the demonstration of staff inadequacy enabled the judge of the juvenile court to get two additional probation officers with some training. Trained personnel have been secured to head up the protective work for girls and as executive secretary of the agency being built by the institution board. To keep pace with these beginnings the groups interested in the child guidance clinic were persuaded (with little effort) to view that as an objective rather than an immediate project and to work toward it by first opening a small pediatric clinic, then adding a psychologist, and after a couple of years securing a psychiatrist, the clinic to serve the new agencies for examinations and the agency based on the institution to develop case work service, boarding home care, and special training service, which would be established by the time a psychiatric service would be started.

In a certain midwestern city a survey revealed that public agencies were throwing on the private societies the difficult cases the public agencies did not labor to care for, an interesting reversal of a commoner process. The laws in that state gave the public agencies such a sense of definite policies with constructive purpose that the less well defined private agencies had accepted the rôle of catch-all, much to their own hurt. The public departments responded

to the findings and are striving to rectify the situation so as to insure continuity of case work service for themselves and the private agencies.

A highly efficient state welfare department through judicious pressure on board members brought about a survey of the work of a private statewide child placing agency. Findings more than confirmed impressions of low standards and inefficient work. As a concrete step toward improvement, a trained case work supervisor was introduced. But she could not work under the unchanged management and a new executive was secured. But the board remained practically inert, and for this and other reasons this worker left. Today, five years after the survey, the society is slowly struggling toward the objectives set at that time. Outside pressure was not sufficient to secure the cooperation of the board. Without cooperation from within an organization results do not come.

From these illustrations it may be seen that the survey is a device to be used with understood purpose and discretion, not only as it may depend on the qualifications of the surveyors but also as it may be likely to be effective in a particular social situation. It is not, however, a true research project in the strict meaning of that word. Certain important considerations should be noted affecting its usefulness to communities or separate organizations that have, or wish to have, programs for children in need of special care. I shall not discuss qualifications for making surveys further than to point out that inasmuch as social planning is not yet mathematically exact science but deals with the intangibles of human relationships, the experience and social understanding of the surveyors is of the highest importance. It is perhaps not difficult for anyone to acquire some of the general ideas which underlie the organization of children's work, but to convert these into particulars in a local program requires experience in their use. Since social planning is not a mathematical exercise we must depend on interchange and pooling of experience, bringing to bear on one community or organization the experience of other somewhat similar communities and organizations. The interpretation and adaptation to the local situation of the principles emerging from this wider experience is an essential process of the survey. Such experience qualifications in the surveying agency are thus prerequisite to its effectiveness in a given undertaking.

The foregoing applies to any process which might be denominated a survey. Because of the time allotted to this discussion I shall exclude brief summings up of situations, and have in mind surveys involving more or less extended field work to secure a body of facts, analysis of the facts, and evaluation of them with reference to experience in other communities as a basis for planning. It is true that one function of a survey is to assemble local facts with which to support any planning recommendation, and thus the process might be considered as applicable to even the simplest situations. Considerations of ex-

pediency, however, make the simpler consultation method seem adequate for certain elementary situations.

Opportunity for survey service is not always represented by an invitation to perform it. A successful survey is a cooperative undertaking. This implies not only readiness on the part of local people to invest money but also the presence of primary social work organization for children. When, for example, the social resources of a town are a visiting teacher, some public poor relief, and a court which commits children to state institutions, no great time need be spent in learning whether there is need for some kind of community case work service available to families and children, or in determining how to relate such service to other resources in the community, since there are so few. The interest of one group may well suffice for an immediate beginning without further parley.

On the other hand a community equipped with a well intentioned juvenile court but with untrained staff, a family society largely engaged on a relief program, an old fashioned adoption society, public service of the same general grade, and a number of children's institutions of the older sort may present a survey opportunity only under certain conditions. Such a community would probably consider itself (and be popularly considered) reasonably well equipped for service to children. An invitation to survey the adoption agency would, however, not be a worth while opportunity since that would reach the general mediocre level of work only indirectly and not in sufficient detail to demonstrate the improvements needed in other organizations as well. The absence of any considerable appreciation of the need of a general survey among the board members and supporters of the community chest would be an added reason for considering an invitation to survey a single organization no real opportunity.

In another community, however, there has been an opportunity in spite of much lower general standards and the absence of any trained case work service whatever. The anxiety of an influential group of representatives from various boards to learn whether they are "getting their money's worth" of service made possible a comprehensive survey of all the existing children's services and was sufficient basis for planning the introduction of trained service (which a glance would have shown to be necessary), with various organization realignments as well. Supporters of the community chest actively aided the secretary of the chest in securing the agreement of the various agency and institution executives and boards.

The participation of board members in a survey committee with continuing responsibility for following up recommendations, in addition to the interest of the executive, is an indispensable preliminary condition. During the course of a survey wise local counselors are necessary and may be found among a well chosen committee. Knotty questions of adaptation to local peculiari-

ties may be discussed with direct representatives of the intelligent public, and so the public can be brought on by stages to the common conclusions the survey may reach. Their understanding is helped by an outsider's view of their local work. Improvement of service involves more than improvement of technical processes. These can be improved by raising the quality of personnel. But personnel, as we have illustrated, can function only when the board or boards provide intelligently the way and means. Furthermore, the board members know the community as the executive does not and are known to the community as sponsors of social work in a way that the employed personnel cannot be, however genuinely respected. Also board members remain while executive and staff come and go, and even more obviously, after surveyors have departed. Consistent progress in a known direction requires then that these permanent elements in the community or organization be prepared to secure that progress both in the month by month work, and not less when, for example, the choice of a new executive must be considered or has become necessary.

Possibility of farreaching achievement, the correlative of opportunity, depends then upon the cooperative nature of the survey. Where results do not appear the causes may be expected to include some defect in the education of the local survey committee. There may be other causes, of course, such as insufficient data and consequent untenable conclusions, or the removal of a key executive from the scene, or the suppression of reports by persons unwilling to consider the facts and conclusions presented. But these are all minor difficulties compared to the lack of intelligent committee participation and will not be serious when the committee factor is secured.

The method or methods used should cover at least two aspects of the work surveyed: the machinery or organization (including relationships); and since this is a case work matter, some reasonably accurate evaluation of the effect of this machinery on the individuals passing through it.

Thus there may be conceivably a variety of emphases laid on study of organization, board makeup and action, budget and per capita costs, case loads, statistics of population or children in care, referrals, qualifications of personnel, training of personnel, medical and mental health services, record reading, and field case work. And these emphases will vary from organization to organization, and certainly as between communities. Study of the organization side of the work will vary perhaps less than methods adopted for the evaluation of the effect on persons served. Objective and rather readily ascertainable facts are represented in the machinery, except, of course, in the realms of personality makeup of board and staff. This objectivity lends itself to appraisal through interview, observation, and more or less intensive acquaintance with other machinery in the community. A creditable effect may be brought about by this method if the local committee is intelligently cooperative



and has in its membership persons accustomed to think in terms of organization.

To evaluate the work in terms of results secured with clients, record reading and field case work by the survey staff have been used in the examples cited. In the cruder community, where a record consisted of little beyond the name and address of the child, concrete discussions of the effects of defective case work could be undertaken only after adequate case work had revealed what had not been done that should have been done in a series of cases. In the better developed community the reading of reasonably adequate records of case work in the public department and in the private agencies confirmed in terms of ill effect on individuals the conclusions reached by a study of organization relationships. No other method than actual reinvestigation of cases followed by field work visits to the placed out children could reveal what was really happening to them while in the care of the statewide society mentioned. Behind such evidence of results one cannot go. This method applied in a fairly well organized community also draws a picture of agency relationships, reveals blank spaces in social machinery and trouble spots in communities, as illustrated in our published *Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Rochester, New York*.

This method is expensive because of the time it consumes, but some of it gives to survey findings life and definiteness sometimes difficult to secure in other ways. Such material is particularly effective for the education of the local committee. When social work organization is viewed through actual cases it does not remain mere machinery.

Given the interest of a local committee and fairly adequate reports, eventual accomplishment depends more on understanding and initiative of the local group than upon the surveying agency, but only relatively so since interpretation and counsel may be required for an indefinite subsequent period.

## II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

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### CONDITIONS BREEDING DELINQUENCY IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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Continuous residence in a rural community presents an unparalleled opportunity for observation of conditions breeding delinquency and offers material for such a study. It is out of fifteen years of continuous experience as a social worker in a rural field that the following facts are presented for discussion.

Rockland County, New York, is a small triangular county located on the west bank of the Hudson River, about thirty miles from New York City. The area of the county is 282 square miles, the population 56,479, grouped about four main villages, each containing 5,000 to 8,000 inhabitants.

Transportation from one section of the county to another is very easy, for bus lines run in every direction and nearly every family owns at least one automobile. The occupations of the county are fruit growing, small dairies and farms, and such manufacturing as small silk mills, brick yards, paper mills, and many other small and varied industries. There is a large commuting population and the usual number of local stores and small business enterprises. The county is a prosperous one with no great wealth and little real poverty.

Twenty-two years ago, a small group of citizens of the county organized under the New York State Charities Aid Association as the Rockland County Branch, and obtained from the Board of Supervisors, the fiscal board of the county, an appropriation to maintain an agent to assist the elected poor law officials in providing for the destitute, dependent, delinquent, and defective children of the county. The seven poor law officials whom the children's agent was to assist are elected by popular vote and are usually employed at some regular occupation during the day. The same was true of the justices of the peace, before whom the delinquent children were brought under the law. Each of the twenty-nine justices had power in Rockland County to hear delinquency cases and commit children to institutions. The rest of the charitable machinery of the county then consisted of the county almshouse for the care of aged men and women, presided over by the superintendent of the poor, who had also nominal supervision over the town overseers of the poor giving outdoor relief, and two private hospitals which had a county subsidy to care for poor patients.

As there was no other social worker in the county at that time, naturally the task was very varied. Transportation facilities were so poor that many parts of the county could only be reached by one train a day and then a drive by any conveyance that was available to the home of the family in need. The records often were written up in the railroad station or on the train. For several years before the local county tuberculosis hospital was built and before a tuberculosis or public health nurse came to the county, the agent had long, never-to-be-forgotten trips with seriously ill and sometimes dying patients to the nearest hospital in a neighboring county. The strain of these experiences upon a layman can only be appreciated by those who have experienced them.

Providing for the dependent children in boarding homes and supervising them, helping the twenty-nine justices of the peace with delinquent children, assisting the county judge in the commitment or care of feeble-minded and the superintendent of the poor in the care of physically defective children and adults, investigating and supervising outdoor relief when asked to do so by any of the seven overseers of the poor, was necessarily spreading the worker's efforts too thinly for the best results, even though she was aided by the supervision and advice of her own statewide organization and the State Board of Charities. It was one way of getting some form of social work started in a rural community.

In addition to making investigations and visits the agent also had to interpret the work to the different groups in the county: first to the board of supervisors who assisted by their cordial personal interest and a county appropriation to place the organization on a firm financial basis; second to the county and supreme court judge, to the district attorney, and to the poor law officials, without whose cooperation the work could not go on; and third to the residents of the county who when they understood the work and its purpose began to take advantage of the opportunity for help for themselves and for those in whom they were interested.

The New York Mother's Allowance Act was passed in 1915. As the county was so small that two offices seemed inadvisable, and as the agent for children was already visiting widows with children, the Board of Child Welfare created by this law asked the cooperation of the State Charities Aid Association to the extent of allowing their agent to act as investigator for them also. At about the same time the local committee provided the agent with a Ford car and a stenographer.

It was in December 1914 that we first became acquainted with the Bells. The family, consisting of mother and five children, Katherine fourteen, Fred seven, James three, and Frank one year, were reported by the pastor of the local church who said that the mother was a widow, the father having died last April; that the father always worked hard for the family but was not of strong mentality, nor was the mother either; that the family were related

to the Gardner family, also a poor lot with several children; that the oldest daughter, Katie, earned \$3.00 a week at the silk mill, and that the mother before her marriage had been in the Salvation Army Home with Katherine, who was illegitimate.

Investigation showed that the overseer of the poor of the town had been giving \$5.00 a month grocery order since immediately after the father's death, but that the family had moved to a section of the village which was in another township and the allowance had been reduced to \$3.00 a month with the threat to discontinue it soon, as she was now out of his district. The reason for the mother's change of residence showed her lack of ability. A neighbor had offered to set her up in a soda fountain business in a nearby city and she had given up her home preparatory to moving there. The first payment the man demanded took the last \$40.00 of her husband's insurance and the next demand of \$15.00 had also been met before an investigation of the location of the supposed store showed a false address. Attempts to recover the \$55.00 proved futile and the family settled down in the village again.

The overseer of the poor of the new place of residence was asked for \$8.00 a month and gave \$6.00. The mother took in some washing and Katherine's earnings were increased to \$3.25 a week. The baby, which had some trouble with its back, was taken to the State Hospital for Crippled Children for examination, reported improving, and the family struggled along.

In January, 1916, Katherine was earning \$18.00 a month at the silk mill but her employers were constantly troubled by telephone calls in male voices asking for her release from work for the afternoon to care for a sick mother or a similar excuse.

A man and his wife and a young fellow boarded with Mrs. Bell, paying \$4.50 a month toward her rent, which was \$6.00 a month. Katherine earned \$18.00 a month, and the town contributed \$12.00 a month. In February, 1916, a mother's allowance application by the mother was laid on the table to see if a promise of further consideration would provide her with an incentive to improve. In March, 1916, Katherine ran away from home, was traced to a neighboring city in New Jersey, and returned to her home by the agent and a police officer. In June a mother's allowance was granted, not so much to increase the income, as to provide more definite supervision, but in spite of the now adequate income, conditions in the family did not improve. In January, 1917, a young girl of the community developed a terrible case of venereal disease and Katherine with two other girls disappeared into New Jersey, fearing the grand jury investigation which followed an indictment of a saloon keeper for allowing girls under eighteen to enter his saloon and dancehall. In October, 1917, Mrs. Bell gave birth to an illegitimate child by a married man. The "town doctor," the justice of the peace, and the overseer of the poor of the town who provided for her care, interviewed the man and agreed to accept

\$100.00 and not prosecute the case. The agent, however, reported the matter to the district attorney who was not particularly interested and delayed action until the criminal disappeared. The Widow Pension Board therefore discontinued its allowance and advised the overseer of the poor to remove the children on charge of improper guardianship. No immediate action resulted as Katherine returned home and helped to support the family until she married in January, 1918.

The following May Mrs. Bell asked that her children be placed in a home and in June conditions became so bad that the overseer of the poor consented to assume the financial support of the children in a boarding home, on the mother's surrender. The youngest boy, James, was sent temporarily to the Skin and Cancer Hospital in the city until the sores with which he was covered should be healed. Fred and Frank were placed in a boarding home and James, after his return from the hospital, in another nearby. The illegitimate baby was placed in a free home very soon, but returned because he developed what appeared to be fits. After observation in a local hospital and nearly one year in the State Hospital for Epileptics, it was decided that he was not epileptic. In November, 1919, he was placed in a free home and legally adopted in April, 1921. The other three children were placed in free homes also and did very well.

In dealing with this family the agent naturally became well acquainted with the other branches of the family. Mr. Bell had a sister who was the second wife of one William Gardner. Mr. Gardner was a heavy drinker and shot his first wife accidentally, which left him with two girls. He married Mary Bell and there were two boys by this marriage. Neither parent was of strong mentality and the home environment was about on a level with the Bells, with the added factor of alcoholism. Mr. Gardner was frequently before the police court and serving time in the county jail on complaint of his wife. Mrs. Gardner worked or stayed with her relatives during her husband's periodic imprisonments. Yet, in spite of the vicissitudes of the home life, the children attended school and Sunday school regularly. Ten years ago the family moved a few miles away. Mr. Gardner found a job on a farm where he was able to do the work and Mrs. Gardner lived in the tenant house with her family and cooked on the estate. The two girls, both of whom were somewhat defective, married and one has a very nice home. About two years ago, the two boys, now grown up, came back to the village in which they had formerly lived to make a short visit. Both are fine self respecting and self supporting young fellows, engaged in useful occupations, maintaining homes of their own, sending their children regularly to school and to Sunday school and themselves taking their normal place in the small community in which they live, accepting the responsibility of citizenship, parenthood, and loyalty to the institutions of society, the church, the school, and the community.

These stories have been described at some length because they bring out many of the breeding places of delinquency in Rockland County fifteen years ago: First, there was the evil of the legalized liquor traffic, intensified by mental deficiency. Alcoholism periodically deprived Mr. Gardner's family of his presence in the home, as well as of his earnings, actual and potential, for all of his jail sentences were preceded by a period of drunkenness. This same legalized liquor traffic provided Katherine and her friends with a place of amusement under conditions which resulted in her moral ruin and the physical wreck of her companions. Second, there was the mental deficiency of Mrs. Bell, which apparently rendered her incapable of coping with the problems of disciplining and training her family. This seemed to be equally a factor in the Gardner family. Third, there was the economic dependence, inadequately relieved by the haphazard method of outdoor relief under the supervision of an unsocialized overseer of the poor and an overworked county agent. Fourth, there were the individual bad habits of Katherine and her mother which resulted in the one case in definite moral delinquency and in the other in the birth of her two illegitimate children.

There is also another side to the picture which should be analyzed: First, the Gardner family, in whose home conditions at the start seemed to be about on a level with the Bells, came under the régime of national prohibition and Mr. Gardner also secured a position with his wife and family on a farm at work in which he was able to make good. The regular income combined with less temptation to spend it as soon as earned relieved the economic dependence. The normal institutions of society, the public school, the church, and the social life of the small community to which they moved, with the factors of relief from the menace of the legalized liquor traffic and economic dependence, enabled this family to raise themselves to a normal level of society in one generation. In the Bell family, the removal of the children from their mother at an early age, the physical upbuilding and careful moral training of the boarding home with ultimate placement in normal free family homes, resulted in satisfactory adjustment to the normal level of community and family life for the four children.

The Bell and Gardner families represent the main factors of delinquency in Rockland County fifteen years ago. Let us now see how conditions have changed. Then there was only one social worker covering the entire county. Relief and supervision were entirely inadequate. The work was not well understood, there was little public sentiment for it, and financial support was meager. Today the county agent has a Ford car for transportation to facilitate supervision, no increase of appropriation has ever been refused, and private support has increased. There is a Board of Child Welfare administering mother's allowances to the amount of \$10,000. There are still seven overseers of the poor administering outdoor relief, but the amount given is much



more nearly adequate and the type of official is higher. There is a County Tuberculosis Hospital with a community nurse attached to its staff. There are two public health nurses and several school nurses besides the school physicians who make the periodic health examinations required by law. The State Hospital for Crippled Children has doubled its capacity and one of the state institutions for mental deficiency has been built in this county. This institution and the State Hospital for the Insane both hold clinics which are available for county cases. There are two other agencies in the county not usually classed as social agencies. A Protestant County Sunday School Association and a Boy Scout Organization, each with a well trained, full time paid executive. The Catholic Charities also maintain an agent in the county on part time.

Specialization of work, of course, gives each agency a better opportunity to do its own work thoroughly. The multiplication of facilities has lessened some problems. Better economic conditions have reduced the number of applications for material relief almost to a minimum. Drunkenness is no longer a factor, nor is the saloon with its attendant dance hall and other social attractions. In one village where the main street in 1914 contained eight saloons, the same buildings are now occupied by the Masonic order, a dry goods store, a grocery store, and other useful places of business. The recreational phases of life in this particular village are now taken care of largely by the modern movie theater, the gymnasium and recreational plants maintained by an institutional church and another religious organization, the fraternal orders, the firemen's associations, and the social life centering in the churches and schools of the community.

Mental deficiency is still a problem, though somewhat relieved by the increased facilities for institutional care for the most difficult cases, by special classes in the public school and by relief from economic depression. Work is plenty, varied, and well paid. Even a girl earns today in one week what Katherine earned in a month fifteen years ago. If public relief is necessary it is granted after investigation and under supervision of either the Board of Child Welfare, the agent for the State Charities Aid Association, or by an overseer of the poor who is today a much higher type of official, elected by the citizens of the county to whom the value of intelligent social work has been demonstrated by the private agencies. In several families in which the mental deficiency has been most marked, I have noticed that there is a tendency for the family to die out in the third generation, which would seem to indicate that Nature, given time, has a way of handling this problem. Some families like the Gardners, when the other factors as economic dependence and alcoholism are removed, do raise themselves to a higher level (in spite of the mental deficiency) in the next generation. But it is possible that there are other factors and problems which have not been noted.

An examination was made of the grand jury indictments presented to the supreme and county courts for the year 1914. Of these, the largest group, 47 per cent, were for offenses against property. The next largest for disorderly conduct and assault, including a first degree murder, crimes of violence in which alcoholism was usually a factor. The third group were violations of the liquor tax law and rape, etc. The 1926 records were compared with the 1914: in 1926 the largest group, 58 per cent, were for offenses against property; the next largest for crime against the person, as rape, incest, sodomy; and the third group were miscellaneous, including four indictments for manslaughter.

A comparison of these records shows clearly two things: first, that crimes against property form the largest group today and are increasing in proportion to the total number of crimes; and, second, that the seriousness of the crime has increased. The burglary and grand larceny indictments of 1914 were second and third degree; those of 1926 are almost entirely first and second degree. Furthermore, obviously crimes against property are increasing with economic independence and not the opposite, as we expected. This is also true of the crimes against person, which, although economic dependence is removed, have increased in violence.

Rockland County established in 1921, in accordance with the New York state law, a county juvenile court, presided over by the county judge who appointed under civil service three probation officers, one man and two women. The agent of the State Charities Aid Association was one of these. During the year 1926, fifty-one cases came before this court. Of these the classification is as follows: petit larceny, non-support, waywardness, improper guardianship.

The following is a rather typical case taken from the 1926 records: Sadie at the age of sixteen became engaged to Mike Jones and in spite of protests of Sadie's parents she married him. Four children followed in rapid succession. Mike had a good job, was sober and industrious. Sadie was a good housekeeper and very attractive and they got along fairly well for a time. Then Mike began to stay out nights, leaving Sadie tied down with the children. Then less and less of his earnings came into the home. Sadie discovered he was taking another young girl out and resented this. Many quarrels followed, for Sadie had a very wide vocabulary and had never learned to control either temper or tongue. She had a very real grievance and Mike was stubborn and wayward. All efforts of the relatives on both sides of the family and of the children's agent failed. Finally Sadie walked off and left Mike with the four children. She was gone two days, during which Mike's wrath reached a fever pitch and exploded when Sadie telephoned him to know how he liked taking care of the children. The matter was then taken before the children's court, Mike ordered to pay \$22.00 a week to his wife for the home. Mike's brother

went his bond and peace reigned for about a month. Mike then went back to the judge and said he would pay for the children in a boarding home but would not live with Sadie. She also wished to go her own way, find work, and keep the youngest child with her. Mike agreed to pay the necessary \$6.00 a week board for each of the three, and the children were transferred to a good boarding home. The next week Mike and a young girl of sixteen disappeared from the county. The girl's mother notified the police, the couple were located through Mike's relatives, who all along stood by Sadie, and Mike landed in the county jail.

No one of the three main factors in breeding delinquency fifteen years ago seemed to be the outstanding trouble here. It was not alcoholism, nor marked mental defect, nor economic dependence apparently. The interesting and significant observation which forces itself on our attention is this: In Rockland County, through social and natural agencies, the environment and biological inheritance improved, but delinquency merely changed its form.

With increased earning power and educational and material advantages has come an increasing desire to "get things" and to "do as we please." The problem lies not, it seems to me, in the desire, but in the determination, to get them, no matter what the cost in moral and social disaster. Thefts of candy, toys, a radio, an automobile; indulgence in petting parties, illicit sex relations, divorce, and free love have their rise in individual bad habits and ideals. As I look over fifteen years of social experience in a rural community and into our measure of success in weeding out some of the breeding places of delinquency—for we have had some measure of success—there is one fact which stands out.

Fifteen years ago the township in which the Bells lived was an unprogressive little community whose citizens were uninterested in any moral or civic improvement. One overcrowded school building housed both the grade and the high school, with several small district schools in the outlying districts; the saloons and the public dancehall were the chief recreational centres; there was no sewer system, no library, and a corrupt political machine. The eleven churches, far too numerous for the size of the population, were each struggling to maintain themselves but making little positive impression on the village life. The most thoughtful minds of the community were, however, in the church membership and needed only stimulus and leadership from the outside to awaken them to action. The largest of these churches called a new pastor with keen mind, attractive personality, and social vision. As this church strengthened, the others did also and the members began to consider afresh the problems of the community. Renewed interest in social, political, educational and moral reform resulted, which gave the social worker an oppor-

tunity to present suggestions for the solution of some of the problems and assured her of support in her work.

The change in this rural village has been rapid. The population has increased from 4,500 to 6,000, a sewer system has been installed, two new schools have been built, one of them the best equipped high school in the county. Appreciation of the advantage of better educational facilities led to the consolidation of four of the district schools of the township and the school population increased from 963 to 1,542. Some of the business men bought up the old saloons for business and fraternal organizations, an athletic field was laid out, a community Boy Scout Council, composed of representatives of each church troop, was organized and a social and recreational center with a resident rabbi was established for the Hebrew boys and girls. A free library was started, and a community council of religious education was formed of all the churches, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Hebrew, Greek Catholic and Christian Science, to promote a weekday school of religious education for high school students with diploma credit, which has been in successful operation under the Board of Regents of New York State for three years.

This last work has been started with a view to giving the coming generation so strong a foundation for high ideals that the experiences of modern life or the college classroom cannot affect it. The professor of the college classroom who stands before his sociology class, as many are doing today in our so called liberal institutions, and the social worker in the field who undermines by statement or innuendo the influence of the church of whatever denomination, is destroying not only that which makes social work possible, but is disregarding the facts and revealing his own lack of sincere reflection on the factors influencing human behavior. Eighty per cent of the gifts to charitable organizations in Rockland County come from members of the churches, which indicates that not only is their moral support essential, but their financial contributions are a large factor in maintaining the organization.

The work in Rockland County would never have progressed as it has were it not for the fact that back of the social work has stood the great socializing institution, the church. Social agencies of all types recognize in theory the importance of religious training. "What church do you attend?" "Are you a member?" "Will you send this child to church and Sunday school with reasonable regularity?" are asked of every boarding and foster mother in our organization and in many others. Even the Boy Scout movement found it could not survive unless tied up to some church organization and each church has its own troop, meeting in the church building. Why? For two reasons: because church affiliation, no matter how stereotyped, represents an effort of life upgrade; and because, for the child we know poor biological inheritance and a bad environment need the stimulus which religion alone gives to provide that third factor which enables the human being to triumph over heredity and environment.

## THE RURAL JAIL

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The word "jail" is sometimes loosely used synonymously with the word "prison," referring to any place where people are locked up. In the United States, however, it usually means "a place to confine those guilty of minor offenses or awaiting trial." The term "jail" is properly applied not only to county jails but to city and village lockups and police stations.

The United States Census Bureau, in 1910, listed about 3,000 county jails. No one knows how many city and village lockups there are in the United States, but the number probably is at least 10,000.

State prisons and state reformatories are under the control and supervision of state officers, either general boards which administer both the state correctional and charitable institutions, or state boards or state superintendents which administer only correctional institutions. In a few states, as in Massachusetts, Indiana, and Michigan, there are advisory state boards which exercise a certain limited supervision over county jails and municipal lockups, but in most states these institutions are entirely under the control of the county, city, or village authorities, and the responsibility for their administration is strictly a local matter.

Few people realize that the jail is the most important prison in the land, because nearly all prisoners get their first prison experience in a lockup, a police station, or a county jail, and the possibility of restoring them to good citizenship is greater then than at any subsequent time. It is appalling to discover the public indifference which exists in nearly all communities with reference to these institutions. The popular feeling appears to be that anything is good enough for criminals and that all inmates of these institutions belong to the criminal class. In law, every person accused of crime is deemed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and it is a fact that many prisoners find their way into jail who are subsequently proved to be entirely innocent, and many others are accidental criminals who with proper treatment need never offend a second time against the law. When De Tocqueville visited this country, more than ninety years ago, he said that the American prisons were the worst in the world, and that indictment still stands against the great majority of our local jails.

*Lockups and police stations.*—The village lockup, the "cooler," the "calaboose," is in most cases a place unfit for the confinement of a human being. These lockups are usually dirty, unventilated fire traps. In Michigan and Minnesota multitudes of them are constructed entirely of wood. In many cases they are located in the cellar of a village building. In other cases they are attached to the village fire house—a good plan, because the firemen are usually unwilling to stand for a filthy place. Most of them are infested with

vermin and it is almost unknown to have clean bedding furnished for the prisoners. A large proportion of them are used as lodging places for tramps and vagrants whose presence adds to the filth and the wretched condition of the place.

When the writer was inspector of prisons for the state of Minnesota he received annual reports on lockups and police stations from the local health officers. Out of the two hundred lockups and police stations only twenty were reported to have the bedding washed as often as once a month. The following are sample replies received from health officers in answer to the question: "How often is the bedding washed?": "Once a year"; "Never been washed"; "Aired after use"; "One time"; "Twice"; "Never"; "Don't know"; "Not very often"; "Not last year." In answer to the question: "How often is the lockup scrubbed?" thirty-five out of two hundred lockups were reported to be scrubbed as often as once a month. Of these eight were reported to be scrubbed daily; two, three times a week, and one twice a week; while ten were reported as being scrubbed only once a year.

The following incidents illustrate the loose and haphazard way in which some of the lockups and police stations are administered and the possibility which always exists of persons of excellent character and reputation being forced, through unfortunate circumstances, to spend time in these institutions, subjected, of course, to whatever filth and indignities the institution has to offer.

The writer on one occasion inspected the lockup at Sauk Centre, Minnesota (subsequently immortalized in *Main Street*). The chimney of the wooden building had fallen down and the lockup was uninhabitable. The thermometer was at zero. After some search the village marshal was discovered on the street. On inquiry as to how he was caring for his prisoners, he pointed to a man wearing a buffalo coat and said: "There is the prisoner. He goes around with me." "What do you do with him at night?" "Oh, I put him to bed on the top floor of the hotel and take his clothes away."

A prisoner died on a wooden bench in a lockup of the Minneapolis police station. On inquiry, the jailer reported: "This man was arrested as drunk and put into a cell. I took him some dinner at noon, but he would not eat anything, and when I came back at night he was dead."

In the city of New York recently a well-to-do woman from out of town refused to pay the statutory cab fare, claiming that it was exorbitant, and was taken to a police station. She sat up all night on a cell bunk because no suitable sleeping place was provided.

The writer some time ago saw a woman prisoner lying on a cot in an unlocked room of a New Jersey police station opening into a public hallway. The jailer explained that this woman was a frequent visitor and was regarded as a trusty, therefore she was not locked up.



A gentleman recently stated to the writer that his son, a boy of sixteen, was on the street in the evening with a group of lads when a policeman was making an arrest. The boys crowded near and he warned them away. This boy did not move quickly enough and he was arrested for obstructing an officer and was taken to the police station. He was unable to communicate with his father and spent the night in a cell. The father said: "The boy feels humiliated and degraded beyond expression. I am afraid that he will never get over it."

In the city of Boston, two or three years ago, the writer visited a police station near the State House. The officer in charge cheerfully furnished a guide who exhibited the dark and dirty cells. The women occupied cells in the same room and opening on the same corridor with those provided for men. The guide showed a cell which was liable to be used for any person who might be arrested for a minor offense. The visitor stepped into the cell and the officer cautioned him, saying, "Be careful, Sir; do not touch the bunk."

Some time ago the writer made an address on the prison question to an audience of men and women in a South Carolina city. He said:

When I speak on the prison question I am accustomed to visit the prisons of the town in order to get "local color." I visited today your county jail and your police station. The county jail is rated by the state inspector as the best jail in the state. The men's department of the city police station is fairly good, as police stations go. It has eight cells lighted by a skylight, and they are fairly clean.

At one side of the room is an aisle three or four feet wide, separating the men's department from the women's department. There is a room for Negro women which has a door with a skylight which admits some light and air and gives opportunity for friendly converse with the male prisoners. There is a room provided for white women which has a grated door from top to bottom, but there is also a wooden door which the women can close, if they see fit. In the white women's room is an ordinary double wooden bedstead on which is a mattress, some blankets and a dirty pillow without any pillow case.

I wish to make a bona fide offer to the women of this audience. To any woman who will visit the police station, enter the white women's room and shake one of the blankets with her hands I will give \$2.00. If she will lie down on the blanket and put her head on the pillow, I will give her \$5.00.

The speaker does not wish to criticize the city officers for this condition; it is similar to what is frequently found in police stations throughout the United States. But he does wish to say that if this condition continues for two weeks longer, there will be 50 women in this city who will be responsible for it, because the women in this audience can change that condition, if they get busy.

*County jails.*—There are about 3,000 county jails in the United States. Nearly every county in the United States has one. In a few of the large cities of the country, like Boston, Baltimore, Memphis, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Los Angeles, there are jails which are so arranged as to keep prisoners secure and provide for their proper classification; they are supplied with equipment for lighting, heating, and ventilation, and also with proper offices, clinic and hospital accommodations for the work of the physicians and psychiatrists;

but these are marked exceptions. Adequate county jails are in process of erection at Chicago and Houston, Texas.

The jails of Portland, Maine, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Denver, Omaha, and San Francisco are highly inadequate, insanitary, and discreditable. In all of these jails the prisoners are exhibited in cages, like wild beasts at a menagerie, there is desperate overcrowding and the prisoners are kept in idleness and forced into intimate association with the worst criminals to be found in the community. In nearly all of them the accommodations for women are grossly inadequate, and in some of them it is impossible to segregate the women from communication with the male prisoners.

*The rural county jails.*—It is the purpose of this paper, however, to deal with the rural county jail, that is, the jail which is located in a county having no large city and containing a population of not more than 50,000. There are about three hundred counties in the United States having a population of more than 50,000 people. The jails in these counties may be called urban jails. The remaining 27,000 county jails may be called rural jails.

These rural jails usually have a nominal capacity of from ten to forty prisoners. Most of them were built many years ago, are badly constructed, badly lighted, insecure, and insanitary. Hundreds of them have neither toilet facilities nor baths. Few of them have more than three divisions for classification of prisoners. Many of them are so constructed as to afford inadequate protection to the jailers against assaults by prisoners attempting to escape, or mobs attempting to take prisoners from the custody of the sheriff.

These rural jails are usually undermanned. In many cases there is only one jailer and no nightwatch. It is not uncommon for the jailer's wife, or the sheriff's wife, to be responsible for the care of the jail in the absence of the jailer. It is not infrequent for the jailer to be assaulted by prisoners attempting to escape, and many jailers have lost their lives in such attempts. There should always be a night officer and an extra day officer should be available on call, even in the smaller jail. The writer remembers visiting a Texas jail. The jailer was absent. His wife was doing the family washing, with the assistance of a trustworthy prisoner. On expression of a desire to inspect the jail, she admitted the strange visitor without question. He mingled freely with the prisoners without oversight, and, having finished his visit, was released by the jailoress who seemed entirely unconscious of the risk incurred in her unprotected administration of the jail.

These jails contain many innocent persons: witnesses, insane persons, and accused people who subsequently are proved to be innocent. Prisoners awaiting trial are confined in jail, not because they are criminals but because they do not have credit. Except for a few high crimes, any accused person who can give bail goes free until the time of his trial, and his punishment

begins after he is convicted and sentenced; but if he has no credit, he is obliged to go to jail. The jails are used for multitudes of prisoners who are sentenced for minor offenses. Perhaps one-half of these people are sentenced on an alternative of fine or imprisonment. If the prisoner can pay a fine of \$5.00, \$10.00, or \$50.00, he goes absolutely free, but if he has no money and cannot pay his fine, he has to go to jail. He is sent to jail not because he has committed a crime, but because he has no money. Under these circumstances it would appear that the prisoners in county jails, whether convicted or unconvicted, ought to be treated with reasonable humanity and ought not to be subjected to conditions which endanger their health or which subject them to the most vicious and destructive associations.

In a great many jails there is permitted an organization of prisoners known as the "Kangaroo Court." This court has its own jailer, sheriff, and clerk, and is administered under rules which are usually approved by the sheriff. Incoming prisoners are subjected to a mock trial for "breaking into jail," and a cash fine is imposed, usually \$2.00 or \$3.00. This fine is generally paid promptly. If the prisoner has money and does not pay, he is liable to be roughly hazed. If he has no money, the prisoners compel him to do the dirty work of the jail to work out his fine; this notwithstanding the fact that under the law the sheriff cannot compel unconvicted prisoners to work. The kangaroo court is usually administered by the bullies of the jail. The writer visited an Iowa jail some time ago, where he had an interview with the judge of the kangaroo court. He learned that when prisoners did not pay their fines or violated any rule of the kangaroo court other prisoners were allowed to put them into a dark cell for punishment. A visitor who was present made some flippant remark about the kangaroo court and the "judge" responded: "When guys like you come in here we know what to do with them; we don't have to ask any help from the sheriff; we have some pretty good fighters right here." This meant that when a self respecting prisoner refused to consort with the gang or to obey edicts of the kangaroo court, he would be liable to be beaten up.

*Administration of jails.*—It is the general practice throughout the United States that the sheriff is responsible for the administration of the county jail. As a rule, the sheriff takes office without experience in jail administration. The jailers and turnkeys are appointed by the sheriff as a matter of patronage. They are underpaid and overworked. The duty is dangerous and disagreeable and seldom attracts men of high quality.

The American jail system was imported from England 300 years ago. It was abolished many years ago in Great Britain, where all county jails have long been controlled by the general government from the Home Office. The jail warden is a permanent officer appointed by the Home Secretary, on merit. Jailers and turnkeys are selected by civil service examinations and are then

required to attend a prison school for three months and to continue studies by correspondence for nine months before receiving permanent appointments. Under this system the British jails, which were formerly abominable, have been reformed and about one-half of them have been closed up.

What is needed in the United States is that all county jails shall be maintained and controlled by the state government. Precedents for such a system have been started in states like Alabama and Vermont where the jail expenses are paid by the state treasury. The plan of state control of county jails has been advocated in other states, though it has never been consummated.

In former years prisons of the south were considered worse than those of the north, but in recent years vigorous efforts have been made to improve the jail systems in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, with encouraging results. There is great need of local committees to encourage prisoners who are disposed to reform, and to assist discharged prisoners in obtaining employment. State prison associations exist in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, but many should be organized with local branches.

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## PSYCHOLOGY AND CRIME

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It is my purpose to call attention to some of the principles which are also problems in psychology, which may be of service in the applied field, including that of the diagnosis and treatment of the so called criminal classes. It is clear that whatever value these principles have will be a general one, as applicable in one direction as another.

In terms of fundamental importance, there is no choice in regard to the first of these principles. It is that of the relation of heredity and environment. How much of behavior is determined by original nature and how much by the influences and discipline of experience, is a problem that cannot be shirked. We must be content to apply what knowledge we have and cannot wait to perfect it, however important to hold our conclusions elastic, subject to revision by further investigation which must in every way be encouraged. The common tendency to regard these influences as contrasted, dividing up the field between them, so that what goes to the one is withdrawn from the other, is misleading. The proper question is what aids or hindrances original nature offers to the indispensable shaping of behavior in adjustment to our social and cultural needs. The several psychological "systems" or points of view naturally differ in the emphasis that they invite in this issue. The so-called behavioristic psychology inevitably emphasizes environment and training; but as ordinarily formulated this approach is to me so entirely partial that it has voluntarily

crippled itself. In order to speak briefly I must speak dogmatically in stating that the conclusion put forth by Dr. Watson that "conditioning" in his narrow sense determines behavior, and that with any fairly normal kind of endowment he can make of it what he chooses, is not only logically false but presumptuous. It is so particularly because the "conditioning" that he demonstrates lies in a lowly and limited field, and the level of his inferences lies in a high-grade and complex domain of behavior. As applied to the problem of crime, it has practically no bearing. It is equally natural that the Freudian approach, which to my mind has large possibilities for understanding the psychology of the criminal, should emphasize original nature. The biologist has still another view of this difficult issue, which shapes the psychological view; jointly their large application and confirmation lie in the field of education and social guidance, rather than in that of crime. My own convictions are decidedly in favor of giving by far the larger weight to all considerations of original endowment. Heredity is determined by nature and cannot be altered. It is something that we must accept; all our aims and methods must make definite terms with the biological facts of original endowment. It is, therefore, of supreme importance to study carefully nature's contribution as the material which we must accept and work with and shape as we can. It is for this reason that I associate with the principle of environment and heredity the problem of human differences. The two must be considered in the same survey, the different aids and hindrances which one or another type of endowment offers to the educative process.

Men are different by differences of original nature. The problem of determining upon what scheme or plan nature has arranged these differences is the psychologist's task. While we recognize a common basis in the nervous system and in the other physiological systems which condition behavior (that is the kind of "conditioning" that I have in mind), we must for the present practical purposes limit attention to the two orders of behavior patterns of largest consequence. The one we call intelligence; the other has no generally accepted name and I shall use emotional control as the simplest. Individuals differ in intelligence and in emotional control, which means that they differ by original nature in their capacity to achieve the products of intelligence as we develop them for our purposes, and the same for emotional control. The intelligent application of one's endowment is to the solution of problems, more specifically those dealing with things, the concrete materials of life; secondly, with ideas, with some insight into relations of cause and effect and systems of relation, generally, which become more important as civilization advances; and, thirdly, with responses to other similarly endowed individuals: briefly, in handling things, in handling ideas, in handling men. By far the most fundamental use of intelligence is in the control of emotions, and it is obvious that in handling men, in responding to our social relations, the emotional factor

must be prominently considered. In comparison with it, handling things and handling ideas is a secondary, obviously an acquired, partly an artificial facility in less close relation to human needs. But since earning a living depends so largely upon a sufficient command of things and ideas to make one's services economically acceptable and since that economic provision so definitely affects one's emotional adjustment to life, the relations are intimate and familiar. We may expect to trace differences in original endowment in all these fields; the varieties of human capacities are of importance in all respects to those who aim to guide individuals, in both inferior and superior, normal and abnormal, in their adjustment to their circumstances. To train individuals to find emotional satisfaction in work and its rewards, has therefore a psychological as well as an economic significance. There can be no doubt that the largest number of individuals are best suited for objective pursuits, for working with things with the aid of simple ideas; yet everyone must lead a life of emotional satisfaction. Work must be made consistent with emotional adjustment. Familiar as all this is, it frequently fails to find proper consideration in the total perspective of the technique of adjustment.

Now the puzzling riddle of nature is to determine the significant varieties of human types, including for the present reference those that affect the adjustment process and its failure. With the preliminary conclusion that the first consideration in the technique of adjustment, both of normal and abnormal varieties of human individuals, is to consider the trends of original nature, we may postpone the further application until other psychological principles have been considered.

I place second the genetic approach. Whatever we become, that is, whatever behavior patterns we pursue for the major portion of our mature lives, we reach that possibility by going through stages determined by nature. No one is a born criminal because he is born in the condition of helpless infancy. It may seem far fetched to the students of crime to send them to the nursery. But believing as I do that the clue to all behavior lies in the study of its origins, child psychology becomes an essential to the understanding of mature psychology in all its forms. Moreover, a principle recently given the name of infantilism sets forth that one of the largest difficulties in the behavior of adults is that they are adult in name only, or at best in years, and that they have failed to outgrow, to readjust, the childish tendencies of behavior with which they were born. The major problem in all lives is the problem of the social readjustment of original tendencies, and that is likewise the problem in an acute form with reference to crime; it is the general problem of education. Consequently we must know what those original tendencies are. The one fact of larger consequence than any other is that no child can be permitted to grow up as nature made it, and find a desirable place in human society. We may not like this fact, we simply must accept it. It can be exaggerated, it can be dis-



tortedly stated. We can give it a moral setting and call it the doctrine of original sin, which may be true but isn't helpful. In this sense the original criminal is the child. If the human endowment were such that all we have to do is to let children grow up to live out their original impulses we should have no problems of either education or crime. Animals in a state of nature can do this, but humans cannot. Forms of behavior that were permitted and even encouraged in primitive society are abhorrent and shocking to us. In that phase (certainly not the only one) of primitive social adjustment every man was what in our code is a criminal. We can no more behave like savages than like children and escape the restraining arm of the law. Behaving properly in human society is not a natural product, either to begin with or by natural growth. The real marvel is not that a small percentage of individuals cannot be humanized in our sense of being civilized but that so many of them can. The original endowment which nature provides for the purpose seems imperfectly suited to this end that the general participation in civilization is a marvel and mystery; not by reason of the inventions which have transformed the surface of the earth but by reason of the emotional control that had to be established in order to make these things possible. Man was forced to live on his wits because he had no other adequate weapon of nature, offensive or defensive, no claws, no jaws, no horns, no fangs. The fact that some persons, in pursuing this technique of living on their wits and avoiding the sweat of their brow, will resort to undesirable varieties of this art, is therefore not surprising.

But the main consideration is the understanding of the extremely difficult process that a child goes through in order to attain emotional control. While I cannot enter into the details of this process I must at least indicate its focus, namely the control of the anger emotion. In so far as crimes are crimes of passion and violence they are the natural continuation of the intensive child responses. If most adults felt their situations as violently and strongly as a child, and were as immature in control, they would act in the same way; few adult constitutions could for long stand the strain of childhood emotions and keep safe and sane, in the adult sense.

I must add to the guiding principles of interpretation the principle of the abnormal. Like many another modern insight, criminology began with the recognition that anti-social behavior had an element of the abnormal. My present application of this principle is twofold: to the problem of human types and to the genetic approach, featuring the psychology of early childhood. The ideally prepared criminologist should have not merely a reading knowledge but the full command of a clinical touch and actual experience, a face-to-face responsible encounter with the difficulties of childhood and with the varieties of abnormal behavior. It is not sufficient to meet these only when they have developed criminal tendencies or have broken out into isolated

criminal acts. They must be met with as normal temperamental issues and in their entire setting in personality. The study of functional nervous disorders furnishes an indispensable clue to all allied, including criminal, deviations in behavior. The Freudian enlightenment is only one way of interpreting these. To my mind it is a very valuable way; but unfortunately in the hands of most Freudian disciples its value has been so distorted and exaggerated that unless one selects judiciously and critically in Freudian literature he will be far more obstructed than aided in his pursuit of enlightenment. But the Freudian psychology does combine these central approaches; it emphasizes motive psychology and the dominance of emotional control; it emphasizes the importance of childhood patterns of behavior and early experiences; it emphasizes the significance of those deviations from behavior which we call neuroses and their psychic expression, hence psycho-neuroses. And in addition it states, though the same statement appears in other than Freudian approaches, the importance of urges, instincts, and all that hereditary type of conditioning, again, as differently expressed in different types, some of them favorable to criminal behavior. The development of a safe and sane Freudianism, instead of an exaggerated and irresponsible cult, is important to the student and equally to the adjuster of criminals.

The combined issues of these considerations gives specific value to the study of what may simply be called the nervous child. The nervous child is the normal child exaggerated,—the picture raised in intensity and sharpened in outline. A nervous child has a much more serious problem in attaining normal adjustment than has an ordinary child, and also has much more to teach the student of human adjustment. The technique that will normalize the nervous child may well stand as a model of the technique for normalizing the type of maladjusted individual whom we call the criminal. Yet, I must take time to make clear that this excursion into the psychology of deviation is beset with difficulties. Fortunately the relations of these different fields have become sufficiently familiar to avoid the shock of discussing child behavior and criminal behavior in the same survey. We are acquainted with the problem child, with the unadjusted boy and the unadjusted girl; and it is easy to make plain that the problem child may be an entirely different kind of problem, and socially above all, psychologically also, we require experts to specialize in child and in "criminal" adjustment. But everyone knows that juvenile delinquency forms a large part of the "deviate" problem, that the young criminal is statistically the largest group. Here again we have no choice. We must study nature's deviating types, as nature makes them. Nature is indifferent to human ends. Nature supplies the material for her own ends, and the ingenuity of man must shape it to his purposes.

By way of further illustration of nature's deviates, I cite the superior child. The gifted and superior child is one of the most important of human

assets. We welcome as significant Professor Terman's studies of gifted children not only for their conclusions, but for supplying a technique for the study of other deviating classes. It is a gratifying conclusion to find that so large a proportion of children with high intelligence are normal and have good emotional control; but we must remember that we have no statistics as to the number who fail to exhibit or develop the high intelligence which they really have, because they have not the emotional control necessary to give it adequate chance. They may be the irregular geniuses, even geniuses in crime.

I return to the insight conferred by the abnormal. The doctrine of regression indicates that in functional nervous disorders, particularly in hysteria, which Dr. Core of Manchester calls the great regressive disorder, there is reversion back to child behavior. Hysterics are persons who never completely mature. All children and all primitive people are hysterical; and the problem of civilization is to reduce the hysteria inherent in the human race. One of the characteristic expressions of hysteria is violent and uncontrollable anger, and one of the natural expressions of the nervous child is tantrums. One of the largest sources of crime is crime due to the same original inheritance.

In this light we must consider the shifting of the "urge" patterns with development. Child psychology is not adolescent psychology, and adolescent psychology is not adult psychology. It has always been recognized that there is a particular hazard in the storm and stress period, in that profound transformation of the immature to the mature. It is recognized in primitive life by the ceremonies of initiation into manhood, and is recognized far more profoundly by nature in the field of sex. It is no longer necessary to enforce the principle that the problem of crime is merely a selected phase of the problem of adjusting human urges, since the recognition of the sex factor in crime is so universal, including even more importantly tendencies growing out of secondary sex rôles than out of sex relations. But I doubt whether the sex factor has been adequately considered either in insight or in application; and this applies as well to life in general as to crime, as Ludovici has recently insisted. If a social survey were conducted by an inhabitant of Mars his very first comment in inspecting our so called penal and reformatory institutions would be to remark upon the strange disproportion in the number of men and the number of women, and he would perhaps be still more surprised to learn how little this has been reflected upon. The superficial conclusion would be that the male is by nature far more criminal than the female. And it would take but slight investigation to show that all but a small proportion of women with a criminal sentence met their disaster in the field of sex, thus still further increasing the contrast. In no field is the psycho-pathology of the sexes more differentiated than in crime.

This type of fact indicates that original conditioning, like sex, determines all manner of expression, including crimes, and the specific crimes. If studied

with the combined resources of the psychology of the child, of human differences, of original nature, of the trend toward the abnormal, a comprehensive view of original conditioning is available. There is something in the masculine aggressiveness, the urge to domination, and in the manifestations that it stimulates, all connected with original nature, that goes far to determine interests, expressions, occupations, temptations. In many aspects the human race is not one but two. Specialists in men and specialists in women, so far as social adjustment goes, must be differently prepared, have a different technique, a different set of qualities for their expert career. That fact alone would indicate how intimately the psychology of crime is imbedded in the psychology of human differences. It is in this connection that we can return to the psychology of deviation and note not only that there is fairly convincing evidence that the male is more subject to deviation, but that the particular varieties of deviation are determined by the overstress of masculine trends, just as in the female what we may properly call an oversexed temperament is responsible for those phases of deviation in behavior which the law must consider. Men are more enterprising in invention, in many varieties of creative endeavor, and the same difference is responsible for their larger enterprise in the field of crime.

It is thus clear that all I can attempt within the present limits is to suggest a sketch of a few selected psychological principles, which when elaborated and well organized will afford some illumination into the psychology of crime. Yet I know that what you expect of me is to add an interpretation, however venturesome or tentative, of these principles to actual problems. Again, I must do so upon a selective basis. There is first the problem of defective mentality, and, as indicated, that has a close bearing upon defective emotional control. If I cite the conclusion of Miss Florence Mateer, which she repeats again and again in her study of maladjusted children, namely, that there is no such thing as a naughty child—he either does not know any better or he can not help it—you have the two root sources of youthful crime. The one a lack of knowledge or power to acquire it, the other an imperfect emotional control and a similar difficulty, possibly incapacity in that direction.

Mental subnormality, failure to develop beyond a limited point, low mental age is a large inducement to, not a cause of, crime. For certain types of crime the intelligence test is convincing. It means not that mentally subnormal individuals are destined to a criminal career, but that it is far easier for such individuals to be led into temptation. And this gives me opportunity to emphasize what I have implied, that the term crime as psychologically used is meaningless as a lump category, since psychologically the far more decisive thing is the type of behavior pattern, the type of psychical deficiency, the motive pattern of the offense. Feeble-mindedness and its slighter varieties contribute to crimes of submissiveness on the one hand and to crimes of im-

perfect emotional control. Crimes as psychologically classified cannot follow the clues, the conventions, and conveniences of the criminal code. They cannot even follow that intermediate classification which would result from taking into account the superficial, conscious purpose. Everyone knows that the largest number of commitments are for theft—invasions of property—but it would be quite false to conclude that the human trend most needing regulation is acquisitiveness. It simply means that one of the easiest ways to obtain satisfaction and avoid the displeasure of labor will be utilized by the feebly inhibited as well as by the gentleman or the crook of fortune. It would be foolish to attempt a campaign of diminishing the human tendency to collect and to own, to weaken the sense of property, to reestablish a system of communism as a means of reducing crime. Precisely the same motives are involved in legitimate acquisition, in ambition, and in holding out opportunities for desirable avenues of their expression. It may be convenient to catalogue these offenses either as theft or as crimes of acquisitiveness, but what they really are is crimes of lack of consideration for others, crimes of imperfect socialization, of unruly urges. Some of them are crimes of emotional apathy. The thief must be made not less ambitious, but more considerate; and that is a deep-seated problem, so to rearrange his types of satisfaction and his inhibitions. And the same applies with proper modification to any other natural urge, including the urges of sex. Mental defect, like poverty with which it has close relation, will always be with us. Many persons must have their lives regulated for them and lead a sheltered and relatively temptationless existence. It is important not to educate capacities or desires beyond emotional control. Occupations and life patterns must be found for the mental subnormal.

The province of the abnormal is uncertain in its contours. It is difficult to explore and to map. The psychology of crime must consider the presence of a group of psychic deviations called psychopathic personality. These personality peculiarities or defects are the same as those we meet in the problem child, and in "difficult" adults, yet only in certain phases of the behavior trends, certain types of the problem child and adult.

Deviation in itself may be an asset. Without special and peculiar endowment unusual individuals would not arise. Abnormality, like everything else, must be accepted as nature provides it. Among the deviates will be some candidates for crime and some candidates for genius. Both are out of the common run, and present peculiarities in the responses of the nervous system. They all belong to the "nervous," which means deviating in constitution, and only when the mode of deviation suggests something of disorder, difficulty, and maladjustment should they be called neurotic. Deviation is a hazard. Mediocrity is safer and saner. In seven out of eight of the prisoners at Sing Sing, Dr. Glueck discovered well recognized symptoms of nervousness in their childhood. If we knew what proportion of normal children and gifted children

exhibited the same symptoms (and it is presumably a large one), and if we knew the particular groups or constellations, the type of personality, with which these symptoms are associated, we might be able to separate the candidates for crime from the candidates for personal difficulty and for genius, but never with any great confidence. When this type of deviation is sufficiently pronounced, we call it psychopathic. It is established that in the criminal group the low grade psychopath is far more common than the high grade. The high grade psychopath is rare, and that is what makes the cases of Loeb and Leopold so shocking and incomprehensible. If they had turned out to be geniuses with psychopathic trends or just problem personalities, queer and difficult, few would have heard of them. While the degree of psychopathic trend is important, more significant is the type of expression which it assumes. Some of these psychopathic trends are rather innocent and disturb only the life of the psychopath, and others, even though slight, if they are also socially significant may affect other lives and the social welfare as well. The social seriousness does not determine the psychopathic measure of deviation.

A typical instance is vagrancy. Most hoboos are quite as normal as the rest of us who have not the independence to stake our careers on one urge. Perhaps traveling salesmen are sublimated or cautious, inhibited, conventional hoboos. Yet the desire for change of scene and experience and the roving nature leads to valuable types of personality. Psychopathic vagrancy is rare but interesting, while the tramp is typically shiftless; and the same disposition contributes to the rapid turnover in labor and to ne'er-do-wells as well as Jacks-of-many-trades. All of these partake of the vagrant trend and contain a considerable number of subnormals, but by no means so large in percentage as in the peripatetic Mrs. Warren's profession. I listened to the confession of one such case in which the psychopathic vagrant had a medical degree, had been in a dozen occupations—high grade as well as menial—was never involved in crime, but had wrecked his own career and that of his family. The clue in his case was abnormal lack of emotion. Apathetic indifference prevented him from forming home ties or any other ties. Yet many normal persons and men of talent and genius feel the strong urge of the *wanderjahre* before settling down. I cite this sketchily to show the urge setting in one type of personality conducive to irregularity, it may be of genius, it may be of crime. The imperfectly socialized tramp is not a criminal but a more likely candidate than the common run who are not so strongly subject to one powerful urge, or have stronger power to resist it, a more versatile compensation for it in other traits.

There is, then, both for the normal and the more or less abnormal personality a correlation of traits that composes a type. As all roads lead to Rome, all natures converge toward the normal, but they diverge as distinctively as the deviating highways leading away from any metropolis. In deviation there is degree and direction, but still more, the type combination or



constellation. This total picture appears more clearly in the magnified and exaggerated, sometimes distorted, form of the abnormal. As the nervous child is a close-up picture of the normal child, so everywhere the miniature counterparts of the abnormal features appear in the normal. The relation of defect to abnormality is crucial. For this we have a handy scale in the intelligence quotient. What we need in addition to this I.Q. would be a Q.I., a queerness index, as a rough indication of deviation. While there is a group definitely defective, the well known moron and the lighter types of feeble-mindedness, that are readily led into crime, and again specifically are candidates for certain types of crime associated with submission rather than enterprise, the quality factor dominates. A psychoanalysis of the criminal of whatever type is indispensable.

A relatively obvious distinction is between the expressives and the repressives which includes the extroverts and introverts. Extroversion and absorption in objects and occupations is the more normal expression and is more common in and out of jail. In the records of the Jukes and the Kallikaks we have an unusually large play of feeble-mindedness which in some cases is associated with a stronger expressive, reckless, enterprising, quarrelsome, rough-and-ready personality associated with poor inhibition, and this constitutes one of the large orders of criminal type. The repressives form a minority in the criminal population, contribute largely to the type of problem children and difficult, queer adults. The very smallest group is that of the definitely criminal insane as contrasted with the very considerable group of unbalanced persons with gross personality defects. Nothing would be more unfortunate than to convey the impression that nervous, or even slightly psychopathic, children are candidates for crime. Yet a certain proportion of them under stress or unfavorable associations are open to that hazard. It is in the compensating traits that their redemption lies, and clearly the majority of those who come in conflict with the law are altogether normal, for in their cases the slight element of abnormal tendency cannot be held to play a considerable part.

Clearly then, at an early stage diagnosis requires a statistical statement to give the right perspective of these combined issues of heredity and environment,<sup>1</sup> and especially the difficult varieties of heredity which obtain much in

<sup>1</sup> One of the most favorable fields for the application of statistical methods to social including criminal diagnosis, is afforded by the comparisons of race—a complicated laboratory test. The overwhelming disparity in the crime record of the Negro may be interpreted as a proof of radical racial inferiority for the civilizing process, or as a proof that the imposition of social inferiority and bad economic conditions makes a manufactory of crime. That the racial factor is a strong one has been shown by the valuable work of Dr. Porteus. It is clear that race like sex is a condition of nature's making, which must be importantly considered. The play of tradition and the social adjustment likewise enter, and determine the standards and the attitudes toward codes civil and social. The Chinese and the Italian maintain a peculiar tradition in the field of feud and revenge that offers a special problem to the American criminologist. The melting pot is many kinds of a crucible; for the social psychologist it offers an inviting field of investigation.

the same way in the prison and in the general population. The statistics of classification would be determined by the rigorous or the loose definition that we use. If we insist upon marked expressions of deviation before registering anyone as psychopathic we shall have a rather small group and a large borderland. If we use a loose, liberal scale we shall have a rather large psychopathic group. Examiners do not differ any more than do other experts working with such difficult determinations, but the criteria which they use cannot easily be standardized. The advantage seems to lie with a rather liberal use of the psychopathic criteria because it gives a fairer comparison of the criminal and the normal classes. Such is evidently the standard of the Texas Survey in which, speaking roughly, half the criminal population is called abnormal and again half of these fall in the group of gross personality defects. Only one-fifth of the abnormals are definitely feeble-minded, and one-tenth of the abnormals insane, with the rest in the borderland. What remains characteristic is that in this survey, as elsewhere, about three times as many belong to the abnormal classes as in the average population in the early stages of development, as in public school children, while dullards, shading down to feeble-minded, are as common in schools for the normal as in prisons. Clearly it takes more than a low mentality to make a candidate for crime. The Q.I. is more important than the I.Q. Only with more uniform and refined methods will these conclusions be established. They are in line with the diagnosis here offered. But to repeat, the essential part of that diagnosis is one of quality which appears in crime in the nature of the offense. The statistical pictures derived from crime in general are not as helpful either for understanding or treatment as the specialized diagnosis correlating the type of offense with the type of personality. While for administrative purposes these surveys must follow convenient classifications, any further success in treatment depends upon the "type" or qualitative differentiation. Clinical experience in general for all types of deviates enforces this conclusion. The statistical criminologist must give way to the clinical one. Dullness is a protection against genius, but not against crime; indeed it supplies one of many favoring conditions for it, for certain forms of it; and genius is no protection from queerness, seems indeed for some forms of it to be part of its hazard. If these hazardous deviations mature under favorable stimulation and compensating strengths (virtues), their issues may be of value and moment; if they go to seed, turn sour, mar rather than make the personality, they may contribute their quota to the psychopathic population, including those who express the deviation in anti-social behavior. But the crimes of dullness are not the crimes of superiority.

The final question naturally aims at a summary. It appears that though we are ready to recognize liberally even slight measures of deviation in the criminal personality, we still have an equal number, if not a majority, of the prison population who are as normal as those outside, and we have to remem-

ber that the number of criminals presenting psychic abnormalities is as large as it is for the reason that the prison population is made up of those who are caught. What allowance to make for the large number of persons with the same tendencies, with the same willingness to employ methods and standards of behavior as land some of them in jail but who manage to stay out of it, is uncertain. Unquestionably the shrewder ones do not get caught, not so often, and the general average of intelligence in criminals must be higher than in the prison population. It is known by intelligence tests that the more enterprising and profitable forms of crime (embezzlement) are pursued by persons with more than average intelligence and with definitely less than the percentage of psychopathic traits than appears in criminals in general. The borderland is elastic, and accident often determines career. The larger abnormal tendency among the candidates for crime can be interpreted only in the specific relation between types of personality and types of crime. It is a problem in differential diagnosis. What this emphasizes in treatment is the necessity of shaping it on the clinical pattern considering personality rather than crime. And again, since by far the largest factor and the most hopeful is youthful crime, the psychology of adolescence particularly must furnish the guide. It is the criminal in the making as it is the personality in the making that is our common concern.

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#### CRIMINOLOGY, PUBLIC OPINION, AND THE LAW

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Within the last decade the development of policies of dealing with the problem of crime has to some extent been turned from the trend of the preceding fifty years. Individualization has been questioned and criticized, and policies of mechanical *schrecklichkeit* have been advocated as a substitute. Capital punishment has been restored in four states since the war, and in many places there is a strenuous demand for the whipping post. In almost every magazine we may expect an occasional article on "the rising tide of crime," or "cross country crime," or "rallying against crime." One of the propagandists of this movement stated the principle on which they all seem to be working, namely, that the salvation of our democracy depends upon the "development of an angry realization of the situation." Crime commissions are recommending increased severity and certainty of punishment. The president of the National Crime Commission has stated that the necessity of an increase in the certainty and severity of punishment is axiomatic. Efforts to secure the representation of social workers on the survey committee of the Missouri Crime Commission were frustrated by those instrumental in the development of that project. Insurance companies, chambers of commerce, and bar associations in

many places are spreading this gospel of a return to the fundamental conventional policies of the last century. There are the fundamentalists in the field of politics and jurisprudence, and Baumer laws are their means of salvation.

An analysis of this movement with reference to its antecedents makes it necessary to consider these factors, namely, theory, public opinion, and practical technique. Theory and practice are in constant interaction. Each is the expression of the other, although in its expression each may at different times lag behind the other. The interaction between theory and practice is mediated by the opinion and attitudes of the mass of the population. It is generally not the theory of the theorist which influences the practitioner, but the theory of the average citizen.

Much criticism has been hurled against police courts and prisons, and is, from one point of view, quite justified, but the general tendency is that when responsibility is placed on a person he attempts to perform his duty as efficiently as training and circumstances permit. Public officials are decidedly hampered by circumstances, and, in general, do what they can under the circumstances. If public opinion is precise, well organized, and harmonious, practical procedure in a democracy is inevitably an expression of that opinion. But if the public opinion is vague, indefinite, uncertain, conflicting, practice is similarly wavering and conflicting. Officials then cannot tell what should be done. Considerations of personal gain, of influence of particular individuals, of membership in some little group may take precedence over the interests of the wider community. If public opinion in the community is decidedly opposed to the practical policies it generally succeeds in emasculating those policies. In England efforts were made a century and a half ago to carry out severe penalties for crime, but the public prevented this rather effectually and the courts developed a technique for frustrating the Crown. That effort has carried down to the present day in the mass of technical devices and delays by which offenders constantly succeed in escaping from the hands of the law. The opinion of the public is determinative with reference to both theory and practice, but is itself affected by both theory and practice.

In the present stage of the development of our efforts to deal with the problems of crime we find the public confused, the theories in conflict, and practical techniques poorly developed and poorly executed. Practice is not adapted to the attitude of the public, and perhaps cannot be well adapted because the public is so torn between conflicting opinions. To a considerable extent this reflects the conflict between general theories of law and crime. For we have in America a system of practical procedure which is essentially an application of the classical theory of criminology, but which has been modified in various respects in accordance with a divergent theory, which I shall call scientific.

The classical school was a direct application of a general philosophy and a general theology. The theology was Puritanism and Calvinism. The philosophy was the natural rights philosophy. We generally think of that philosophy as developing in France and link with it the names of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. But it was also the popular philosophy of England, Germany, and the United States.

The doctrines of this general philosophy were gathered up and applied to the problem of law and crime by Beccaria, a young Italian scholar, in 1764, in a book called *Crimes and Punishments*. This book, as well as the general philosophy from which it was developed, was essentially a weapon of opposition against the tyrannical and autocratic policies of the preceding centuries. It was a part of the struggle for democracy. It was then regarded, and properly so, as a humanitarian movement. In order to prevent judges from wreaking personal vengeance by atrocious penalties, Beccaria contended that all penalties should be fixed by legislation and should be absolutely identical for all persons who violated a specific law. Wealth, social position, circumstances, age, sanity, should make no difference in the penalties. All persons are equally free, equally responsible, and should be punished for crime equally. This equality was justified, further, on the ground that the rights of individuals can be preserved only by treating all individuals alike, and that punishments must be definitely determined in advance in order that they may be taken into consideration by persons contemplating crime. The prospective criminal was assumed to be standing, engaged in a calculation of pleasures and pains that would result from the crime, and to determine by the outcome of this calculation whether or not to commit the crime. The punishment should add a sufficient amount of pain to the natural results of the act so that the pains would overbalance the pleasures, but it should not be more severe than necessary for that purpose.

This theory was put into practice in France in the penal code of 1791. But very quickly it was found necessary to modify the rigors of the mechanical equality. Children and "lunatics" especially were made exceptions; penalties were made slightly elastic by giving the judge discretion to fix exact penalties between maximum and minimum limits fixed by the legislature. But this school continued to be interested primarily in balancing abstract punishments against abstract injuries to the state, and was not at all interested in concrete human beings. The classical doctrines thus became the backbone of the body of the law. Procedure has been an application and expression of this theory. The theory has been embodied in constitutions, bills of rights, legislative enactments, and judicial decisions. It has also been established in public opinion, and even gone beyond political science and jurisprudence to exert influence upon, as well as to be influenced by, theology. For there is an evident connection between the old orthodox theological conception of punishment

and the juridical conception of punishment. In both law has been supreme, the individual has not been considered; pardon was an act of mercy, and the Calvinistic hell, like the classical prison, had no place for reformation.

In opposition to the theory of the classical school, and reflecting to some extent the difficulties of carrying out that mechanical system, the positive school appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This is generally linked with the name of Lombroso. The writings of Lombroso and his followers seem to be appraised at present as consisting principally of foolishness. But the fundamental hypothesis of the positive school is sound theory and has been accepted as the basis on which most of the modern theory has been developed. I have called this whole modern development the scientific school, not for the purpose of belittling the contrary view, but in order to differentiate it from the positive school, which agrees only in the fundamental hypothesis, and because it does attempt to apply the methods of science. The scientific theory is based on the recognition that consistent control in any field of activity must be based on an intensive knowledge of the processes to be controlled. We have our wonderful material civilization because physicists and chemists acquired precise knowledge regarding physical and chemical processes. We are constantly increasing our control over disease because we are constantly increasing our knowledge of the physiological processes. Similarly control of crime must be based on and developed from precise and exact knowledge of the processes by which laws are made, observed and broken. Control which is merely an expression of one's emotions toward a situation or of a priori speculation cannot be consistently satisfactory, regardless of whether one is interested in dealing with physical or social phenomena.

The classical school was not interested in the causation of crime. Their a priori statement of hedonistic calculations was all the explanation necessary. They had learned all that needed to be learned regarding the nature and causation of crime. No place was made for increasing knowledge, for investigation, for research work; such things had nothing to do with their problems. The only thing necessary was to carry out the predetermined policies. In contrast the scientific school puts its principal emphasis on research, investigation, and acquisition of precise knowledge. Explanation of behavior is not far advanced in comparison with physics and chemistry, but psychologists, sociologists, and others are working to get explanations. Some explain in terms of instincts, others of conditioned reflexes; some in terms of glands, others of complexes; some in terms of genes in the germ plasm, others in terms of regression to infantilism; some in terms of mental conflict, and others in terms of interstitial spaces in social life. Not all of these explanations are in conflict with each other, but they have not all been worked into a simple, consistent, and unified explanation which the public can easily understand. But the point is that while the classical school assumes complete knowledge and shuts out all efforts at



further exploration, the scientific school puts its emphasis on continued and persistent effort to learn and to apply what is learned.

The classical school is interested in determining intent in the offender, as a justification for punishment and for the application to the individual of opprobrious epithets. While there is certainly a sound principle involved in the effort to determine intent, it seems to be along rather different lines than are involved in the legal debates. The sound principle is that certain acts are accompanied by such attitudes and habits that the group in its organized capacity must take cognizance of the acts and attempt to deal with the actors in such ways as to prevent recurrence of the acts and to protect the group. The scientific school instead of applying opprobrious epithets prefers to refer to maladjusted individuals, and really makes little differentiation between children and adults, sane and insane, normal minded and feeble minded as classes. That is, treatment is determined in each case with reference to the particular characteristics of the case, rather than by the classification. This grows out of the fact that the classical method is interested only in the fact of crime; the personality of the offender is significant only as it throws light on the question of guilt or innocence. The scientific school, on the contrary, takes a particular crime into account only in so far as it throws light on the personality of the offender. The classical school has a mechanical and abstract system of assessing a predetermined amount of pain against a predetermined amount of injury to the state done by crimes of the class represented. The scientific school deals with criminals in the effort to apply in each case the method that will best protect the group, but with a hypothesis that more protection can be secured by turning particular offenders away from a career of crime when that is possible than by considering only the effect on others. It is recognized by both schools that there are persons who cannot be modified by any known technique; the classical school, nevertheless, continues to assess against such persons the mechanically determined amounts of pain, while the scientific school would adopt the permanent segregation of such offenders regardless of the exact amount of injury involved.

The essential elements in practical procedure are still those of the classical school of criminology, but during the last fifty years the opposing policies have been spreading rapidly. The juvenile court is the best developed and most systematic expression of the scientific attitude in the field of maladjustment. But in addition we have parole, probation, indeterminate sentence, reformatories, educational and recreation policies in penal and reformatory institutions visiting teachers, psychopathic laboratories connected with courts, psychiatric clinics, child guidance clinics, and various other research agencies either directly or indirectly engaged in learning more about human behavior, and applying what is learned.

The present effort to restore conventional classical procedure is reenforced

by three beliefs, all of which are questionable. The first of these is that crime has increased rapidly and enormously in the United States and has become so serious that we must do something radically and quickly in order to save our democracy. Crime waves are announced everywhere, but especially from Chicago. If we may believe some of the Chicago newspapers, Chicago has a permanent wave. But the business men are objecting that Chicago is being given a bad name and is really no worse than other cities and such facts as can be secured substantiate the business men. Not long ago I saw a statement that crime had increased immensely in Houston, Texas, and arrests in that city were given as an illustration and proof of the tide of crime; in 1915 they had only 8,340 arrests, but in 1925, 68,531, an increase of over 60,000 in ten years. But investigation shows that of the 68,531 arrests in 1925 over 58,000 were for violation of traffic regulations, and the increase in arrests for other offenses has not been greater than the increase in the population. Though these fundamentalists talk about crime in general they are really interested primarily in homicides, burglaries, and robberies, which constitute not more than 2 per cent of the total number of offenses for which persons are imprisoned. Even for those offenses there is no certain proof of a general increase. In spite of many assertions to the contrary, the statistics of homicides seem to me to justify a belief that murder has not increased appreciably in those parts of the country where the population has remained fairly homogeneous in its composition during the last twenty years, and that the apparent increase in murder is explained by the changing composition of the population in the registration area as it has been enlarged. Commitments to prison in 1923 as compared with 1910 decreased slightly for burglary and increased considerably for robbery, in proportion to population. But commitments to prison are not a very satisfactory criterion of the number of crimes actually committed. The most reliable statistics I have been able to find are the reports of bank burglaries by members of the American Bankers Association to its Protective Department. These reports show that there was a great increase in bank burglaries and bank robberies from 1918 to about 1923, but that the rate has now dropped back to the pre-war level; and further that the increase was confined almost entirely to the central western states and was by no means a nationwide tide. Apparently these bank burglaries were committed by a very small number of professional criminals, located in a small number of cities. Certainly there are fashions in crime. Certain crimes flourish for a time and then dwindle. One of the relatively recent crimes has been the raid on the night club or gambling club, lining up the patrons, and relieving them of their valuables while one of the bandits plays jazz music for the entertainment of the victims.

Conditions do not justify efforts to minimize the danger. Crime is a serious problem, but it was a serious problem two generations ago and there is no evidence that our democracy is being disrupted by the policies that have

been used. The so called crime waves seem to be due principally to the greater attention given to crime by newspapers, as their efficiency in gathering news from a large territory increases.

A second belief is that this increase in crime is due primarily to the failure to punish those who are caught and charged with crime. It is asserted that influence and politics, together with the technical devices of the law, enable a considerable proportion of the suspects to escape, and that the policies of individualization in the form of probation and parole enable others to escape while those who are held in prison do nothing except entertain each other in luxury. Professor Ross explains crime in this country thus: "The secret of our excessive criminality should be sought in our manner of dealing with the ill-disposed element in society . . . . The simple truth is this—never was the old adage 'The way of the transgressor is hard' less true than it is among us today. Collectively we seem to be losing the instinct every animal has of recognizing and resisting its natural enemies."

This theory that crime flourishes because of the loopholes in the law is not completely fallacious, but it would be nearer the truth to assert that the serious crimes of a professional nature are committed almost entirely by persons who have been turned into enemies of society by hatred developed in prisons under conditions of life that were inhuman and atrocious. Burglary and robbery are committed mostly by persons who make a business of that. A man was convicted of burglary recently in St. Paul who confessed that he had committed 174 burglaries in St. Paul and Minneapolis in one year; two young men were caught who had committed ten robberies previously in that same night; a man recently caught in Minnesota confessed to two murders, five bank burglaries, and five other burglaries or robberies in six months. Such professionals develop their technique in penal and reformatory institutions, and cultivate there the attitudes which characterize the professional criminal group. Professor McDougall has properly explained the situation in these words: "A man when he has once been convicted and jailed for crime, has lost his social standing and his regard for social approbation and disapprobation. Such self respect as he retains no longer feeds upon the esteem of the community at large; rather it turns to satisfy its cravings by demonstration of skill, wit, and boldness in defying the law."

The third belief is that the tide of crime can be effectively stopped by taking away discretion from the officials, by making penalties certain, uniform, and severe. The only thing to consider, in their opinion, is the effect of this punishment on other people than the one who is punished. This classical doctrine has a certain element of truth, but as has just been explained, casual offenders are frequently made into professional criminals by the conflict gestures that are expressed toward them. The scientific school of criminologists makes no definite statement of desire to eliminate suffering and pain. Miti-

gation of punishment as such is not its aim. The thing that adherents of this school are trying to do is to substitute constructive efforts at development for the purely negative and destructive effects of the customary punishments. They have just as much interest in certainty as has the most hardboiled propagandist, but it is certainty of constructive effort, where that is justified, or of permanent segregation where the constructive effort is not justified.

The essence of the matter appears to be that the recent movement for the restriction of individualization is another case of throwing out the baby with the bath. Technical delays and clever devices in court procedure are much too frequently subversive of justice and modifications are certainly indicated. It is possible to eliminate many of these obstructions without reducing the rigorous logic necessary for weighing evidence. Similarly the release of offenders or suspected offenders because of influence exerted by their friends is often obstructive. This pressure is generally exerted when a group does not want its own members to be attacked by the hostile agencies of the state. Such groups are willing to regard unknown persons as enemies of society, to be pursued, and injured by punishment. But they are unwilling to think of members of their own groups in that way. Such pressure will probably exist in any system of procedure, but is certain to be more developed when hostile punishment rather than constructive treatment is the general policy of the state. Such pressure will be exerted, if other things remain the same, whether there is probation or not, whether there is parole or not, whether there is individualization or mechanization of procedure. The fact is that laxity of legal and penal procedure, so far as objectionable, is the outcome of the same conflict of cultural influences, and of mobility of groups that is primarily instrumental in producing modern crime. The laxity of procedure instead of being the cause of the crime is a coordinate effect of the modern social disorganization. It is highly improbable that the efforts to organize the public on the basis of classical doctrine will succeed.

The only discernible basis for a consistent public opinion that will exert a uniform and harmonious pressure on public officials is science.

### III. HEALTH

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#### WHAT THE CASE WORKER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT HEALTH

#### HOW CAN THE SOCIAL WORKER BEST SAFEGUARD HIS HEALTH AND THAT OF HIS CLIENT?

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Health is indispensable for satisfactory work and for satisfaction to the worker. It is essential for first, the quantity of work we produce; second, the quality of the work we perform; third, the comfort we enjoy in doing our work; fourth, the degree of recuperation ensuing on the cessation of it; fifth, the accumulation of reserve force for special emergencies or exceptional demands; and sixth, it is only when we are in good health that we can accurately detect danger signals produced by invading disease. In the person chronically ill or under par, new invasions may occur unnoticed because his registering mechanism is upset or impaired. A person may be as rich as Croesus or as wise as Solomon, but his personal happiness will be marred and his usefulness impaired if he does not possess a reasonable degree of health.

Health is not mere freedom from disease; it is rather that condition of life that enables us to live best and serve most, so our degree of health is to be measured by the completeness of bodily equipment we possess for the place we ought to occupy in the world's activities. The personal health of the individual may mean much more to the community today than it formerly did, especially if he occupies a position on which the safety and happiness of others depend. If a railway engineer suddenly collapses while on his railway run, he may endanger or destroy the lives of hundreds of passengers, whereas in the methods of locomotion a century or two ago no such widespread calamity was possible.

The fact that world progress has been so marked within the last century was due not only to the discoveries of science and to what H. G. Wells calls the mechanical or industrial revolution ushered in by the discovery of the uses of steam and electricity, but to another factor. "There was," as he says, "still a more extraordinary advance in medical science; the average duration of life rose, the daily efficiency increased, the waste of life through ill health diminished." Bearing in mind then the importance of the preservation of health, and that the social worker like the physician and the nurse is likely to be especially exposed to disease through visitation of the sick and the unfortu-

nate, how can he best protect himself? The religion that he has adopted is one whose purity and undefilement require that he "visit the widows and orphans in their affliction and keep himself unspotted from the world." The preservation of purity was no doubt intended to be taken in a moral sense, but it is equally applicable in a physical sense. How shall the social worker carry out his visitations, perform all other duties of his office, and maintain his health and freedom from disease? His duties may call him where contagion lurks and is as yet unknown to the health department.

To protect himself he must be in the best physical condition possible. This will not only make his work more successful, but will protect him in the act of doing it. There are not many diseases that readily attack man if he is in the best of health. There are a few diseases like smallpox and measles, that have little regard for either our station in life or our physical condition, but most of them have some respect for our degree of resistance, so that it takes either very direct contact or a massive dose of the causative agent of a disease to infect us. There are a few diseases that seem to attack the well-to-do more readily than the poor. The reason for this is no doubt because the poor have been more frequently exposed to attacks of the disease, whereas those better off have had little exposure. The reason why the well-to-do are more susceptible is not because they are well fed, but because they have had less opportunity to develop an immunity. Were the degree of susceptibility equal in the case of these two classes the likelihood is that the poor or underfed would more readily contract disease. When the phrase "best physical condition possible" is used there is meant the best possible condition at all times and particularly at the moment when exposure to disease occurs. Temporary lapses in physical health such as occur in fatigue may prove our undoing, even though normally strong and robust. The studies made on fatigue in England during the late war as well as by workers in this and other countries have made it plain that fatigue depresses resistance against harmful bacteria. It has been shown that people will contract colds, bronchitis, and broncho pneumonia, as well as diarrhea, more readily when they are fatigued. In fact fatigue is regarded by some as the commonest factor in making infection possible. The "run down" condition we so frequently hear about is simply a protracted type of attrition and fatigue. What should we do when we are run down? Mark Twain, if alive, would no doubt answer, we ought to get the number of the driver's car. Seriously, we ought to observe the crossing signals and not get run down and thus avoid the serious conditions that are certain to ensue.

The organisms that cause disease fall on different kinds of soil, like the seed in the Parable of the Sower. Some fall upon non-receptive, inhospitable soil and come to naught, while others fall on what is for them well prepared and well adapted soil. In fact the soil is of more importance than the seed in determining the ultimate outcome of the invasion. This is well illustrated in



the case of tuberculosis where so many people (perhaps 90-100 per cent) receive the seed into their bodies, but no serious trouble develops in most of them because the soil is unfavorable. The most important single factor in protecting the individual is therefore to have the body in its most healthful condition, with all its energies available, its tonus good, and its fighting force fully marshalled for defense.

What then is necessary that we may have health and resisting power? All people do not start life with the same equipment. Some have weak bodies and little natural resisting power, while others are by racial or familial tendencies well equipped to withstand the onslaught of disease, but all may have a fair degree of resisting power if they give attention to a few fundamentals.

Fresh air and sunshine are two of the first essentials for building up resistance. Fresh, cool, moving air is necessary for life, health, and alertness. The movement of air is most important. Air in motion differs from confined air, as the sparkling brook differs from the stagnant, scum laden pool. Nowhere can we get fresh air in movement better than that out of doors. No system of ventilation is as good as nature's out of doors. There too we get our necessary share of sunshine. Sunshine is essential not only because it stimulates and augments the natural protective agencies of the body but because it enables the body to absorb and store up vitamins and food elements like calcium and iron.

Cleanliness is another essential to health. Literally clean hands are one of the first essentials and so is a clean mouth, clean bodies, clean clothes, and a clean atmosphere. The hands travel so frequently to the mouth that it can hardly be clean unless the hands are clean.

Good food and pure water are also prerequisites. It is not necessary to spend time listing foods that the social worker or anyone else should eat for health's sake. Lists of foods showing their food values and their proper proportions are easily obtainable. One physiologist has adopted as his maxim that: "To keep well, eat foods that keep well," by which he means, eat foods that do not readily spoil or decay and this is in general a very good rule. We know that certain food elements have definite value in preventing disease, that there is in fact a group of diseases classed as food deficiency diseases, not to mention the great factor of undernourishment as making possible the development of many diseases, and undernourishment, as we know, may result from either an insufficient quantity of food or food insufficient in quality. Food requires to be ample in quantity, good in quality, and sufficiently varied in character. The vitamins are especially necessary for the young and the growing, but some quantity of them is required at all stages of life. It has recently been stated by workers on food in its relation to disease, that one of the reasons why we have more disease, particularly of the respiratory types, in the winter is because at that season of the year, we receive a much smaller supply of

certain protective vitamins than we do in the summer. Pure water is essential. The body practically floats in fluid or is supersaturated with it, as about 64 per cent of the body is made up of water. How essential then that what goes to make up so much of our body should be clean and pure. Many diseases can be carried into the body by water, just as they can by food, hence, as our food should be free from contamination, so should our water supply be free from pollution. We should be moderate in our intake of food as most people eat more than is necessary, but we should all have a water intake of from four to eight glasses per day.

Adequate sleep is essential not only for the young, but for the adult, and therefore for the social worker. Some people may be able like Edison to get along satisfactorily on four or five hours sleep per day, but most people require at least seven or eight; sleep to be sweet and refreshing such as "knits up the unravelled sleeve of care," must be undisturbed. As most of us spend one-third of our time in bed it means that the bed should be comfortable, and that very special attention should be given the conditions under which we endeavor to sleep. Dr. Cabot tells of one girl who came to his clinic with the complaint that she could not sleep. Treatment for insomnia was started but it was later discovered that the girl was of a nervous temperament and that she could not sleep because at home she was compelled to sleep in the same bed with two other girls. As soon as she was assigned a bed by herself her insomnia disappeared.

In addition to sleep, there should be resting periods when the body or brain may renew its expended energy. This has already been stressed in what was said in regard to fatigue. Periods of rest give the body a chance to reduce the accumulation of waste products such as lactic and phosphoric acids, carbon dioxide and creatin, and it is the accumulation of these that causes fatigue. Rest allows also a more liberal supply of oxygen and of nutritional materials such as carbohydrates which are reduced by prolonged exercise. Rest is so important that by its wise use and by moderation it has been shown that even those with weak hearts may live a long time and usefully serve their fellowmen.

Any kind of machinery needs to be used, at least occasionally, or it rusts or clogs. The social worker is likely to get enough exercise, if he keeps moving about getting in touch with his clients, but he may not always get his exercise under the conditions or in the form in which he ought to have it. The muscles of the social worker do not need to be developed like those of the professional athlete, but the whole body should get its share of exercise and under conditions where pure air can be breathed. The upper abdominal muscles of man ordinarily get very little exercise because man has assumed the upright position and the tension put on them in the animal and which aids the animal's digestion is very largely lacking in the human being. We should

therefore make a point to exercise those muscles not only for their own sake, but because of what it means to digestion, and therefore to the whole body economy.

Recreation and change are added aids in preserving and promoting good health. If rest is ample, a change is not always necessary, although there is truth in the old saying that a change is as good as a rest; and because of its mental effect, apart from its physical, it is beneficial to have not only our summer vacation, but to play occasionally and to change our form of work whenever we find it losing interest and becoming monotonous.

This is perhaps enough to say in regard to the general measures that the social worker or any other worker should adopt to protect his health. It is necessary, however, to mention a few other more specific precautions that ought to be observed. He should check up on himself by periodic health examinations, at least once a year and oftener if occasion demands it. He should protect himself by using every well established prophylactic measure, because like the physician and the nurse, he may in the course of his duties be exposed to contagion to a much greater degree than the ordinary citizen. He should therefore make use of what medical science has made available in the way of bodily protection. He should know something of the cause of disease and the manner in which disease is spread.

Nature has endowed us with many protective agencies. She gave us our skin as a waterproof covering, not wholly impermeable but largely so, and the mucous membrane to cover the hollow tubes of the body to form a protective covering for those inward parts. She provided certain secretions to wash these inner surfaces and protect them by carrying away harmful substances or in some measure neutralizing them. Certain portions of the body are even equipped with very fine hairs that wave in a definite fashion and direction to carry along such substances and thus protect the parts. We have too certain cells circulating in the blood that rally for our protection, that increase in numbers when there is a demand for their services. This phenomenon occurs in what is called "leucocytosis" in the case of an infection. Many of these cells are phagocytic, that is, they will attack and endeavor to devour invading harmful organisms.

In addition to all these, we have certain substances called "opsonins" circulating in the blood that will help to incite these cells to attack the bacteria, also other substances that agglutinate or cause these bacteria to clump or precipitate them, so as to render them less harmful, and some in the form of antitoxins that definitely neutralize the harmful substances produced by the presence of the foreign bacteria. These protective aides are circulating in our blood at all times and help to make life possible. Some people have more of them than others, and they can be greatly increased by certain immunization processes. There is no person who has not some of them, but he may not have

them in such numbers as to insure immunity to an attack of a certain disease. The processes of artificial immunization are simply to augment and activate the natural protective agencies that we all possess. All social workers should be as fully protected as possible, because such workers usually have greater opportunities of exposure than the ordinary person. If he protects himself and is careful in his visits to limit contact as much as possible, avoiding shaking hands in certain cases and other means of having contact; and if when contact cannot be avoided, he takes precautions to wash his hands thereafter, there will be little likelihood of contracting disease. One good general rule is to keep the hands away from the mouth as much as possible at all times, and particularly when they have been in contact with possible cases or carriers of disease and have not since been carefully washed. The old Jewish practice was a good one which required "that they ate not without oft washing of the hands."

If the social worker protects himself, as already indicated, he will help safeguard the health of his client. He will protect him in making sure that he does not carry disease from one family to another. No social worker should ever be guilty either of carrying internally in his own person or externally through contact with another, the germs of disease to those whom he would serve by his visitations. If he does so, he gives his client a serpent when he ought to have a fish and a stone when bread is needed. Some of the things outlined for the protection of his own health and its promotion he can be instrumental in passing on to his client. It is of course the privilege and the main function of the social worker to aid in restoring to men the solid satisfactions of life, in the form of physical vigor, the understanding mind, and the right social adjustment. He may be able to provide food for those who need it, improve living conditions, exclude flies, exterminate vermin, let sunshine into the dwelling, and do many other things that may concern mental as well as physical health, but the very first thing the social worker ought to do if the case is one that in any way constitutes a health problem, is to take measures to obtain medical attendance for the case, and so soon as such attendance is available the social worker should cooperate with the physician. That the individual may be rehabilitated, readjusted, or restored to health, there may be work for both the medical attendant and the social worker, but the social worker must not presume to usurp the place of the medical attendant. The social worker should have some medical knowledge, but should remember that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. He should know enough to be able to combat superstition and quackery, and be able to render first aid when there is no nurse or physician readily available. The social worker's knowledge of reestablishment and readjustment may be much more extensive than that of the physician's, but the physician has his own sphere in the curative methods and aids to be used to meet the disease problem, and so far as this part of the problem is concerned the social worker should regard himself as an aide to the physician. Outside

of giving first aid until a physician is called and prescribes the course of treatment, a social worker should be very chary of presuming to prescribe for the individual or interfere in any way with the course of treatment outlined by the physician once he has had an opportunity to act. "The social worker should be," as Dr. R. C. Cabot says, "chiefly an educator, nurturer, stimulator, developer and director of human souls in that group of persons whose character, temperament or environment has brought them into some sort of trouble." But where a health problem is involved the social worker can probably do as much for his client by helping to establish confidence on that person's part in the treatment the physician has outlined as he can in any other way.

Another way in which the social worker can safeguard his client is by the closest cooperation with the physician, by way of supplementing what the physician is able to do. He can get additional facts in reference to the history of the person, the cause of the ailment or disability, and can give time to a study of the person's mental as well as physical condition. He can find out to what degree, if any, shiftlessness, instability, or fear play a part in putting the individual in the condition in which he finds himself. He may be able to determine whether the individual is like Jacob's oldest son Reuben "unstable as water and therefore cannot prevail" or whether the fear complex is the predominating factor or an inferiority complex, and may through this information be able to assist the physician materially, not only in fighting disease with the dissemination of medical truth, but also by ministering to a mind diseased. It is true that much of the work the social worker is called upon to do is not directly related to medical treatment. But if Dr. Frankel's survey is correct, and if in 62 per cent of all cases of relief the destitution is due to illness, this means that the major portion of the social worker's efforts must be related to the health problem.

As it is the aim of the social worker to have restored to the individual what is lacking of the essentials of life, he can perhaps best discharge his function so far as health is concerned by becoming "teacher and interpreter," to use Dr. Cabot's words, "and by passing on the physician's ideas in words of one syllable," to those whom he seeks to reach. He may have to deal with those who have trodden the "primrose path of dalliance" and are indifferent, or on the other hand those who now are trying to climb "the steep and thorny way to heaven," but no matter what class he seeks to reach if he sympathetically remembers the frailty of man, that to err is human, and will

Gently scan your brother man  
And gentler sister woman;  
We a' may gang a kennin' wrang  
To step aside is human

and if carefully and conscientiously he reaches out to aid in the healing of the sick, to succor the needy and to fortify the unstable and insecure, he will have

rendered a service to the individual and to society that will be a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

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#### WHAT THE HEALTH WORKER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MEDICAL SCIENCE

*Walter L. Bierring, M.D., Des Moines*

The care of the sick and the prevention of disease has been the part of every movement for a better civilization, and the history of medicine constitutes the best record of human progress.

The outstanding development of recent decades has been the awakening of public interest in matters pertaining to individual and community health. While the achievements of medical science have furnished the tools to combat disease, the active cooperation of the health worker in the different fields of endeavor is responsible for the successful manner in which the benefits of medical research have been extended. Naturally the best method to control disease is to prevent its causation, so that recent advances are largely concerned with preventive medicine and hygiene.

*Typhoid.*—Typhoid fever, once the annual scourge of nearly every community and in times of war a decimator of armies, has become a rare disease. With the knowledge that the germ of typhoid fever is spread mainly through impure water, milk, and other food stuffs, it is clearly evident when typhoid appears in any community that someone is to blame, and somewhere there has been a laxity in the proper precautions. By attacking the disease in a fundamental and sound way through ordinary hygienic measures, especially a good water supply and proper drainage, typhoid has become a rare disease. Occasional outbreaks of typhoid are still noted nearly every season, indicating the ubiquity of the germ and the need of eternal vigilance. It does not seem possible to always insure good hygienic surroundings, particularly in time of war, so that fortunately another method of prevention, that of inoculation or vaccination, is available. Since one attack of the disease produces an immunity or protection against subsequent attacks, the basis of vaccination is to produce a prophylactic immunity by the injection of several doses of attenuated (killed) typhoid bacilli. By this means the United States Army and the United States Navy have not experienced a single instance of typhoid infection, and during the World War the incidence of typhoid in allied armies was kept at a very low figure. The recent flood disaster in the south affords example for extensive protective vaccination.

*Smallpox.*—It seems hardly necessary to state that if universal vaccination were carried out, there would be no more smallpox. Every epidemic of smallpox that has occurred within recent years, in each instance, has been found to have its source in unvaccinated individuals.



*Yellow fever.*—No story reads more like a romance than man's control of yellow fever. The Panama Canal Zone, at one time called the graveyard of the white man, now has a better health record than New York City and many of the larger cities in this country. Yellow fever, like malaria, is a disease transmitted through the bite of the mosquito. When this was demonstrated by human experiment, in which Dr. Lazear paid the human sacrifice, it became possible for Colonel W. C. Gorgas (late surgeon of the United States Army) to establish such protective measures in the Canal Zone as to permit the successful completion of this great engineering undertaking. When history records its tribute to the builder of the Canal, it must give credit in large measure to Gorgas, the sanitarian. Through the later work of General Gorgas up to the time of his death in 1920, while associated with the International Health Board, it has been possible to practically exterminate yellow fever in the several regions where it is endemic. Malaria, another mosquito borne disease, has also been effectively brought under control. A recent successful investigation by Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Siler of the Army Medical Service, while on duty in the Philippines, has definitely established that dengue or "break bone fever" is transmitted by the *stegomyia* mosquito.

*Syphilis.*—The control of syphilitic diseases has been greatly aided by two discoveries, first that of the causative microorganism, *spirochaeta pallida*, which permits a positive diagnosis as soon as a primary lesion is manifest, and secondly that of the so called Wassermann serum reaction or complement fixation test. The introduction of the Kahn modification has greatly simplified this valuable aid in the diagnosis of syphilitic infection. Aside from its diagnostic value it serves as a reliable criterion or guide of the progress or effect of the different forms of specific therapy.

*Tetanus and diphtheria.*—These two diseases formerly of such high mortality have each been successfully brought under control by means of a specific serum or antitoxin.

Tetanus or lockjaw is caused by the tetanus bacillus which usually enters a wound, caused either by bullet, shell, shrapnel, or other injury by means of dirt. By using a prophylactic dose of the antitoxin soon after the injury an attack of tetanus is prevented in most instances, and even after symptoms of the disease develop its curative value is very pronounced. During the World War the prophylactic injection of antitetanic serum was the means of saving thousands of lives.

With the introduction of antidiphtheritic serum in 1894, the death rate was reduced from 40 to 10 per cent, and if used on the first day of the illness it is almost nil. For a number of years smaller doses of diphtheria antitoxin were used for prophylactic or immunizing purposes. More recently essentially preventive measures in diphtheria have been introduced. The procedure employed is to bring about an active immunization by a mixture of toxin and

antitoxin in individuals who have been shown to be susceptible to the disease by what is known as the Schick test. A campaign has been begun along the foregoing lines in many states in this country that promises brilliant results. The New York State Health Department has made the prophecy that by 1930 diphtheria will be quite unknown in New York State. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of April 30 is published the fourth annual summary of diphtheria mortality in the cities of the United States with more than 100,000 population; these cities number 78 and contain a population in excess of 31,000,000. The total diphtheria deaths in this large population were approximately 3,000, or more than three times the typhoid mortality in the same cities, particularly Detroit, increasing the rate to 34.8 per cent, a point not reached for years. These statistics indicate that the diphtheria problem is still a major one for health officials, and affords reason not only for renewed efforts in toxin-antitoxin immunization but also for searching bacterial and epidemiologic investigation.

*Scarlet fever.*—Recent investigations have made it possible to bring scarlet fever under better control than ever before. Since Dick and Dick established the cause in 1924 as a hemolytic streptococcus, progress has been made in producing an artificial protective immunity as well as definite curative measures. Two preparations are used to produce a protective immunity against scarlet fever, the simpler method being that of Larson by mixing the toxin with sodium ricinoleate, which modifies the toxic reaction and requires only one injection. By the method of Dick and Dick three to five doses are necessary to secure the required immunity. An anti-scarlet fever serum has been prepared by Dick and Dick as well as by Dochez, which has given most gratifying results in treatment.

*Measles.*—Investigations have been carried on in this country and Italy that hold out considerable hope that a definite prophylaxis as well as a specific treatment for measles will soon be available.

The preceding account is but a meager history of the marvelous advance which has been made in the prevention of infectious diseases of our times. An advance largely due to the genius of Pasteur, the discoverer of bacteriology, and the great German scientist Robert Koch, to pave the way for their disciples to follow.

The advances in the group of infectious diseases have been shared by another group, notably those due to dietetic deficiencies, the so called deficiency diseases. They exact an enormous toll in lowered health, lowered vitality, malformation, and inefficiency. Until a few years ago it was generally taught that a complete diet consisted of certain proportions of proteins, carbohydrates, fats, and salts. But this teaching as to what constitutes a complete and healthful diet has greatly changed, inasmuch as certain substances have been discovered in food stuffs in the absence of which an adequate number of

calories supplied in the form of proteins, carbohydrates, fats, and salts can alone neither promote growth nor support life indefinitely. These accessory food factors or vitamins, as they have been named, are present in such minute quantities in foods that they have never been isolated, and their chemical composition is therefore unknown. In 1911 Casmir Funk coined the name "vitamine" to describe the substance as a curative of an oriental disease known as beri-beri. This disease is common in Japan, the Philippines, and other lands where the diet consists mainly of rice. While the disease itself was well known, its cause and cure baffled the medical men for many years. In 1898 a Dutch chemist succeeded in producing in fowls a similar set of symptoms by feeding them with polished rice alone. The addition of rice polishings to the diet was sufficient to relieve the symptoms. The untutored savage living on the natural fruits of the earth and the chase knows no deficiency diseases. It is only when man begins by artificial means to polish his rice, whiten his flour, and tin his beef and vegetables that the trouble begins. Civilized man living in comfort, drawing his food supply from the whole earth, and able to vary his dietary at will is in little danger; but it is otherwise with children and adults living under institutional conditions, with armies on active service, encountering extremes of climate, and with young infants on their naturally restricted diet. Today in magazines, newspapers, and street car advertisements, people are urged to use this or that food or medicament on the plea of its vitamine content. This last and lustiest of the chemists' children has grown since 1911 into three members, which are referred to as vitamins A, B, and C. There are now rumors of another arrival, and none dares to predict the limits of the family.

A better acquaintance of these substances has reformed our ideas on nutrition of both adults and babies, and we now pick out our foods from a new angle. Later researches have developed that there is a vitamin definitely associated with the disease known as scurvy, rickets, and pellagra. A large series of interesting animal experiments have been carried on within recent years, showing how the growth, particularly of bony tissue, is affected by variations in diet. The absence of certain foods as lemons, oranges, butter, and vegetables inhibits growth, especially skeletal growth. It is therefore quite evident that the regulation of diet and the general food supply is an important element in civilization and racial development as well as this preservation of health and the prevention of disease.

*Diseases due to ductless glands.*—Time only permits a brief reference to the astonishing advance in our knowledge of the diseases caused by a defect or excess of secretion of the ductless glands. Many of these discoveries are among the fairy tales of science. There is a certain likeness between the vitamins and these glandular secretions or hormones, as they are named. Just as the presence or absence of an extremely minute quantity of a vitamin may

determine growth and health or disease and death, so an extremely minute quantity of glandular secretion may have a similar effect. The anterior lobe of the pituitary gland is a very small body, yet an excess of its secretion will cause a child to grow into a giant, a deficiency and the growing child will remain an infant.

The best known of the ductless glands is the thyroid, and the effect of its secretion is truly marvelous. A deficiency, and the child grows up a heavy-featured, gibbering idiot. Rectify the supply of thyroid secretion; the heavy features disappear, the eyes brighten, the intelligence returns, and instead of the former heavy-jowled imbecile you have a bright, happy, and normal school-boy. On the other hand, if there is an excess of the thyroid hormone, exophthalmic goiter, or Graves's disease, is the result. Remove the redundancy and health returns. The active principle of the thyroid has lately been shown to be a compound containing iodine. If there is no iodine in the soil or water, goiter is the result, as in parts of Switzerland, Canada, and the United States. This aspect of the subject was taken up some ten years ago by Dr. David Marine and his colleagues at Cleveland. They found that endemic goiter may be prevented by the simple method of giving for a time minute doses of iodine, and concluded that with such simple, rational, and cheap means of prevention, this human scourge which has taken its toll in misery, suffering, and death throughout all ages can and should be controlled, if not eliminated. They look forward in imagination, a few generations hence, to the final closing of the chapter on endemic goiter and cretinism in every civilized nation in the world.

The latest victory in this field of knowledge is the discovery of insulin in 1922 by the Toronto investigators, Banting, Best, and McLeod. Insulin is the secretion of the Island of Langerhans in the pancreas, and appears to be the lacking element in diabetes. By supplying insulin the patient with diabetes is able to have a more liberal diet and his life is prolonged many years.

*Rehabilitation movements.*—These terms are used in connection with the extensive organized efforts to rehabilitate the victims of tuberculosis and heart disease. In these movements the health worker has taken a most important part. This movement includes a study of the causes and prevention of these two disabling diseases, as well as a systematic effort to institute definite plans of treatment in each instance.

The marked reduction in the incidence and death rate of tuberculosis in the United States is largely due to the organization of the National Tuberculosis Association and its affiliated state and municipal societies. By means of an extensive campaign of education, the mode of spread of tuberculosis has become a matter of common knowledge. Knowing also that the tubercle bacillus lives best in dark and unhygienic surroundings and is readily destroyed by sunlight and fresh air, better living conditions such as sleeping porches, have been promoted, which has meant so much to both the sick and the well. The

establishment of municipal and state sanatoria, improved home conditions, has brought many a victim back to health. Supervised vocational training has permitted rehabilitation, and return to earning power and usefulness. The state of Iowa is rated as the third lowest state in this country in the number of deaths from tuberculosis, only two other states, Utah and Nebraska, having a lower death rate.

Within the last five years a similar organized effort has been inaugurated by the formation of the National Association for the Study and Relief of Heart Disease. Several state organizations have been formed of which that in Iowa is one. A fortunate arrangement in Iowa is a close affiliation with the Iowa Tuberculosis Association. Heart disease now leads all other diseases in its death rate. By means of this intensive study heart disease may be grouped in three periods. During childhood and young adult life, it is caused by the acute infections as rheumatism, tonsillitis, scarlet fever, influenza. If acute rheumatism could be eliminated one-half of the heart cases would be prevented. During middle adult life syphilis plays a prominent rôle in the production of heart disease, and in the later decades of life, the degenerative diseases like arterio sclerosis are the principal cause. With proper care the victims of a heart lesion can live the natural lease of life. Occasional periods of rest, working within the patient's limits, and careful medical supervision permit a comfortable state of living and the carrying out of life's ordinary duties.

*Periodic health examinations.*—Taking place along side these important movements which may well be regarded as forms of preventive medicine is a new field of great promise. It has to do with the periodic examination of presumably healthy persons, with the idea of stimulating individuals to feel that they should have repeated examinations at definite and stated periods to forestal the advance of disease processes. This is a field of preventive medicine that offers a great opportunity for advancement and real service. It is not only a matter of detecting the early stages of disease, but it branches out toward insuring optimal health, toward recommendations as to diet, exercise, mode of life, kind of occupation, and special forms of amusements, all of which will tend toward the prolongation of life.

## OUTSTANDING ACTIVITIES OF HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

### A COMBINATION HEART AND TUBERCULOSIS PROGRAM

*Frances Brophy, Iowa Tuberculosis Association, Des Moines*

Alarmed by the rapid increase of heart disease which is acknowledged the foremost cause of death today, the Iowa Tuberculosis Association and the Iowa Heart Association joined forces in May, 1925. This combination was made because the same treatment is used in conquering both heart disease and tuberculosis. The same staff and organization machinery were ready to be used for just this purpose and the work of the past two years has proved that the move was a forward looking one.

Since May, 1925, forty-four combination lung and heart clinics (known as chest clinics) have been held in thirty-two of the ninety-nine counties of the state. There were 1,251 patients examined, the findings recorded, and consultations held with the family physician. A detailed written report is made to each physician of his own cases. Active cases of tuberculosis are reported to the State Board of Health with whom the two associations work harmoniously. There were 451 doctors who attended the forty-four clinics. The success of these clinics is measured by the number of doctors who attend, since this service is offered primarily for consultation purposes. The clinics are financed through the sale of Christmas seals.

To save time I shall tell the process of scheduling a clinic last month in Winnishiek County. First, an invitation from the County Medical Society of Winnishiek County was received; second, an O.K. for part of the clinic expenses from the local chairman of the seal sale fund was secured; third, the date was set and a notice sent from the Iowa Tuberculosis Association to every member of the Winnishiek County Medical Society giving the time and place, and stating that a field nurse would visit them a day or two before the clinic; fourth, a field nurse visited each member of the County Medical Society, at which time she secured the names of patients to be scheduled and laboratory reports including sputum, X-ray, and urinalysis.

Only a limited number of patients were desired and to have different types represented meant careful selection on the part of the medical society. Following were the types of heart disease listed: thyroid, one; rheumatic heart disease, three; arteriosclerotic, three; hypertensive, two; syphilitic heart, one.

Of tuberculous patients interesting types were: bronchiectasis (although not tuberculous this is often confused with tuberculosis), one; ex-sanatorium cases, three; patients needing sanatorium care, five; far advanced cases, one; contracts of high school age, three; arrested cases, two.

Aside from holding combination lung and heart clinics the Iowa Heart Association and the Iowa Tuberculosis Association are conducting several in-



teresting programs of health education. These consist of research, publicity, legislation, hospital treatment, after care, and rehabilitation. Some of the most interesting pursuits have been the educational campaign in combination with the State Federation of Women's Clubs who will distribute 25,000 or more cards about heart disease. Another is the distribution of the pamphlet "Save Your Child" published by the State University of Iowa.

Iowa and Wisconsin were the two states to pioneer in this movement which is fast becoming national. The National Tuberculosis Association because of this interest in state organizations is now handling the work of the American Heart Association. Both Iowa and Wisconsin have demonstrated that the Tuberculosis Association of any state is the logical group to promote a new health venture because of their complete organization and prestige.

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### OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

*Margaret Biggerstaff, Broadlawns Hospital, Des Moines*

From among the numerous activities undertaken by the occupational therapy department at Broadlawns I have selected the Garden Club for discussion before this meeting, not because it is the most valuable feature but because it is unique. Of all our undertakings it probably comes nearest to fulfilling every item of the definition of its subject as accepted by the American Society of Occupational Therapy: it provides both mental and physical activity; it is prescribed by the physician and guided by the occupational therapist; it exists for the emphatic purpose of contributing to, and hastening recovery from, disease.

Every patient desiring admission to the club must first receive a prescription and classification from the medical staff before becoming a member. The Garden Club is a part of graduated exercise as practiced at Broadlawns. Every possible activity is classified and graded and each member properly assigned to these grades of work. Careful check is made on each member by the doctors and nurses to ascertain the results of this exercise on the patient.

The spirit of play is fostered most earnestly by the directors of the work. All work leads to a pleasurable end. If the playgrounds are raked, the leaves and sticks become a bonfire for a picnic; if the croquet ground is weeded, sanded and rolled, a tournament is promoted; if the flower beds must be spaded and planted, the resulting blossoms offer contests for prizes and remain the property of the patients to be picked and enjoyed by any and all members of the hospital family.

Unlike occupational therapy in the orthopedic cases where certain joints and muscles may be directly benefited by exercise, occupational therapy with

tuberculosis must pursue a more circuitous route before it contributes the therapeutic element.

Since a program of rest and graduated exercise is believed by the staff at Broadlawns to be the ideal method for recovery from tuberculosis and because much of the patient's former activities must be either inhibited or curtailed, it becomes the privilege and duty of the hospital to provide a new and regulated life that will promote the spiritual betterment (I use the word in the sense of pertaining to the highest qualities of the mind) and the physical well-being of the patient. To put it succinctly, a happy and contented patient will remain longer at the sanatorium and stand a better chance for recovery than a fretful, idle patient. It also has decided educative possibilities which cannot be overlooked among people so young and untrained as the average group to be found in the hospital for tuberculosis.

We had a social problem on our hands at Broadlawns that the Garden Club helped to solve. Jack and Jill would go up the hill for walks and come back with a tremendous interest in each other that proved very disturbing to their temperature and pulse and their final recovery. Intense emotional excitement is good for the "bugs" but bad for their host, and young people will be young people, you know! A garden club where Jack could help Jill plant and water her flowers with nature's heliotherapy and sweet May winds blowing through the whole, would give just the setting to provide a healthy relationship. Then there were endless possibilities for quiet games, chaperoned talks (not too chaperoned), outdoor breakfasts about the big stone oven built by the club, and legitimate twosomes, so recurring.

These were our ideals. We have not achieved them. Someone was mean enough to refer to our prize flower beds that first year, before the landscape architect gave us a helping hand, as the graveyard simply because every bed was an exact plot six by nine. Some patients thoroughly imbued with the rest theory are afraid to lift a hand, while others are just plain lazy. Some days the director's mind is preoccupied with a desire to get the flower seed in so that an early crop will accrue, and she "drives" only to find the club members sticking to the house next morning; some days the eye and ear specialist "works" on a member, or a bed must be changed, or the dentist has an ardent worker subdued! Our flowers come up in clumps; the weather is too dry or too wet; but come what will we labor on and many glorious results are achieved and quite balance our failures.

### SOCIAL RESEARCH PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION

*Jessamine S. Whitney, Statistician, National Tuberculosis Association,  
New York City*

For several years the National Tuberculosis Association with its limited personnel and facilities has attempted a few studies in social research. Notably among them were the study of the extent of the migratory consumptive problem in the Southwest; the cost of caring for tuberculous patients; case finding surveys in various parts of the country; a study of reporting of tuberculosis cases and others of similar nature. These studies were undoubtedly of value, but they were only a drop in the bucket of the great field of social research needed for tuberculosis.

This year with a small appropriation definitely for social research the association has planned a more formal and extensive program. Taking a leaf from the book of the medical research committee of this association, which has been in existence only a few years, but which has made wonderful strides, it has been planned to carry out the research partly through university affiliation. Prior to the formation of the Medical Research Committee various individuals had sporadically attempted to make researches concerning the nature, habits, and customs of the tubercle bacillus but they were hampered because they were working along with insufficient laboratory facilities and insufficient time. By searching out these persons and properly equipping them and tying up the work of one with another, probably more significant results in medical research concerning the tubercle bacillus have been accomplished in the last three years than in the previous twenty years.

It is the purpose likewise in social research to find interested persons in universities who are willing to undertake special studies and to grant fellowships so that under careful supervision these fellows may work out some study which will be of value in the whole field.

There are two definite classifications in social research. One is along the line of defects in our tuberculosis program. It is planned by the association to study such defects through our own personnel. The other classification is academic studies concerning the racial differences in tuberculosis; concerning the occupational variations; concerning the costs of tuberculosis to a community; concerning the very important mortality variations of age and sex which are now going on and other topics of a similar import. These latter groups can well be made the subjects of university studies and perhaps become the basis of fundamental changes in our program.

Two university professors of nationwide reputation have already indicated their interest in conducting such studies, and fellowship grants will probably be given to students working under their direction for the coming academic year.

There are still funds for one or more grants along this line during the present year. It is hoped after this start and with the results which will be achieved, that greater funds will be available and that within three or four years we shall have a considerable knowledge of the social factors underlying the problem of tuberculosis.

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### PRENATAL INSTRUCTION

*Howard W. Green, Health Council, Cleveland*

A substantial reduction in the death rate of infants has taken place during the past generation. The 1900 rate for the city of Cleveland of 200 in 1920 had been reduced to 102.

An analysis of the 2,033 infant deaths in Cleveland in 1910 shows 790 as ascribed as due to diarrhea and enteritis, 252 to premature births with specific death rates of 57 and 18 per 1,000 infants respectively. In 1920 the number of deaths were 359 and 372 and the rates 21 and 22. In 1926 there were only 139 deaths due to diarrhea and enteritis, giving a rate of 7, while the 387 deaths due to premature birth gave a rate of 21. The total deaths in 1926 were 1,397 against 2,033 in 1910, a reduction of 636 which was more than accounted for by the reduction in a single cause of death, namely, diarrhea and enteritis. The deaths due to premature birth increased from 252 in 1910 to 387 in 1926 with the specific death rates increasing from 18 to 21. Thus it is seen that the rate has increased and since the deaths due to diarrhea and enteritis decreased from a rate of 57 to 7, premature birth has been left as the principal cause of infant deaths and the rate due to this cause is increasing. In order therefore to still further reduce the number of infant deaths and the infant mortality rate it is evident that concentrated work must be planned with the object of reducing the deaths due to premature birth. While the deaths due to diarrhea and enteritis take place largely at several months of age, only 9 per cent taking place under one month, the deaths due to premature birth largely take place under one week and 96 per cent of them take place under one month. It is thus evident that in order to prevent this loss of life work must be directed to the period before birth.

Prenatal clinics have been established during the past several years. They are expensive to operate but extremely worth while. It is felt that it is more worth while, however, to give instruction in a series of six lectures to a large percentage of our 20,000 annual expectant mothers than to give clinic care to a limited number of expectant mothers.

Prenatal classes were started last January, and were held at each of the five stations of the Visiting Nurse Association each week during the six week period.

In the course of the instruction the expectant mothers are advised to

select their physician and to consult him frequently, requesting that the necessary examinations be made. Attention is called to the fact that syphilis is responsible for a large number of deaths due to premature births and many still births as well. The physician selected is usually glad to make a Wassermann examination if requested to do so and treat syphilis which should be undertaken early in pregnancy. The fact that the first teeth of the child are formed prior to birth and that bones must also be formed indicates the value of the mother's diet including teeth and bone forming material, fruit, fresh vegetables, milk, and cod liver oil. It is attempted during the instruction period to create a desire to breast feed the baby. By means of the second half of the lectures the mental attitude of the expectant mother is given attention, her food habits, sleep and rest habits; elimination and exercise habits are improved. The behavior problems of the expected child are discussed.

Besides saving unnecessary deaths it has been attempted to raise the health standard of all children to the end of obtaining more and better children.

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#### REHABILITATION WORK

*Kathryn M. Radebaugh, Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association,  
Minneapolis*

For a number of years the Tuberculosis Association in Minneapolis has been deeply interested in the problem of the industrial rehabilitation of its arrested cases of tuberculosis. The members of the board of directors have read with much interest the study of the condition of sanatorium patients several years after discharge made a number of years ago by the Jewish Committee in New York, and visited the New York City Reco Shop and the Jewish Committee's Altro Shop. But it seemed a hopeless proposition to try to create similar facilities in a comparatively small midwestern city in which there are no outstanding industries nor, of course, any shop for the industrial training of those handicapped by disease. At the same time the Association was devoting much of its energy to the providing of sufficient sanatorium facilities for the tuberculous of the county. At about the time of the completion of the sanatorium a study was made of the condition of the early patients in the sanatorium five years after their discharge. This study indicated that an alarming percentage of even those patients discharged as apparently arrested were five years later back in the sanatorium or already dead.

Our Association then invited Mr. W. I. Hamilton of New York, who had been with the Federal Board for Vocational Education, to visit Minneapolis and to make recommendations as to what might be done in this field. He recommended that our first step should be the employment of a placement supervisor whose responsibility would be, first, to link up the available sources of informa-

tion about tuberculous people who need assistance in getting suitable employment, and second, to place them in suitable employment. He stipulated further that the placement agent must not only locate jobs but must also match the jobs to the applicants' qualifications.

A placement supervisor was secured and began work in September, 1925. His first job was to educate large employers to the idea that they have an obligation to take back into their employ those who become injured or acquire disease while in their employ, and further, to educate all employers to know that the known and treated individual who has had tuberculosis is not a menace. The technique of the placement service as carried on is typical case work procedure. The placement supervisor is notified thirty or sixty days in advance of the patient's discharge by both the county and state sanatoria. With this notification is a report on the patient's physical condition and the number of hours he should work. Each case is then cleared through the Confidential Exchange to ascertain what other agencies may be, or may have been, active on the case. A report is also made immediately to the City Health Department that application for employment has been received. In case the patient comes in without having been referred by the sanatorium, before making any attempt to secure employment either part or full time for him, the supervisor tells the patient the Placement Department must have information on the patient's present diagnosis and prognosis. To secure this the patient often has to return to his physician or go to a clinic. Many of these patients who have not had recent medical examinations have been found to be active again. One of the big problems has been to ascertain the limitations produced in the person by the disease. This is very important in judging the ability of a person for any job. These limitations may be physical, mental, or both.

In general, the tuberculous adult should be advised to seek employment in some occupation in which he has knowledge and skill gained through previous experience. Only in rare instances do we believe an applicant's employment objective should be changed. Of course, in the event that he developed tuberculosis in an occupation hazardous for him, or where hazardous conditions are tolerated, a change is certainly most desirable. The most difficult individual to place is the man who previous to his illness was a common laborer. This man, as well as other types of cases, frequently needs reeducation. Our State Department of Reeducation has been most helpful in this regard. This assistance is limited, since the applicant must be a resident of the state and his disability must be such as to promise successful rehabilitation. Most ex-patients are in need of part time work and an easy job. There are no easy jobs. Any position worth while means work and hard work, and usually in competition with persons who have not been ill. Light outdoor work has often been recommended, but we have been unable to find an outdoor job in which the ex-patient can be protected from weather severity such as high winds, burning sun,



slush, and rain. Neither is it satisfactory from the standpoint of wages. In indoor work there are also many health hazards..

After the ex-patient is on the job the placement supervisor makes follow up calls as often as he thinks necessary, and keeps track of the man to see to it that he goes back for reexamination at the time indicated by the physician at his last examination so as to take every possible precaution to prevent the man's becoming a health hazard to his fellow workers.

The report of the Placement Department to date is as follows: 98 have been given full time employment; 7 have been given part time employment; 11 pending medical examination; 33 failed to report either at our office or to employment when secured; 23 not feasible for placement; 3 in training; 21 found active on examination; 6 awaiting part time employment; 24 awaiting full time employment.

In retraining those cases in which that seems to be necessary, many difficulties are encountered. The applicant wishes to begin work and earning at once. The time which he is willing to spend in learning a new vocation is short and he hasn't any idea whether he would like to be a mechanic or a wood-worker. To meet this situation our sanatoria, like most others, give the patients as many of the sanatorium jobs as possible. In addition, however, plans are under way for the establishment of an industrial workshop in connection with our county sanatorium.

The outlook for rehabilitation of the tuberculous is becoming more promising year by year. A real advance during the past few months has been indicated by the decision of the executive committee of the National Tuberculosis Association to include in the 1927 seal sale contract provision that seal sale money shall be expended in an effort to aid in the rehabilitation of arrested cases of tuberculosis by follow up work, such work to include advice, vocational training, placement, and such other aftercare as may assist arrested cases to become partially or wholly self supporting.

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### THE VALUE OF PARADES IN AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

*Louise Franklin Bache, Bureau of Health Education, Department of Health, Syracuse, New York*

If the parade can harken back to its ancestors and introduce vivid stories in pageant and dramatic form, there are wonderful possibilities for it as educational and publicity media. Syracuse has staged health parades for two years in connection with the health work being conducted by the Department of Health and the Syracuse Health Demonstration. Remembering the appeal of the circus parade, together with the beauty of the old pageant parades, an effort was made to combine both beauty and fun in these children's health parades.

School children and the child members of the volunteer health agencies were the marchers in the parade. Even the bands were conducted by children. The city officials and other prominent people were invited to review the parade just as in the days of old. Perhaps you will review one of these parades with me. First, there comes a float with the Queen of Health and her six attendants, all of whom were chosen for their observance of the health rules. Then follows the health clown. Throughout the parade signs with inscriptions for each section are bravely carried. The Cleanliness Battalion marches gallantly along clad in Turkish doublets and carrying gleaming tin pans for shields. The "Take a Bath More than Once a Week" float carries a red haired boy in a bath tub, so visibly having a good time that all the curbstone children mentally resolve to see how fine the water is in their own tubs that very night. The Toothbrush Brigade comes next, with over a hundred children carrying pasteboard toothbrushes as tall as the marchers. A Dental Hygiene float shows a dental hygienist cleaning the teeth of a roguish looking child and about her a group of boys and girls waiting their turn in the dental chair. The Physical Education Brigade exercises in more ways than one as they march along.

The activities of the Department of Health are next shown by a float illustrating the Little Mothers' Club, a Clean-up Brigade made up of a group of "fighters against disease" who carry with them the germs that they have taken prisoners. Then come all the volunteer agencies in the city, each one displaying their work in either float or pageant form. A mile of children pass you and not a single foot of that mile is dull.

The idea for the May parade came to us through the American Child Health Organization. About two months are necessary to arrange for a parade of the character outlined above. A parade can be put on with little or much expense. The parade budget will depend entirely upon the ingenuity of the person who is managing it. Generally there are in every community groups of women who are willing to lend their aid to a civic enterprise, especially one which has as its purpose the health of children. In Syracuse an artist consented to give her services for a very nominal fee over a period of three weeks, to help with the costuming. A group of volunteer women from the churches and clubs worked under her direction. The result was that the mile of parade cost in the neighborhood of \$200.

A parade may be made a very valuable source of publicity. Not only does it quicken the interest of children in health but it also helps to educate the parents. The more people that are in it the more interest you secure in that project. The curbstone audience, many of whom would never read articles on health, see a moving panorama which attracts and holds their interest. In reading the signs and viewing the parade they receive much valuable information. In Syracuse our superintendent of schools requires us to bond the children who march in order to protect the city against suits for accidents.

The parade offers some disadvantages. First of all there is the weather. Weather can never be relied upon. In making plans for a parade therefore it is well to map out a program which if the weather does not permit carrying out on one day may be carried out on another day, having it understood by those who take part in the parade just what the plans are. A last minute rallying of forces is always difficult.

School time is very precious. It is difficult to rehearse the various groups for their part in the parade. Directors who are skilled in giving directions, however, may get the necessary information over to the marchers in a few minutes' time. In Syracuse we had no previous rehearsal for our parade. The children were told when they arrived what part they were to play, and those with more elaborate costumes were told to come at an earlier time. Each person acted according to definite directions. A parade is the only dramatic performance which does not require rehearsing. It therefore has the advantage over other forms of entertainment in that it takes less of the children's time. It serves as a fine advertising medium. It is made up of large numbers of children. Through the children's interest the parents become interested. A pageant or a play has a fixed location, but a parade covers many sections of the city and gives passersby who perhaps would not go to an ordinary performance an opportunity to know something of the health work that is being conducted in the city. A health parade not only educates the public in health methods but it serves to let them know what is being done with their tax money. A parade may be made a very economical publicity device.

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#### INDUSTRIAL HEALTH SERVICE OF THE HEALTH COUNCIL AND TUBERCULOSIS COMMITTEE

*Sherman C. Kingsley, Director, Community Fund, Philadelphia*

In 1923, a tuberculosis survey of Philadelphia was made by Dr. Murray P. Horwood of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He said:

The existing statistics would seem to indicate that greater emphasis must be placed by the anti-tuberculosis movement on the prevention of tuberculosis in industry. This thought is borne out by the fact that the highest mortality rates from tuberculosis occur in those age groups which are industrially employed. The anti-tuberculosis campaign needs to reach out to affect this important and responsible group of people at a time when the danger from tuberculosis is greatest. The campaign will have to enter the office and the factory more extensively than ever before, in order to diminish the ravages from tuberculosis among those gainfully employed.

As a result of his recommendation, the Philadelphia Health Council and Tuberculosis Committee inaugurated free examinations at plants during working hours. Posters were placed in the plant calling the attention of the worker to the fact that examinations were to be conducted. The series of posters were

followed by health talks given by industrial physicians and nurses, telling the value of health examinations, just what they were and when they were to be given. After the talk definite clinic appointments were made with the workers for health examinations. The health examination in itself was both voluntary and confidential. After the health examination a report of the findings was sent to each individual at his home address. A report was also made to the employer, classifying his employees on a general health basis, but omitting all names and the details of each case. This work was done in 1923, 1924, and 1925, a total of 3,000 employees in 40 plants examined.

With the beginning of 1926 it was found that health examinations occurring once a year needed to be supplemented by more intensive work, in order to meet the health needs of the plants, and a method was inaugurated for establishing dispensaries with part time physicians and part time nurses. A group of small plants ranging from 25 to 500 employees each, and reasonably near together, providing a total of 1,000 employees, were to constitute a unit. One full time nurse could provide nursing service adequate for such a group of 1,000 employees and the medical service could be given on a part time basis by industrial physicians. Each plant sharing in the unit service would agree, first, to provide a dispensary at the plant, and second, to pay monthly its pro rata share in the maintenance of the unit based on the number of employees. The following health service was to be given to each plant: physical examinations, medical and surgical relief, instruction in first aid, industrial hygiene and sanitation, and education for general prevention of sickness and accidents. Daily or semi-weekly visits were to be made to each plant by the physician and nurse. Not less than three hours per week of health work for each 100 employees were to be provided, and records of all work done were to be kept by the nurse serving that plant. The cost of this service to each plant was to be \$4.50 per employee per year.

The first plants to undertake this service were members of the Confectioners' Association. The H. O. Wilbur Sons opened their dispensary for service January 16, 1926. There are now 19 plants, with approximately 4,000 employees, to whom this service is being given. It is hoped that in the year 1927 some of these plants will be able to undertake to manage their part time dispensary service with a minimum of supervision from the Health Council. This will leave the industrial secretary free to organize dispensary service in other plants.

The nurses send in to the central office weekly dispensary reports. The superintendents of the plants send in the number of employees each week. The office secretary makes out the bills. The expense to the Health Council of its industrial work, of which this was an important part, was \$24,071.33 in 1926. The money received from these 19 plants in 1926 was \$7,674.62. It must be remembered that these plants were opened at various times during the year, the

last one a plant of 350 employees being opened December 18, 1926. If the work now under way should continue during 1927 on its present basis it should be nearly self supporting.

As has been said, the number of employees in these plants varies from 25 to 500. A survey made by the Philadelphia Health Council to find out how extensively medical service has been introduced shows that such work has been done chiefly in the large plants. Small plants having from 25 to 300 employees are almost wholly without medical service. Approximately one-fourth of the industrial population works in these smaller plants. Such plants are not able to secure the limited medical service which they need on an economical basis. The only apparent solution is for a number of small plants to combine in a joint service, each one sharing in and paying for that service in proportion to the number of employees. It is the practicability of this idea that the Philadelphia Health Council has undertaken to demonstrate. It is the purpose of the Council to carry on this unit service only until such time as it is thoroughly established, so that a group of plants may take it over and operate it themselves. In doing this work the Health Council is not only demonstrating and showing the practicability of the idea of joint medical service, but is examining thousands of working people, encouraging those who need to go to their personal physician for the correction of their physical defects before they become serious, discovering early cases of tuberculosis, and doing an intensive piece of health education work.

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### A PUBLIC HEALTH INSTITUTE FOR DOCTORS

*Albert W. Jewell, Health Conservation Association, Kansas City*

In an attempt to carry on a well rounded public health educational program the Health Conservation Association has found that public talks constitute one of its best tools. To provide as well as to place speakers who will carry the public health message is certainly most important.

In the spring of 1926 our Educational and Publicity Committee decided that the number of available speakers was entirely too small to take care of the number of public health talks that should be given. It was decided that the committee should develop a speakers' bureau. The question was raised as to whether the speakers should be from the professional group or from the lay group. Some of the lay members of the committee who had been identified with parent-teacher circles advised that most groups liked to have the professional man or woman on account of their ability to answer questions and speak with first hand knowledge about the subject. The old question of the ethics of a physician speaking in public was thoroughly discussed and it was finally decided that there was a time and place for speakers from both

the professional and lay groups. It was decided that the training in either case was radically different and therefore we should not attempt to train the lay and professional groups together.

The first attempt, therefore, was to cooperate with the Jackson County Medical Society in holding a Public Health Institute for physicians. A course consisting of ten two hour class periods was arranged, one half of each period being used for the art and science of public speaking and the other half for the scientific public health information that was to be used as a basis for public health talks. About eighty physicians enrolled and paid a \$10 matriculation fee.

At the first meeting of the class a Double X Letter File was distributed to each member. Each evening a manila folder containing health literature on the subject to be covered at that session, together with a synopsis of the talk, was given to each member to be placed in his file. In this way, at the end of the course, each member of the class had a file containing the latest information on the principal public health subjects. In addition to this the Association placed in booklet form an outline of the public health needs of the city together with the latest vital statistics comparing Kansas City with other cities having a better health record. This was done not to show how bad conditions were in Kansas City but to show how much better they might be. Before the close of the course each member was required to give a talk before the class. Following the course each member indicated his first, second, and third choice as to subjects he would prefer to talk on. Naturally, some of the members have more ability than others. However, with an understanding of the groups wanting speakers, we can fit in the majority of the members of the class to good advantage to both the public and the speaker. With experience many of these men will develop ability so that they can be used before larger and more exacting groups at a later date.

In the fall the Kansas City Dental Society saw the need for training their members for educational work. They conducted a school of their own in which they had an enrolment of about fifty dentists. This association had nothing to do with the development of the school but is making use of their speakers.

In order to make the most of this opportunity we have divided our speaking program into two parts: first, a series of talks on the major public health problems; second, detailed talks on all subjects pertaining to either personal or community health. We feel that people will have better understanding and appreciation of the detailed talks if they have first laid a foundation by having the series of fundamental public health talks. However, no attempt is made to jam any program down the throats of the public. To date the series of talks has only been used with four organizations in an attempt to test out the idea.



## THE CONSOLIDATION OF PRIVATE HEALTH WORK

*Harry L. Hopkins, Tuberculosis and Health Association, New York City*

The elements of the tuberculosis campaign, popular health education, the promotion of the annual health examination, the securing of adequate institutional facilities, and the promotion of information services, industrial service, and the like, are readily applicable with slight modification to a campaign, for example, against heart diseases. The machinery at any rate is already set up so that with a relatively small expense a new and specialized campaign can be developed within one organization.

The first step toward consolidation was taken on January 1, 1926, when the New York Heart Association, which had for many years conducted an aggressive though restricted campaign against heart diseases in New York City, determined to join forces with the New York Tuberculosis Association. To extend the work adequately required that the Heart Association organize services already thoroughly developed in the New York Tuberculosis Association. The Heart Association did not consider an amalgamation because of a lack of funds, for it had a reasonably secure financial support, but there was a recognition of the fact that the Tuberculosis Association had a well organized department of health education, including a speakers' bureau, machinery to publish and distribute literature, a competent statistical service, an information service, a means of securing publicity, and a well tried and successful method of raising funds. These services could not be duplicated by the Heart Association without the expenditure of very considerable sums of money, and the end result would be a duplication of health facilities already existing in the community.

From the point of view of public health administration, it seemed to the two boards of directors that these interests should be merged, a heart committee created within the combined organization, and both campaigns conducted under one banner. The New York Tuberculosis Association very appropriately changed its name by adding the words "and Health," and the committee of the New York Heart Association became the Heart Committee of the new association. The merger has been carried out without any loss of motion. The saving in overhead was so considerable that two additional professional workers were added to the staff and the budget for the Heart Committee still remains somewhat less than the old budget of the New York Heart Association.

It should be said here that the actual amalgamation was made formal only after a "trial marriage" of several months, during which the Heart Association used the offices of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, and the director of the latter organization was acting executive officer of the Heart Association. In other words, the decision to join forces was made only after a careful and what seemed to be a successful exploration by both groups. The Cardiac Vocational Guidance Committee, working with cardiac cases in

the public schools, on February 1st this year became a subcommittee of the Heart Committee.

Likewise a group of dentists and others interested in oral hygiene, having determined that an organization should be created to promote the public health aspects of dentistry in New York City, approached the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association with a proposal to create a Committee on Community Dental Service within the organization. As a result of this amalgamation, the Allied Dental Clinics, Inc., maintaining self supporting clinics for the clients of social agencies, determined to ally themselves with a committee having a broad interest in dental problems. By appropriate action these clinics are now a part of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association operating under the Committee on Community Dental Service.

The Associated Out-Patient Clinics, devoted to the promotion of standard clinical facilities in New York City, and maintained for many years, as an independent organization, felt that its permanent usefulness could be more effectively carried out within a general health organization. On April 1, a year ago, this amalgamation was formally completed. The result of this union is especially significant because it brings under one organization identical services which the two organizations had been conducting separately: the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association in the tuberculosis, cardiac, and dental clinics, and the Associated Out-Patient Clinics in pediatrics, venereal diseases, and other special clinics. The consolidation assures a well correlated program in the whole clinic field of New York City.

In accepting these new responsibilities the Association is not unmindful of its proper place in public health work in New York City. It realizes fully that its first duty is to support the program and activities of the public departments. The centralizing of special services under a single private health agency makes the correlation of public and private health work a matter that can be much more readily effected, and its administrative difficulties simplified. The Health Commissioner deals with a single board of directors and executive, rather than a multitude of organizations interested in precisely the same problems but approaching them with a wide variation of policy. There are, of course, still many gaps in the program. Two of these are partly filled by the fact that the Association is conducting an active health examination campaign in cooperation with the county medical societies, and is doing some educational work in social hygiene. The need for a closer coordination, and indeed an organic union in the fields of cancer control and social hygiene, are rather obvious steps of the future, but the action already taken indicates that in the not too distant future these services may be added to the program. Nor is it too much to expect that the word "tuberculosis" will be dropped, and the Association become in name what it is in fact—the "New York Health Association."

Finally, the unifying of private health work on a local basis, such as is

now carried out by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, should inevitably require a readjustment of policy on the part of the several national health agencies. A local tuberculosis association, interested in social hygiene or the prevention of blindness, must have a close and intimate relation with the national organizations in these respective fields. This is a problem that the national agencies must face in the near future, if a mutually helpful relationship is to be maintained between the local and national groups.

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### THE NEW DENTAL PROGRAM

*Eleanor B. Gallinger, Consultant in Dental Hygiene, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Boston*

The Massachusetts Department of Public Health with the advice of leading members of the dental profession has launched a new dental hygiene program.

The Department has included dental hygiene activities in its program since 1919 and until recently the extent of the work has been concentrated largely upon teaching the people throughout the state that teeth are important, that bad teeth are closely related to poor health, and that teeth should be kept clean.

The cause or causes of tooth decay are by no means clear, even to the dental profession. Recent research concerning the relation of nutrition to tooth structure and the importance of early dental treatment has shown two important means of prevention. The program of the Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children in Boston was based on this research. The results of this program after ten years show that 90 per cent of tooth decay among school children can be prevented if the child is taken to the dentist or clinic shortly after the eruption of the second teeth. Toothache has been eliminated from the public schools of Boston. This program of prevention has been so successful that the state department hopes to have each community in the state adopt this type of dental work.

The outstanding points of the new program are: first, the kind of diet the prospective mother should have to protect her own teeth and form good first teeth for the baby; second, the kind and amount of dental care that a prospective mother needs; third, the value of breast feeding in keeping the normal shape of the baby's jaws; fourth, the proper tooth building diet from birth to six years, as it is in this period that the entire second set of teeth is formed; fifth, prevention of all habits that may produce malocclusion, such as thumb-sucking, lip sucking, mouth breathing; sixth, importance of first teeth (*a*) that all decayed first teeth should be extracted and (*b*) that the child should be taken to the dentist at age of two to have all small cavities filled; seventh,

the importance of taking a child to the dentist at the ages of six, nine and twelve years to have newly erupted molars and bicusps examined for tiny defects or "fissures."<sup>1</sup>

This program is being carried out with the cooperation of the dentists, dental hygienists, school and public health nurses, and with the aid of: first, literature and educational materials such as leaflets, charts, exhibits, delineascope films; second, lectures to public and professional groups; third, recommendations that all dental clinics work on the lower grades only, confining the work of the dentist to the filling of small cavities and extractions; fourth, recommendations that all dental clinics be opened to preschool and prenatal cases.

The success of the health department depends upon the prevention of disease and the education of the public concerning recent developments of science. Now that authentic information is available prevention of tooth decay depends upon selling this information to the public.

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## WHAT SHOULD SOCIAL AGENCIES DO FOR THE HEALTH OF CHILDREN UNDER THEIR SUPERVISION IN INSTITUTIONS AND IN THEIR OWN HOMES?

### MINIMUM HEALTH REQUIREMENTS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

*H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D., Supervisor, Medical Service, National Tuberculosis  
Association, New York City*

What constitutes a minimum program for the health of the dependent or foster child? The writer naïvely put this question to a number of social agencies. Most of the replies, however tactfully worded, betrayed perplexity that such a witless question should be asked. They said in effect that there can be but one standard for the health of children, regardless of whether they are being reared in a normal home or cared for by a foster agency or person. On first blush, this answer satisfies and seems to require no further qualification. While it is a praiseworthy testimony to the high ideals which actuate social agencies in their dealings with children, it is also a damaging acknowledgment, for even casual inquiry reveals that many, if not most, agencies dealing with children would be found wanting if measured by this standard. Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, in a paper entitled, "Superficiality in Child Caring Work" read before this Conference in 1922, censured social workers in no uncertain terms for their lack of medical service.

<sup>1</sup> Research has shown that 87 per cent of all molars erupt with these cracks.

Granting for the moment that the health standards applicable to the child of a normal home are none too good for the child under foster care, it follows that a social worker should be as well informed on child health matters as we have a right to expect the teacher and the intelligent parent to be. That simple logic would seem to dispose of the question of this paper, except that no one, to my knowledge, has yet had the temerity to set down baldly and arbitrarily a minimum schedule of child health standards. In the absence of such standards it may not be amiss to catalogue briefly the important items that are supposed to influence the health of the child and in passing to test each item to discover whether or not it may apply with equal force to both dependent and normally reared children.

*Heredity.*—Consideration of the first, some would say the most important, factor influencing the health of the child, heredity, brings us with a sudden thump to the realization that it is impossible for the foster guardian to guarantee to a dependent child the identical health assets that only a good home and sound parentage can give. Long before our modern biometricians introduced the sport of sticking pins in the smugly complacent health crusader, Oliver Wendell Holmes, in answer to a young man's query as to how he might attain a strong body and a long life replied, "Choose your grandparents." In a certain sense a parent can actually do that for the child. I have not yet met the social worker ambitious enough to try it. Furthermore potential parents can, if they understand the basic principles of heredity and are wisely advised, determine whether or not they should risk the possibility of passing on to posterity certain undesirable heritable traits of which they may be the custodians. The social worker may have a philosophical interest in such a problem though she can hardly be held responsible for its solution. And yet she cannot be absolved from all responsibility. She may be powerless to dam the stream of feeble-mindedness, for example; she cannot insure a sound protoplasm for the unborn child, but she can acquire a general understanding of the principles of heredity which will at least furnish the background necessary to the solution of many a vexing child problem.

*Prenatal care.*—The actual health care of the child begins with pregnancy. The possible complications of pregnancy are legion. Damage that may be sustained by the child at or before birth may persist well into the childhood period. What responsibility do we owe the unborn child who may later become somebody's ward? Due largely to the stimulation of the Maternity and Infancy Act, prenatal care including scientific obstetrical attendance is beginning to receive its due meed of attention. The social worker knows that skilful medical guidance and expert nursing care of the pregnant mother may save a life. She should also appreciate that prenatal care is one of our guaranties, feeble though it may be, that the child's heritage of health will be protected. In many instances the social worker is in a strategic position to turn the bal-

ance favorably by persuading the mother to seek competent prenatal advice and by assisting her in getting it if she is not able to purchase it.

*Baby care.*—The first health commandment impressed upon the young mother by unanimous medical opinion is "nurse your baby." Again, the well intentioned foster mother is chagrined by a sense of her inadequacy. But this need not dismay her. If she recognizes the importance of scientific feeding for the motherless child, if she distinguishes between milk that comes out of a can, a bottle, or a dipper and, most important of all, if she sees to it that a competent physician directs the feeding, her obligation is adequately discharged. In like manner should she master the other principles of infant care involving cleanliness, regularity of habits, sleep, rest, ventilation, and sunshine. It is not too much to require that the dependent baby should receive all the health care that an intelligent mother, guided by physician and nurse, gives her baby with such exceptions as cannot be controlled. Such exceptions, however, do not include a certain amount of "mothering." Even "hard-boiled" pediatricians admit that a baby needs to be, not coddled, but mothered. How few institutions meet this requirement.

*The Preschool child.*—Like prenatal care, this neglected period of childhood from two to six is also beginning to receive the attention it merits. In this plastic age are sown the seeds of health or disease, to be reaped even unto old age. Mental and physical ills discovered by the examiner at a later day can often be traced to health errors committed during the preschool age period. Questions that are increasingly engaging the earnest thought of mothers are such as these: What can and should children of this age be taught about health and what is the best teaching technique? What health habits may be developed, and how? Is it true that at this early age destructive influences such as carious teeth, respiratory defects, diseased ear drums, rheumatic fever, tuberculous infection, malnutrition, thyroid insufficiency, may already be undermining the young body? If so, no further cataloguing is necessary to impress the importance of continuous, at least periodical, medical supervision for the preschool child. Does the young child present problems of mental health and of habits of conduct which may later affect its health? Social workers answer in the affirmative, and it is cheering to note that psychiatric and behavior clinics are springing into being throughout the country, largely because of their vision and insistence. Is it too early, before the age of six, to lay the foundation for a right understanding of sex, with all that that implies in terms of mental tranquillity and physical fitness, by cultivating confidence and by truthful dealing? Some would say that only in a normal home may the proper atmosphere to achieve this be attained. This the social worker cannot always supply, but in the placement of children, for example, her understanding of social hygiene principles will help her to discharge her sacred obligations to the child.



*The child of school age.*—In dealing with the child of school age, the child-caring agency's knowledge must extend beyond that of the parents', to include at least an appreciative understanding of school health procedures, medical and educational, both of which are too comprehensive to be discussed here. A few institutions do supply in full measure the health needs of the child as measured by accepted school practice, which is still admittedly far below the ideal, but the number that do not constitute the majority if hearsay testimony is to be credited. Fortunately the literature on school health education is extensive and easily available to the social worker. Those who are interested in the details of school health practice will profit by studying the tentative appraisal form for school health work prepared by the Department of Biology and Public Health of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The standards outlined are not intended to be used as a precise scoring plan but are to be regarded as a guide in the study of a school health system.

*Miscellaneous considerations.*—Certain minimum standards would require individual protection against communicable diseases in so far as we are able to provide it. Vaccination against smallpox should be done during babyhood, diphtheria immunization during the preschool period, and typhoid vaccination at any time, particularly when epidemic threatens, or if the water and milk supply are not trustworthy. The safety and practicability of protective measures against scarlet fever and measles are promised for the near future. In goitrous regions iodine should be supplied as a necessary element of the diet. For the prevention of rickets and other complications of malnutrition, the administration of cod liver oil is a minimum health requirement, at least for those children who are obviously deprived of their quota of sunlight. Other responsibilities already accepted by many schools include the provision of special classes or preventoria for children below par in health and those intimately exposed to tuberculosis; a special regimen for children with crippled hearts; the correction of eye defects by supplying glasses, etc. Protective measures against diseases peculiar to certain geographic sections, such as malaria, hook worm disease, and trachoma, must not be omitted.

Custodians of children, like parents, have definite citizenship obligations with regard to group action for the protection of health. A community which does not secure for its citizens, through an efficient health department, safe water, pasteurized milk, communicable disease control and all other recognized facilities of a modern health department, cannot guarantee minimum health protection for the child. And where playgrounds and recreational facilities are lacking children are deprived of one of the heritages that make for good health.

*Special measures.*—From this superficial birds' eye view of the situation it must be apparent that the health requirements of the child under foster care, while aiming to equal those due a child of good home and parentage cannot in all details be identical with them. Indeed normal home life supplies

something of an intangible nature in the life of the child which can seldom be duplicated by the best type of vicarious care. But this trite admission, this blanket alibi serves only to emphasize the converse, namely, that there are undoubtedly certain standards of health applicable to the foster child which do not necessarily hold for the normally cared-for child. For example, the family physician who is asked by the parents to make an ordinary physical examination of a child is justified in omitting the special tests designed to reveal the presence of syphilis unless there is some indication either in the history of the parents or in the physical findings of the child to warrant it. The foundling, however, whose antecedents are unknown, whether he is to be reared in an institution or to be placed in a family, should certainly have the benefit of every test calculated to determine whether or not congenital syphilis may be present. In this connection a word of caution concerning the significance of the serological tests for syphilis might not be amiss. Both the Wasserman and the Kahn tests when positive are merely single symptoms. It is seldom that an isolated symptom establishes a diagnosis and this is particularly true with regard to blood tests for syphilis. Many a child has been stigmatized with a diagnosis of syphilis on no other evidence than a positive Wasserman test, while on the other hand the presence of the disease has been overlooked simply because the Wasserman test was negative. The childish faith with which some uninformed physicians still accept this test as an infallible indicator of syphilis, when he should know that it is subject to a wide margin of error, is pitiable to behold and the day has come when it is inexcusable for a case worker to accept a positive Wasserman report, valuable as that information may be, as unquestionable evidence of syphilis.

Another example to illustrate that the minimum health standards for a foster child may, in certain instances, be more exacting than the standards for the home child: we know from our research in tuberculosis that a large percentage of preadolescent children are infected with tuberculosis. The infection frequently involves only the tracheo-bronchial glands situated at the root of the lungs and may not obviously handicap the child or make itself evident. However, from these diseased glands which might be compared to glowing embers the infection may, if the child is not properly safeguarded, spread to the substance of the lung, resulting in an active case of pulmonary tuberculosis. There are two tests which, when taken in connection with the history of the case, enable the physician to make a fairly accurate diagnosis of this form of tuberculous infection: one is the tuberculin test; the other the X-ray. Health workers do not advocate at this time that every child should receive these tests unless there is some evidence or circumstances to arouse suspicion. But the case worker who undertakes the care of a child whose parental and home conditions are suspicious or not satisfactorily known will doubtless wish

to require these tests, for upon their outcome may hinge the weal or woe of that child.

A third example: vaginitis is seen often enough among young girls and babies of self supporting families but it plagues particularly little girls in hospitals and other institutions, especially where carelessness, ignorance, and uncleanliness permit the spread of the malady. As the condition is not likely to be discovered on routine examination and as it is highly contagious as well as serious, girls who are to be placed in a home or an institution should have a special vaginal examination.

What shall we say as to the case worker's duty to see that the medical service provided is worthy of the name? Many agencies depend upon local clinics for this service. The result is often unsatisfactory. General clinics are too often conducted in a spirit of rush and routine. They are usually crowded with acute cases or those in need of immediate attention and these take precedence over the case which the social worker may bring in for general examination. Another difficulty is that history forms and other records are not so designed as to furnish readily the information which the foster guardian should have. Unless these disadvantages can be overcome it may be advisable for the social agency caring for a large number of children to establish and maintain its own medical service as is done, for example, by the Children's Aid Society of Buffalo.

The examining and treatment rooms of this society are located in the headquarters building. The society pays the salaries of two physicians, a dentist, a nurse, a laboratory technician, and a stenographer. Specialists when needed are secured on a volunteer basis. Medical examinations "seeking not only to discover and remedy defects, but to build up the general development of the children to their highest possible levels," are provided for all. Satisfactory as this system is, I am informed by the executive secretary, Mr. Douglas P. Falconer, it is hoped soon to turn it over to a hospital. This is in keeping with the spirit of cooperation prevailing among social and health agencies generally. In Cleveland, Boston, and Philadelphia happy cooperative arrangements have been worked out with established hospitals and clinics.

The situation with regard to medical service for children in institutions such as orphanages seems to be improving rapidly, but one still finds children's institutions in which the medical care is supplied solely by a private overworked physician selected for his soft heart rather than for his medical ability. His mistaken kindness and his sympathy with the superintendent of the institution sometimes lead him to neglect his full public health duty, in order to avoid the "scandal" of wholesale quarantine. Too often he is satisfied merely to come on call to see a definitely sick child or more rarely to qualify himself to attach his signature to the death certificate. Institutions caring for large numbers of children do well to employ a full time medical supervisor who has

the vision to see that his greatest service consists not merely in giving aid to the sick but in teaching, building up, and protecting health.

What precisely are the minimum health requirements for delinquent children? It would be presumptuous for any but a committee of physicians, health specialists, and social workers, after laboring long and hard, to venture an answer. It must be apparent from my sketchy review that the health standards for the dependent child present special and peculiar problems. In fact, there are grave doubts in my mind as to the feasibility of drafting definite standards. Any child health program must be individualized to be successful. General policies and practices may well be adopted by institutions and child-caring agencies, but the ideal is a special study of each individual child, which is obviously impossible where children are handled in the mass.

Finally, I seriously question whether we should discuss health standards for children on a comparative basis. Theoretically, whatever the maximum standard may be is none too good for the dependent child. In the words of John Dewey "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children."

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#### WHAT IS A NORMAL CHILD MENTALLY?

*Emerson A. North, M.D., Central Clinic, Cincinnati*

This paper will not consider the influences of poor physical health, such as deformities or organic changes that might very decidedly influence mental health, nor such mental states as seen in the feeble-minded, the psychopathic, and the defective child. In fact, there is no one criterion by which we can say what is normal mentally and what is abnormal. We see all gradations in peculiarities, and it is difficult to say in many instances where the normal leaves off and the abnormal begins. We may see two children who show very different types of mentality as expressed in thought, character, and conduct, yet both may be perfectly normal when considered with the knowledge of the social setting, educational advantages and disadvantages, types of training had, and the character of mentality as expressed by the group in which they live, grow, and function.

Thus we may see one type of mental expression in the uncivilized child on the one hand, and another type of mental expression in the civilized child on the other. Yet as long as either of these types of expression are found in the social setting, demanding that type of mental expression in order for the child to make proper adjustments and adaptations to his particular environment, it should be considered both normal and desirable. If, however, the uncivilized child should show the same type of mental expression in a highly civilized setting or vice versa, then I am sure we would consider it both abnormal and

undesirable, not because it necessarily indicates mental disease or feeble-mindedness but because it does indicate that the child has not been properly trained and conditioned to meet efficiently or successfully the complicated business of living, and all that this means, in the civilization in which he finds himself. In other words the life's experiences have not been such as to be valuable to him in building up knowledge necessary to determine successful action to this new situation. Therefore, in considering what a normal child is mentally we must first compare the ways in which his mentality is expressed with the styles of mental expression of those with whom he lives, in consideration with the degree of success this method of expression enables him to live happily and successfully with the group.

Through psychological methods we can determine quantity of certain aspects of mind, but as yet through psychological methods we can determine quality only to slight degree,—quantity in so far as portraying academic possibilities, but not quality in terms of successful usage in social or academic efficiency and accomplishment. We can only study mind as expressed by mind. This means a study of how a child acts, what he says and does, how and why he does it, and whether or not it has a purposive meaning. We might add further, is the thing he does and the way in which he does it valuable to him in making satisfactory adjustments to the environment in which he lives? If it is, it might be considered as normal; if it is not, it might be considered as abnormal. Yet this does not seem to be altogether true, nor does it accurately fit all types of cases, because we often see a child react thoroughly normally in his home and not at all normally in the school or in the community. A child may start to school with all of the physical possibilities of normal mentality and yet have certain attitudes toward school, as a result of which he does not use properly nor successfully these attributes to the school setting. For instance, if this child has been threatened, as a means of punishment, with being whipped and punished for showing certain types of behavior in school he approaches his school with abnormal fears. In the school he might be considered abnormal. An aesthetic child may not make a good adjustment to a mechanical world. Perhaps it would be better should we say, is the thing he does and the way in which he does it constructive to the purposive meaning behind the act and though not always thoroughly successful to him in making good adjustments to the environment in which he lives, if not detrimental to the personal rights of any.

The difficult thing for adults to remember is that the child is living in an adult world, that he is interpreted in adult terms, and is a savage mentally as determined by life's experiences and the knowledge thus obtained, if he is expected to live up to and follow all the adult styles and standards. While there should be child standards they should be built up on childish patterns. It is just as essential to realize that the child's intellect, emotions, and feelings

are as immature as are his stomach and digestive system. It is no easier for a child to digest and assimilate mentally the mental diet of the adult than it is for him to digest and assimilate physiologically the coarser foods of the adult food diet. The normal child then mentally is not the adult who has not grown up, but is a sensitive, living bunch of protoplasm in the form of the human with a highly organized nervous system being fashioned into adulthood. This adulthood must depend much upon the fashioning process of childhood.

The normal child is fortified by having a good physique, and all the healthy organs necessary for human function, a central nervous system capable of normal function with a mentality in proportion to its age and life's experiences incident to that age. Neither is the physical nor mental development of a two year old child the same as that of the six year old child; neither is the physical and mental development exactly the same in all two year old children. No two children may react in the same way in the same social setting. It is difficult, however, for two children to have exactly the same social setting. These differences depend in part upon the influences of heredity, in the determination of temperament and natural trends. These make for individual differences in interests, desires, likes and dislikes, and abilities and disabilities and yet remain in the range of normality.

We know that the race horse is hereditarily different from the draft horse, and while they both have the physical characteristics of the species, they do not have the same personalities, temperament, or abilities. They must be trained differently in order to best fit them for the purposes their natural trends direct. This is no less true with human beings and should be constantly borne in mind in considering child life and normal child mentality.

Two children may not react the same to the same environment because of temperamental differences, as determined by hereditary influences and should not in every instance be expected to do so. When such a child, who is supposed to react abnormally, is understood in terms of his interests and urges, he is often found to be reacting normally for his natural trends and the environment of the moment. Some children are of the aesthetic type and feel and think differently from the mechanical and seemingly more practical child. Hence the aesthetic child, the one who has his natural trends toward the finer things, the beautiful, such as art, music, rhythm, etc., may find many conflicts and oppositions in a setting constantly opposed to such trends. Often such a child becomes timid and shy, and is considered abnormal. Such a child may be thoroughly normal mentally, but is misunderstood, or out of tune with his environment. While such a child may be thoroughly normal, unless his individualities are understood and carefully considered during this normal stage of childhood he may be so badly conditioned that he may react badly not only during childhood, but on through into adolescence and use unsuccessfully the traits he might have decided capabilities for.



Maladjustments especially in younger childhood may be chiefly indicated by undesirable habits such as thumbsucking, nail-biting, enuresis, masturbation, peculiar food fads, night terrors, etc.; it may be indicated by the child's personality traits, by sensitiveness, seclusiveness, apathy, day dreaming, excessive imagination and fanciful lying, nervousness, moodiness, obstinacy, quarrelsomeness, selfishness, laziness, lack of ambition or interest, fearfulness, inability to get along with others, general restlessness, wanderlust, etc.; or it may be displayed by undesirable behavior such as disobedience, teasing, temper tantrums, bragging or showing off, defiance of authority, seeking bad companions, keeping late hours, lying, stealing, truancy, destructiveness, cruelty to persons or animals, sex activities, etc.

We should look upon these things as merely symptoms, as the outward manifestations of serious underlying disturbances, which in the normal child who has no physical reasons, and who is not feeble-minded, must be found in the social sphere. In the main it will be found to be the childish ways of coping with some misunderstood situation. A normal child wants, he has his desires, but he does not steal; he may use various methods of getting the things he wants other than stealing. This does not necessarily mean abnormal mentality in the terms of sanity but it does mean abnormality in the use of mentality as determined by the social laws of the time.

From babyhood, through childhood, certain functions develop at certain ages depending upon physical growth and development, much depending upon the development of the central nervous system. In babyhood there is no conscious mentality and little or no coordinated muscular activity. All action is reflexly aroused through various stimuli. As acts become coordinated and remembered, mentality begins. From this point on the natural trends determined by heredity are conditioned and the mentality molded and sharpened by the life's experiences. The normal child mentally is a child who has been properly conditioned from early infancy. In other words, he is his heredity tendencies plus what the adults in his environment have made him.

Every normal child has certain definite tendencies which may be termed instinctive. McDougal says, "instinct is energizing force" and it is these forces that create action or effort. The ways in which these forces are expanded depend upon many things,—the natural tendencies as determined by heredity, the patterns from which copies are made and the various influences upon the emotions. As the result of experiments and studies with children, John B. Watson says there are three "typical" modes of behavior indicating instinctive emotions, namely rage, love, and fear. Since they are observable practically from birth they may be called fundamental trends. While children may show behavior expressing either or all of these instinctive emotions, we know that if expressed in one way it becomes highly constructive and inductive to self preservation and self perpetuation, whereas if expressed in another way it be-

comes highly destructive and may lead to starvation or extinction. That these functions have been made instinctive emotions in the scheme of things, to use a bit of speculation, in all probability has been for the set purpose of aiding in self preservation and self perpetuation. It is only under civilized conditions that the behavior resulting from these emotions has the contrary result. It is because of the unnatural conditions existing in our high stage of civilization, with the tendency to greater speed and less safety that we point it out at all.

These instinctive emotions are definitely subjected to conditioning and training just as certainly as is muscular dexterity. The normal child is one who is being so conditioned that the emotions, rage, love, and fear, have a constructive significance, and in whom they are so completely balanced that they lead him into safety and comfort rather than into danger and anxiety. To illustrate, the normal child has fears through which he is directed into healthful habits of living and away from natural dangers, not the fears through which he develops a morbid fear of crossing streets nor the morbid fear of disease which may end in hypochondriasis. The normal child has periods of rage through which he is able to fight his own battles and take his own part, not the anger that makes him weak and shiver and ineffectual at battle. The normal child has love through which he is companionable, sociable, able to mix with his playmates, and finally mate and produce, not the love that is so self centered that he becomes an egotistical snob, unsociable and paranoid in trend. The strength of these instinctive forces are probably determined by something innate, but are conditioned into directions of usage by environment.

To sum up, a normal child mentally is the child who has normal native intelligence, who has lived in an environment in which he has been understood, and has understood himself, in which he has had opportunities to develop his mental interests and abilities, in which the emotional forces have been properly balanced, with the formation of correct attitudes toward life and toward work.

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#### WHAT MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS HAVE DONE TO PROMOTE HEALTH IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

*John H. Peck, M.D., Des Moines*

When assigned this topic I started an investigation. I took Iowa as a sample because Iowa is a typical state and I judge that county medical societies in this state are neither much worse nor much better than in the average state in the country.

I sent out a letter to the officers of the county medical societies asking what they had done. This letter suggested the possibility of several things and said in part:

The following are some activities we knew about that may suggest the nature of your reply: one county medical society is supplying copies of *Hygeia* to schools; another is in-

terested in the eradication of bovine tuberculosis; another has been responsible for the holding of several county clinics; another runs a weekly health column in the newspaper; many are participating actively in the Christmas seal sale; several societies have prominent members who are officers of county health associations which are doing a program of health education work; others are backing such movements as the summer round-up, diphtheria prevention, medical and dental inspection in schools and public health nursing service; some have good working arrangements with the county supervisors for the care of the indigent sick.

The response was astonishing. We received early replies from fourteen counties out of ninety-nine. If the other counties have not done much work there is a reason for it. It lies in the doctor's historic psychology. He is reluctant to put out public health propaganda. It is in some way connected with his traditional conception of medical ethics. However, as the state commissioner of health of New York says:

It is high time the medical profession should change its attitude and should know it is part of its business to give out public health information to the public. It should not be so concerned as in the past with the possible criticisms of trying to make business for itself merely because it advises periodic medical examinations or prophylactic measures.

In this connection may I quote from the editorial page of the last issue of the *Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* which said:

The public look to the medical profession for direction in all activities for the prevention of disease and the care of the sick, and the wisdom and broadmindedness of organized medicine must be the directing factor. If the medical profession fail the laymen will certainly take it up without much regard to us.

This ought to be the text of my speech.

Taking Iowa as an example then let us first inquire in a general way the relationship of county medical societies to what is known as the county public health association. This is an organization mostly of volunteers in rural counties promoted by the Iowa Tuberculosis Association. Sometimes when it has not reached the dignity of a county health association it is known as a county tuberculosis committee or a county Christmas seal committee. It is a gratifying fact that physicians in at least twenty counties in the state are members of the executive committee of such organizations. In five counties at least a physician is president of the county health association. Each year the state medical society, and following in their lead a number of county medical societies, have given formal indorsement to the Christmas seal sale. There is in this state a growing friendly contact between medical societies and voluntary and official public health organizations.

A summary of the replies received will bear out the truth of this statement and will also give what I hope is an interesting picture of the situation:

Appanoose County holds a yearly tuberculosis clinic, the county is in the accredited list in regard to bovine tuberculosis, the society assists the Christmas seal sale, promotes diphtheria prevention and favors medical and dental

inspection in schools although the movement has not gone far; Cerro Gordo County (Mason City) reports weekly publicity in papers, various types of clinics frequently, pre-school age clinics, diphtheria campaign, working agreement with county supervisors for care of indigent sick, speakers furnished to parent-teacher associations, progress toward establishment of county health unit, periodic health examination movement promoted; Johnson County (Iowa City) distributes copies of *Hygeia* to schools and social centers; Blackhawk County has held heart and lung clinics, has done work in diphtheria and scarlet fever control, promoted clean milk, Christmas seal sale, Camp Fire and Boy Scout activities, and takes care of indigent sick; Lee County society holds chest clinics and suggests that they ought to make public addresses but have not done much of it. This letter ends modestly with the statement, "We are a society just dead but not buried yet"; Louisa County, where the president of the society is also president of the county health association, reports the following activities—*Hygeia* in schools, bovine tuberculosis eradication movement, county clinics, Christmas seal sale, health education, diphtheria prevention; Buena Vista County society has interested itself in the water supply and sanitary surroundings of public schools, etc., and ends its report by saying "It is only too radical, too refined or ill advised procedure that measures taken for public health benefit fall into disrepute; Poweshiek County has supplied all high schools with *Hygeia*, held clinics, made yearly examinations of all pupils in some town schools including dental inspection by local dentists and in one town had all children given diphtheria toxin antitoxin; Van Buren County reports a yearly clinic and health demonstration at the county fair, a first aid station, health exhibits, weighing and measuring, eradication of bovine tuberculosis making the county an accredited area, and cooperation with the Sheppard-Towner work; Chickasaw County reports clinics and addresses at parent-teacher meetings; Calhoun County reports weekly column in newspaper, *Hygeia* in libraries and schools, promotion of vaccination and health examinations; Greene County reports four tuberculosis and heart clinics a year for several years, support of trained county social service worker, Red Cross nurse and Christmas seal sale, weekly articles in local paper from *Hygeia* clip sheet or from weekly health message from State Department of Health, annual baby clinic at county fair; Monona County reports that the president gave several talks before high schools, drafted the present speaker into a similar job, is sponsoring diphtheria and scarlet fever immunization and cattle testing.

The most complete report was received from Calhoun County whose secretary was the first president of the county public health association. We have previously seen samples of excellent weekly health notes edited by the society running from half a column to an entire column. I believe that the entire report of Dr. Van Metre is worth incorporating in this talk. It is as follows:

For a number of years some of us have been agitating the air about the duty of the profession to give the public the benefit of what little we know regarding health. We felt

that the physician's time honored policy "the closed mouth"—perfectly proper as to his private relations with his patients—and no justification in the larger sphere of public health. We felt that it would do to say that the more the public knows about our business the better. Our ideas as to how this information could be made available to the public went through all the stages of movie advertising, health scenes, welfare clinics, most of which were tried with perhaps some little success. After another lengthy discussion at a county meeting one of our active members made a motion authorizing the county secretary to go ahead with such public health advertising as he saw fit, for a period of one year, and that the society would pay the bills! This sounded very fine but somewhere I had heard the saying "Give the calf more rope and he'll hang himself" and being anxious to avoid such a fate I asked for a committee to assist in developing and putting over the campaign. The executive committee, president, vice-president, and secretary were named. We went at the matter carefully, finally agreeing among ourselves that this plan might work: inserting in each county newspaper a professional card giving the names of the society's resident members at that point, stating the fact of their membership in the county society and its being a component of the state and national organizations, and the further fact that the county society indorsed the idea of periodic health examinations, as recommended by the national health council. We also stressed the fact that the members (names given) were prepared to make such examinations. We took up the question of the feasibility of the plan with the District Councillor, the State Secretary, the Council of Health Instruction of the American Medical Association, and after long delay each and all reported they saw no objection to our plan. The American Medical Association's magazine *Hygeia* (on the assumption it actually was as it claimed to be, a magazine of individual and community health) was to be placed free in each library and high school in the county. A column of health notes was to be furnished weekly to each newspaper in the county, the contents to be instructive and constructive only and to have a Calhoun County bearing and flavor as to local health. This was all to be under the name of the Calhoun County Medical Society and not in the name of any individual. The health notes have been regularly furnished and regularly printed by some newspapers, less regularly by others. That these have been read is attested by the remarks of patients consulting their physicians. That these have had some effect on the people as a whole we want to believe, but of course that is conjecture.

The Society originated the idea and discussed the advisability of forming a county health association by joining with the Red Cross, parent-teachers association, and other lay health agencies. In September, 1925, the secretary was instructed to invite the State Health Commissioner to attend its October meeting and advise us as to the project. He could not come so they decided to call a general meeting and invite representatives of every welfare organization in the county to attend a later meeting at the court house looking to a lay health organization. The meeting was held in the office of the county superintendent of schools and while the attendance wasn't large there were enough there to lay plans for a later meeting at which the organization was to be made.

This organization went to work with one immediate object—getting a county nurse—and by virtue of its wide representation over the county (having every township represented) and such directors as the state representative, an ex-state senator, etc., the Board of Supervisors, when waited upon by our executive committee, showed the keenest interest in securing a nurse and offered to help to the extent of a few hundred dollars. Despite the great scarcity of properly trained and accredited public health nurses we were finally able to secure one, who has been on the job since about February 1.

In the meantime Rockwell City schools were considering the desirability of having the entire enrolment examined by a school nurse. Finally it was arranged for the parents, or other pupils themselves to fill in the date on a blank form patterned by the secret his-

tory blank adopted for periodic health examinations by the American Medical Association, then for the nurse first to examine such child and fill in all the data except as to heart and lungs, nose, throat and skin—then the local physicians agreed to go to the school building every day at a certain time to complete the examination record. This was all done without charge of course. At the same time the Lohrville physicians were examining their school children without the help of a nurse.

It is not a matter that can be estimated or weighed—how much actual benefit has been derived from these activities. Neither is it desired to count the actual cost too carefully, for every member knows that he has been paying his little share in an honest attempt toward health education of the public. The feeling seems to prevail in our society that it is a part of the duty and privilege of every physician to teach health preservation and disease prevention as much as it is his privilege to help relieve distress caused by disease already contracted. It is certain that the average physician would not be satisfied with the remuneration of his calling if only material gain were his lot. The satisfaction that comes from doing his fellow men a service is much more influential in recompensing him for his tiring and often unappreciated effort. These activities seem to us to be spiritual gain to the physician who undertakes them.

For recommendations as to what ought to be the activities of county medical societies I can do no better than to refer to the letter previously quoted for an interesting and valuable list, adding one suggestion which seems to have been omitted: That it would be well for physicians to develop their hitherto concealed talent for public speaking. If county medical societies could offer their personnel to the public health movements as a nucleus of a speakers' bureau it would be one of the best ways in which the medical profession could spread the gospel of public health.

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#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF HEALTH DEMONSTRATIONS TO RURAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

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Fund, New York City*

(Abstract)

Two kinds of rural demonstrations have been closely related to health and social work within the last generation. First, the practical services of county farm agents and of home demonstration agents have revealed to rural residents how surprisingly little many of them knew about such things as raising pigs or canning corn. Second, rural nurses and health officers have invaded the home territory, attacking the hallowed privilege of polluting the family well and the age old belief in the proprietary rights of children in "children's diseases." Demonstrations, therefore, are well established in American rural life. The results of pioneer demonstration efforts, of the Red Cross in nursing, and of state health officers, the United States Public Health Service, and the International Health Board in health unit service, are seen in the increase of rural public health nurses from twenty in 1909 to 1,497 in 1924, and of whole



time county health units from 109 in 1920 to 337 by January, 1927. This progress has come largely through the use of outside funds to launch or aid in launching nurses or health units so that skeptics may be convinced of their value.

In recent years the term "health demonstration" has come to include the idea of pioneering experimentally, not necessarily in new types of health service but in greater completeness or closer combination of services. Examples have been the Framingham tuberculosis demonstration and the Mansfield-Richland County child health demonstration financed by the Red Cross, with which you are familiar as forerunners of the Milbank Fund and the Commonwealth Fund demonstrations. I am qualified to speak more particularly only on the purposes of the Commonwealth Fund child health demonstrations, with which I have been associated from their beginning. They have two characteristics tending to distinguish them from the average local health work. One is the earnestness of the attempt to unify the various protective and educational health services and the other is the high relative value placed upon securing not only widespread and intelligent understanding of the health program on the part of the citizens of the community but their actual participation in guidance and service through county-wide and district committees.

In their main purposes the rural demonstrations do not differ from the urban demonstrations. They do, however, recognize the necessity of adapting the health program to the needs and resources and peculiar problems of the rural community. Besides the economic handicaps met in a farming section another problem that sharply affects any type of rural services is the dispersion of the population and the diversity of the means of calling upon them. A half a day, spent by doctor or nurse largely in travelling back and forth long distances to examine a few children, sharply reduces the numbers served. . . .

Recognition of the difficulty of overcoming these handicaps in time and funds was responsible, for a number of years in many places, for a timidity in advocating any expenditure for public health in rural counties. Promoters of local health work sought first only a public health nurse, in addition to a part-time health officer. Later they aimed for a full-time health officer and at present are generally seeking a four-piece unit, consisting of a county health officer, a sanitarian, a nurse, and a clerk. There is no reason why any community should stop there if its citizens see health protection in its true worth as compared, for instance, to fire protection or education, as a consequence of actual demonstration and local observation of the resulting experience. One object of the Commonwealth Fund rural demonstrations is to supply the missing experience in a way that shall illustrate the essential unity of purpose of the various health services that so often are made to appear unrelated if not conflicting.

I shall not attempt to describe these demonstrations in full, but briefly to review a few of the more distinctive features and then speak of the effect of the whole upon the county health work and appropriations. If I dwell less upon

sanitary inspection, control of milk and water, excreta disposal, quarantine, and immunization, it is because the time is short and I am assuming that everyone will grant their vital importance in any well proportioned public health program. In both rural demonstrations the director of the demonstration is county health officer and the entire program, of both protective and educational services, is administered as a unit.

I have said that a primary purpose of the demonstrations was to reveal the essential integrity of a sound health program. What could be more basic to such a purpose than to bring about genuine alliance between the practice of physicians and the public health services? In a large percentage of communities the gap between the two is a wide one or there is even open antagonism. To avoid such situations common meeting grounds between physician and public health worker must be clearly marked out and opportunities for mutual helpfulness should be vigorously sought rather than academically discussed. The general purpose, therefore, of the medical services of the demonstrations has been to assist the practicing physicians of the community, in a spirit of helpfulness and of adaptability to local requirements, to raise the general level of medical practice, especially as it relates to maternity and childhood.

With the hearty cooperation of the physicians in each demonstration, a pediatrician has been employed on full time, who conducts regular examinations of infants and of preschool children in health center conferences and of school children in the schools. These examinations furnish a general picture of the child's conditions and needs for the guidance of teacher, nurse, and parent in developing a wholesome régime of health habits. At the same time they are creating an appreciation of a high standard of preventive medical service and a demand for it on the part of parents, which is a first step before the physicians prepare to meet such a demand. No definite diagnosis is attempted but all indications of conditions needing medical attention are referred at once to the family physician.

In addition, a consultant service in pediatrics is offered and assistance is given to the physicians in arranging for and financing local medical institutes by which the local men may keep themselves in touch with the best thought and practice in relation to the health of mothers and children. The local medical society has elected an advisory committee to work with every demonstration, except in Rutherford County where the entire society has served in that capacity. In each demonstration the pediatrician has been, without outside suggestion, elected secretary of the medical society and the director of the demonstration has been made an honorary member.

In Rutherford County there has been very general cooperation on the part of the practicing physicians, varying from a quiet, active participation on the part of several in Murfreesboro, in special service for children and other ways, to general but more variable cooperation in rural areas. . . .

In Marion County, in 1926, practicing physicians in various parts of the

county took part in examining 77 children at health centers and schools in addition to the 3,129 examinations by the demonstration staff members. In less than five months of 1927 they have examined 1,150. The great majority of the Marion County physicians serve as members of either a local or a county medical advisory committee. Discussion of demonstration and other medical problems has therefore become quite frequent. The fraternal nature of these discussions is shown by the fact that at one medical committee meeting, taking up the problem of rickets, arrangements were made at one man's suggestion for the use of his Alpine lamp by all the physicians for any rachitic children. I know of no place where the responsibility for the medical phases of a public health program have been more definitely and intimately assumed by the physicians than in Marion County.

There has been similar close team work by the dentists wherever a definite dental program has been undertaken. As yet Marion County is the only one of the two rural demonstrations to launch a program of this type. There the state dental society is bearing a large share of the expense of a county-wide dental service, with a full-time dentist, as a starting point for such work throughout the state. The local dentists have combined to give free corrective service with the assistance of the dentist on the staff and are continually seeking to improve their methods for children's work.

In general it may be said that the experience of these rural areas is offering hope of a much closer welding of private medical practice with public health procedure, without trespass on either side.

In seeking a really united health program another large gap is to be found between the store of health knowledge in possession of the physician, nurse, and health officer and the daily teaching of the children in the schools. Too often health workers, if they have attempted to reach school children at all, have simply looked upon the schools as places where the children were conveniently assembled so that they might talk to them. They have overlooked the fact that the schools are the community's most expensive machinery with a corps of trained teachers, qualified as no other group to influence profoundly the child's daily thought and mode of living. Once the teacher thoroughly grasps what doors are opened by the doctor's findings, the nurse's report of home conditions, and her own observations, for increased health and happiness to her children, she is transformed into a missionary zealot in the cause of health. It becomes a main object rather than a tacked-on appendage of education.

A revealing study in contrasts came under my personal observation in Rutherford County. Two years ago I visited a one-room rural school, the uncompromising bareness of whose walls was in keeping with the children's attitude that they were being confined in order to study very uninteresting things. Mention by the teacher of matters of eating, sleeping, cleanliness, etc., in relation to health was greeted with hardly suppressed levity or sullen resentment

I do not recall a single expression of live interest and it was most depressing to see inquiries as to correction of physical defects, discovered in a recent examination, received with utter indifference.

Recently I revisited the same children under the same teacher, now in one room of a consolidated school. The room showed evidences of real thought in making it attractive with a minimum of resources. A harmony of spirit was evident between teacher and pupils that had been strikingly absent before. In one corner was a group of milk bottles of various sizes and shapes. A health corner contained original and ingenious devices, posters, etc., illustrating different health projects upon which the children had been working. In another corner were neatly hung towels, drinking cups, and tooth brushes. Most impressive were the eager, intelligent answers to questions asked the children as to their habits. . . .

In addition the directors of school health education and other staff members are taking part in normal courses for the teachers of these rural counties and are carrying on practically an educational institute service for them periodically. The director of school health education is also giving advisory service at district meetings where teachers may discuss their problems in more detail.

Close observers of the effect of this health education service upon the school children are of the opinion that it is already exerting a powerfully favorable influence for individual health habits and the public health program in the demonstrations and may be a large factor in assuring the permanence of health services.

It is important that the formation of coordinated habits of thought and action should begin in childhood. Brushing one's teeth in the morning and retiring at eight o'clock in the evening when the day seems only half begun, are not the most inspiring events in a child's life. Frequently there appears to be slight relation between a single health habit and those goals that the child is most eagerly seeking for his happiness. It is possible, however, to build up cumulatively, in his mind, a relationship between the total observance of those things that make for good health and his actual capacity for play, study, and general enjoyment of existence. In Rutherford County a blue ribbon award to the child who has efficiently observed all the health habits and acquired a passing mark in his grades has proven not only an immediate incentive to effort but a real aid in dramatizing health as an ideal. In Marion County achievement of a place on the honor roll has been used for the same purpose. Naturally no child is eligible for a place on the honor roll who has correctible defects that have not been corrected and yet there were 2,223 honor roll children in Marion County in a school population of 10,119, in the second year of the demonstration.

We have noted some of the difficulties in the way of introducing a completely satisfactory public health program in a rural area. . . . One way of overcoming the slowing down tendencies of rural conditions is to multiply the

number who are rendering public health service. Taking into complete partnership the physicians and teachers, with their excellent equipments and strategic positions, can increase the efficacy of a health enterprise at an astonishing rate.

Another method, in the long run much more fundamental, is to take the citizens into a working partnership. In our rural demonstrations we rate no activities above the organization of local committees for the most active sort of service. In Marion County there are twelve permanent health centers. Each one is established, equipped, maintained, and administered by a committee of local citizens. Appointments for examinations of children of all ages are arranged by committee members. Volunteers handle the records and reports. In more than half the cases the mother, and sometimes the father, is present. Subcommittees handle such matters as the social problems of families with special needs, arrangements for transportation to clinics, etc. In these and other ways the effectiveness of the nurse's services is increased many fold. Better still, a body of informed public opinion is being developed through the school of experience, which has no substitute or equal. . . .

The interesting thing is the community sense of responsibility for seeing that it gets the kind of nursing service it needs. Only organized public sentiment, expressed through functioning local committees, can keep such responsibility alive and alert.

There is no royal road to such community organization. I have used Marion County as an illustration rather than Rutherford (which now actually has more local health committees, a total of 15) because in Marion County the people seem to be naturally more committee-minded. But in one district in Marion County it took a year and a half of persistent effort and search for the right leader, through a number of discouraging failures, before community organization really "took." Now the reports from that district are like this one: "Thursday afternoon the health officer came to the village and gave toxin anti-toxin to 168. This was the third dose for 107. A father of two little children and two high school boys came asking for first doses. Truly, this village is awake!" . . .

I seem to have almost ignored nursing service. As in the case of sanitary work, I have not dwelt upon it because the time is too short. As a matter of fact it is intrinsically one of the most essential services of the demonstration, as of all well developed health work. In addition it serves to a large extent as the unifying thread upon which is strung the whole chain of health services and is the chief factor in upbuilding and giving stability to local and county-wide citizens' committees.

A word as to the measurable results of the demonstrations' stimulus to the growth of local health services. At the request of the Child Health Demonstration Committee a representative of the American Public Health Association has just been visiting the four demonstration centers and rating local health work

for the years just preceding and during the demonstration on the basis of the appraisal standards recently formulated by the Association. Under the influence of the demonstrations the scores for both rural and urban health work have risen steadily and rapidly since their inception. . . .

As previously indicated, public health expenditures under rural conditions have lagged far behind city expenditures. Before the demonstrations began less than fifteen cents per capita per year was being spent for public health purposes in the rural counties selected, whereas a dollar per capita was being spent in the two cities selected. Certainly one acid test of the permanent value of health work in a community is the extent to which local funds are forthcoming to insure its permanence. Both Rutherford County and Marion County have already more than doubled their predemonstration expenditures for public health, and Fargo and Athens have made substantial increases in their relatively higher initial expenditures. . . .

What the net results of these and other rural health demonstrations will be we cannot prophesy with assurance. From them have already come, however, very illuminating experiences in the development of health programs closely adapted to rural needs, and yet more comprehensive than usually to be found in rural areas. Also it is to be hoped that the gratifying extent to which local citizens are participating in the organization and carrying on of health services may point the way to a more general and permanent raising of the level of health knowledge and community responsibility for health services, both in the demonstrations and elsewhere.

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## THE TRAIL OF SOCIAL HYGIENE IN SOCIAL WORK

### SOCIAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT YOU, SOCIAL WORKER

*Elwood Street, Director, Community Fund and Council, St. Louis*

Lack of understanding by social workers of social hygiene in general; lack of the training and experience necessary to handle adequately cases of sex maladjustments; and the need for special skill in handling questions of social hygiene in the fields of family welfare, child welfare and recreation, are among the social hygiene "problems which confront you, social worker," if the testimony of twenty-five leading social workers in various fields of activity is to be trusted.

In order to get a point of view which might be of value I wrote to twenty-five leading social workers in the fields of family welfare, child welfare, delinquency, recreation, health and social hygiene, asking their opinions as to problems of social hygiene which came to them in their daily work. They have replied with fluency and vigor. Their statements of their social hygiene problems



will, I hope, be of significance to you in solving the problems of social hygiene which confront you, too, fellow social workers.

The problem of social hygiene in relation to social work is perhaps first of all that social workers do not seem to understand social hygiene very well. The former general secretary of a large family society who now is teaching social work declares: "I should say social hygiene is very little understood by social workers, but that there is a real desire to understand. The executive of another large family society adds: "It seems to me that there is much more disposition on the part of social workers to face the problem of sex in themselves and in their clients than there was only a few years ago. We still need much more knowledge of the technical side as well as the psychological side." Conversely a disillusioned physician says, "Most social workers will not face the problem of sex either in themselves or in their clients. Sex understanding must come first; then social hygiene."

Another case work executive feels that social workers in general should have included in their training much more instruction on matters of sex for they are constantly being brought face to face with problems which they are unable to cope with because of their lack of understanding. He says:

In the field of venereal disease case workers need to know much more about the transmission of the disease, the progress of the disease in the individual, and family hygiene where cases of venereal disease are found. Social workers are, of course, handicapped frequently by inability to obtain diagnoses of venereal disease and are put in the position of working blindly. Our own statistical cards last year showed that 263 out of 6,532 families were checked as presenting a problem of venereal disease. This is obviously far too low. Allowing for failure to check in cases where venereal disease was actually known to exist, it seems clear that there is much undiscovered venereal disease in families known to our agency.

A word of cheer at the end of this gloomy statement of problems comes from a social hygiene worker of distinction. He optimistically says:

It seems to me that it is not important that the social worker have anything more than a general understanding of the social hygiene program as it now exists. It is of vital importance that the social worker understand the various procedures through which wholesome attitudes toward sex are built up and the means for combating the influence of unwholesome sex use and attitudes. Social hygiene as such, as it becomes more effective, will disappear into the elements from which it ought to have come but which were so slow in catching it that the present combination grew out of the need. The present effort will be to see that social hygiene is integrated into programs where it has always belonged.

The problem of the social worker, we might say, is one of information and integration.

Important as are social hygiene problems in general they have specific application to the field of family social work. A distinguished executive states that social workers on his staff have helpfully aided families to adjust sex difficulties. He feels, however, that sex problems should not be approached indiscriminately and only with the previous advice, if possible, of a psychiatrist. Another executive advises that family case workers should only handle matters

of sex adjustment when the case worker has had special training in both social and mental hygiene. He says:

The taboos surrounding discussion of sex matters are so strong that their violation is likely to be accompanied by bad effects unless the situation can be handled in a manner which impresses the client as thoroughly professional and pertinent. The ordinary person does not look upon sex difficulties as a matter amenable to adjustment, much less to conversation. It takes rare skill and the establishment of a sound confidential relationship to attempt such an adjustment. My own preference would be for the social worker to use a physician in such a situation.

An active case worker adds:

The effectiveness of handling sex matters in family case work depends upon the case worker's facility with the subject and her confidential relationship with members of the family. It takes time and a personal gift to establish such confidence; requires the wisdom of experience (not necessarily first hand) and theoretical training and presupposes a small enough case load so that the worker has time to appear leisurely and to wait for the sympathetic moment.

A social hygienist warns us:

Many mental conflicts are rooted in sex troubles. The attitude of the client toward the worker may be unduly complicated by prying into a field that is even more highly charged with emotion than any other which the case worker attempts to deal with. To be alert to the possibility and to be familiar with the resources available for correcting these situations as well as to have sufficient information to form a background against which the subject may be normal in the worker's mind is probably as far as can be gone.

A teacher of social work says:

I do not believe that the social worker at the present time is able to do very successful work in adjusting sex difficulties that exist in a family for which a plan of constructive service must be made. Few if any young women under twenty-five years of age are able to make practicable suggestions and plans in respect to the sex difficulties that they may find. It appears that social hygiene problems are contributing factors in at least forty-five per cent of the number of cases which I recently studied.

Quite evidently from the tone of our advisers, the field of family welfare presents a well developed social hygiene problem.

The family welfare situation is further complicated by the presence of venereal disease. One of our leading case work executives reports that in his agency out of 557 families studied statistically for the year 1926 venereal disease appeared 5 times; or in  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the families. One of the largest charity organization societies in the country reports over a period of five years from 10 per cent to 13 per cent of venereal disease among its families. "If it were possible to separate venereal disease from any implications of immorality, it would be possible to persuade victims to take treatments much more easily; were it put on the same basis as any other physical ailment it would be a much less difficult problem. It would seem to me that the most important consideration concerning venereal disease is to build up an educational campaign which would put venereal disease on the same basis in the minds of the public as

typhoid, diphtheria, etc." Certainly the problems of sex hygiene and venereal disease are of tremendous importance in the family field.

In the field of child welfare social hygiene is equally important. All of our authorities are agreed that it is important that social workers understand that sex consciousness of a sort begins early and that fixations may be attained in tender years; but they are not so sure that this knowledge leads social workers to deal with parent child training in the infancy of the child. A children's worker complains that it isn't always possible to persuade intelligent parents to cooperate in such training. A family executive says that the difficulty of case workers is in knowing how to make use of their knowledge of this situation. Another executive, however, states that social workers in his extraordinary city thoroughly realize this relationship and that there is a very close alignment between the social workers and the parents council which has been organized for education in the field of parent child relationship. Apparently the matter of sex consciousness in early years is a problem which faces social workers.

A more hopeful tone, however, is found in the question of how well social workers are equipped to give accurate information to mothers about how to answer questions children ask about themselves. One of our authorities thinks facility of this sort occurs in unexpected places; and that its presence is accidental rather than part of good planning. Our social hygiene friend opines that the answer is simple and that the rudiments of sex instruction are easily gained through reading a few good books upon the subject. An iconoclastic physician, however, thinks that social workers do poorly at informing perplexed mothers for they won't face the facts in themselves. Another physician declares that this knowledge involves a closer knowledge and a closer study of child psychology and biology of sex than belongs to the equipment of most social workers. A hospital social worker believes that social workers should discuss this subject with some physician who had given the matter serious thought for it is important that the information be given accurately as well as simply. More reliance in books is put by a children's executive who says, "I think that social workers, due to the pamphlets got out by the hygiene and health societies are now well equipped to give accurate information to mothers about how to answer questions children ask about themselves." An experienced hospital social worker and case worker thinks books by scientists put in the hands of mothers would be the best contribution social workers could make to this cause. Perhaps these social workers think that this is less of a problem than some others because they can deal with it at second hand. Telling mother what to tell Willie is not so hard as telling Willie directly.

Going from the field of child welfare to character building we find social hygiene again a problem from the point of view of our consultants. They believe that to a very considerable extent character building efforts are nullified by wrong sexual information and practice before the character building agency has had an opportunity to serve the individual. A much experienced worker in

the recreational field says that in a study of women and girls made by the Inter-Departmental Social Hygiene Board it was found that in a large number of sex cases the first experience was very early and the sex information was secured improperly. This point of view is confirmed by a social hygienist who declares that much of the work of character building agencies is applied to boys and girls after their attitudes toward sex have become distorted through experience and information. He is sure that "there will be a great change in the service of character forming agencies within the next generation as they come more and more to realize that by far the greater part of our efforts to develop character come long after the most favorable opportunity to mold character is past. There will be a general awakening toward the necessity of making character forming agencies service available during the very tender years. Most of our work in this field consists of locking the stable after the horse has been stolen." A physician experienced in children's work declares that character is developed before the age of ten years and even earlier, with the attitude toward problems of sex in many cases developing long before the age of puberty. Apparently the character building agencies will have to link themselves up with the day nurseries if they want to get a real chance in the problem of sex hygiene.

Just as life is complicated for the youngster before the character building agency gets hold of him by sex hygiene problems it is also complicated for these character building agencies themselves, if we are to believe the testimony of our authorities. They agree that their work is made more intricate and the contacts of their workers more difficult when these youngsters come to their buildings full of present day misinformation regarding sex matters. One recreation worker thinks that character building workers should look out for giving the impression of being old fashioned or "goody-goody." The executive of a Y.M.H.A. is quite voluble on the effect of changing social conditions and the after effects of the World War. He declares:

The aping by youngsters of their parents and elders makes the work of recreational associations more difficult because of the supposedly superior knowledge that youth believes it possesses. Youth today is ignorant—even more so than it is sophisticated. Because the youth possesses some knowledge of sex and social etiquette he should not therefore be called sophisticated. Recently a talk on social hygiene was given to boys of seventeen. At the conclusion of the talk the question was asked whether a similar presentation had ever been given to boys either at school, home, or by some mature person. The great majority of the boys frankly admitted that they had never heard such truths of sex life as were presented to them at this time. These boys were above the average in school work. The character building organizations like the "Y", through their cultural programs can aid the youth in sound thinking. Boys and girls should be taught psychology, made familiar with the instincts that play such a vital part in life. Recreational centers must help the youngsters over the danger shoals of adolescence. Incidentally someone asked a boy the meaning of adolescence and he stated that adolescence is the period between childhood and adultery. The character building agency must replace the ignorance of the boy or girl with wholesome ideals. Through its facilities it can take over many of the old home duties such

as cooking, sewing, manual training, art, health, and religious education. It is most important that the supervision of youth in a recreational center be performed by people of good morals, manners, and character because the leader sets a standard for the boy and girl to follow.

The importance of wholesale intermingling of boys and girls on playgrounds under proper guidance of the recreational worker is suggested by a physician. A hospital social worker thinks that the recreation worker has a splendid opportunity in interesting children in wholesome recreation while the spirit of sportsmanlike rivalry created should do much to mitigate the effect of bad companions. Clearly, the character building agency seems to offer one of the most effective approaches toward the problem of sex hygiene.

A few final benevolent suggestions were made by our various authorities when asked for general proposals. One adviser said "We need a real follow up of all cases under treatment which would be a far reaching step in advance of where we are now. For example, if every case discharged from the Convent of the Good Shepherd could be followed out into the community and visited persistently to keep up treatment as long as indicated; and if the other members of such a household could be persuaded to have examinations, the gain would be of wide value." Our former social executive who has turned teacher feels strongly that the social implications of sex hygiene have been neglected and that many of the socially significant phenomena of sex are entirely ignored in the insistence upon the physical and psychological. Our pediatrician calls for closer cooperation between medical institutions and social agencies in problems of sex. A social case worker feels that the whole topic should be approached in a spirit of humility, of professional frankness, and a definite understanding that a case worker has always before him the melancholy fact that he is dealing with families who think of sexual matters in anything but a pure and decent and fine way.

Here then, my friends, are the answers of our mutual advisers to the question "Social Hygiene Problems Which Confront You, Social Worker." Social hygiene does present problems to the social worker in general and in the fields of character building, family and child welfare. Yet these are problems which can be met by better education of the social worker, by a lessening of the worker's case load, by closer cooperation between the social worker and specialist in the field of social hygiene and by general public education on social hygiene. The problems are real; but they are solvable by intelligence and by patient application of energy and skill.

## PREVENTION VERSUS SALVAGE

Chloe Owings, *American Social Hygiene Association, New York City*

"The social hygiene movement," says Dr. Edward L. Keyes, scientist and educator, "is an epic of standardization, uniting medicine and law with morals to establish a foundation upon which the future will found, for all time the health and idealism of its youth, the strength of its maturity, the protection of its family life."<sup>1</sup>

Social hygiene seeks to strengthen and preserve the family as the basic social unit. It desires to sponsor and encourage the things which strengthen the family and to combat those things which weaken it. One of the dominant factors in family life is sex and therefore social hygiene is concerned that it shall be so developed and adapted that the individual shall attain the deepest personal happiness which is compatible with his social obligations. Because social hygiene deals with matters which affect so directly our whole social organism as well as the intimate life of our people, it is one of the most important phases of our public health program.

Historically, efforts in the social hygiene field have followed substantially the chronological order indicated by Dr. Keyes, namely, medicine, law, morals. Medical measures have often served as the channel through which social hygiene has been developed because a health program brings together the varied interests of the community. Medical measures have consisted of the discovery, treatment, and control of infected individuals and educational campaigns directed toward the prevention of new infections and the early treatment of infected persons. This machinery has included laboratories, clinics, hospitals, the passing and enforcement of laws dealing with the reporting and treatment of infectious diseases, medical social workers, intelligent continuous publicity, and of greatest single importance, the practicing physician.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to obtain with any degree of accuracy the prevalence of venereal diseases. In the state of New York, for instance, in 1924 in the list of reported communicable diseases they ranked second only to measles.<sup>3</sup> It is estimated that at least 10 per cent of our total population is venereally diseased.<sup>4</sup> During the World War in 1918 when the influenza epidemic was at its peak, it was the only cause for sick reports which ranked above venereal diseases.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Snow, M.D., *Venereal Diseases*. Introduction by Edward L. Keyes, M.D.

<sup>2</sup> For a current ideal venereal disease program in municipal health, see *Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923*, *Public Health Bulletin No. 164*, *Treasury Department, V.S.P.H.S.*, Washington, D. C. 1926.

<sup>3</sup> *The Social Worker's Approach to the Problem of Venereal Diseases*. New York Charity Organization Society, 1925.

<sup>4</sup> L. I. Dublin and M. A. Clark, "A Program for the Statistics of the Venereal Diseases," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, October, 1921.

<sup>5</sup> *Social Hygiene Legislative Manual*. American Social Hygiene Association.



We know a great deal about the burden of human misery entailed by these diseases—sterility,<sup>6</sup> premature births, blindness, insanity, imbecility, locomotor ataxia, general paralysis, and many other physical incapacities. The New York Charity Organization Society reports that during the last fiscal year, 8.9 per cent of its case load was directly traceable to venereal infection as compared with 8.3 per cent of tuberculosis. As long ago as 1921 the annual loss in earnings due to venereal diseases in otherwise able bodied men in industry in this country was said to be \$54,000,000 and loss in earnings together with the custodial care of those whose insanity was due to syphilis was estimated as \$467,000,000.<sup>7</sup>

Medical science has discovered the causes of venereal diseases and how to control them but medicine alone has been unable to combat them effectively, for much of the work required is not medical in character. The application of these measures must have the support of informed public opinion. For instance, from the strictly medical approach studies of former conditions showed that from 75 to 95 per cent of commercial prostitutes in certain segregated districts were venereally diseased.<sup>8</sup>

The control and suppression of regulated prostitution, however, has not proved to be a matter of medical procedure, and thus medicine has united with law and morals. Until a comparatively recent time and, indeed this is true in many places today, public opinion has accepted the doctrine of the sexual necessity for men and therefore prostitution as a necessary evil, with the resulting double standard of sex conduct. Fortunately for future progress and in justice to both sexes these doctrines have been exploded in as authoritative a manner as possible. Eminent scientists and medical men in three separate conferences—at the meeting of the General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense in 1917, at the American Medical Association meeting in that same year, and at the All-America Conference on Venereal Diseases held in Washington in 1920—have declared sexual continence compatible with health and further, that it is the best prevention of venereal diseases.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> John H. Stokes, M.D. *Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention*. The United States Public Health Service—Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. "80 to 90 per cent of pelvic inflammatory disease and 50 per cent of absolute and one-child sterility in women is due to gonorrhea."

<sup>7</sup> Dublin and Clark, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> T. W. Galloway, *Sex and Social Health*, and John H. Stokes, *Today's World Problems in Disease Prevention*, The U. S. Public Health Service.

<sup>9</sup> *Social Hygiene Legislative Manual*, American Social Hygiene Association. *All-America Conference on Venereal Diseases*. December 6-11, 1920, Washington, D. C. *Reprint from the Public Health Reports*, July 15, 1921. "This Conference was, therefore, called under the joint auspices of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, the United States Public Health Service, the American Social Hygiene Board, and the American Red Cross, with the cooperation of equivalent federal and volunteer agencies in other countries of the Americas. Official recognition of the importance and timeliness

But if today medical science should provide us with simple infallible methods for the recognition of infection, for rapid and accurate diagnosis and cure of venereal diseases, social hygiene would not relax its vigilance in commercialized prostitution. It constitutes a grave danger to family life, and indulgence in it is evidence of lack of sound education and of self direction. Commercialized prostitution must be wiped out not only to reduce infections but also to minimize temptation to our youth and to eliminate the traffic which draws its recruits of both sexes from their ranks. It is well known that if profits are taken out of prostitution it cannot endure. To keep profits large, the demand must be artificially stimulated and a constant supply of new women and girls provided.

Persistent law enforcement does reduce profits and proper legislation for the repression of prostitution and its strict enforcement by the police and the courts are essential.<sup>10</sup> There is need also of understanding cooperation between public and private agencies organized for the prevention of sex delinquency and the social rehabilitation of the delinquent. The workers in these agencies should have a body of facts in biology, psychology, and sociology adequate to an understanding of the part which sex plays in life. It is, we know, infinitely easier to go over the line into delinquency than to return. This is bitterly true of sex delinquency, due not alone to the barriers which society and social traditions place in the way, principally of the girl, but also to that difficult psychical, emotional, and physical readjustment when such equilibrium has been lost in this particular kind of experience.

It is recognized that if boys and girls, notably during the adolescent period can be kept happily busy on interesting projects of work and of play, they will have little time or curiosity to wander far afield into sex delinquency. An all year round community program of recreation and leisure time activities, includes not only playgrounds in parks, and in school grounds, Boy and Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, and all similar boy and girl groups, civic and religious, under the direction of trained leaders, but these leaders must be keenly aware of the factors involved in sex social relations. The work of the visiting teacher, the school nurse, psychologist, and psychiatrist, and of all workers in child welfare to be wholly effective must take into account this same factor of sex social relationships. Now that the home as a meeting and play place for children and young people is increasingly in competition with commercialized and other outside recreation, there is need of effective organized surveillance of community conditions which tempt adolescents away from the security of the home and

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of the conference was secured through the exchange of diplomatic notes between the respective governments of the participating countries regarding the organization and purposes of the conference."

<sup>10</sup> For standard forms of social hygiene laws see *Social Hygiene Legislative Manual*, American Social Hygiene Association.

neighborhood environment. These include unregulated and unsupervised dance halls, road houses, moving picture houses, and other types of unwholesome amusement places, unlighted and inadequately policed parks and beaches, the activities of prostitutes and procurers, and the use of automobiles for purposes of prostitution.

In every community, large or small, there is one organized department of government which, in principle, is charged with the prevention of crime and delinquency and whose program, theoretically, does include this surveillance, namely, the police department. While some men police officers have for years done preventive work in relation to men and boys, their selection for police work has, in the main, been based on their ability "to protect life and property and to preserve public order." But society is no longer satisfied to deal solely with offenders, and has placed added emphasis on the preventive functions of the police. Concurrently the number of girls and women in industry, in public affairs, and in general community life and activities has increased rapidly. The entry of women into police work has been partially due to these two factors together with a lessening of family and neighborhood solidarity, a situation which leaves children and adolescents with inadequate guidance by adults. Women police officers are, with their brother officers, the only community agents equipped with police powers and at the same time charged specifically to search out those minors in need of supervision, and those social conditions conducive to sex delinquency. The women officers should have adequate training and experience and should be selected with great care as to their fitness for this task.<sup>11</sup>

All of these measures—medical, legal, and protective—are primarily concerned with conditions in the environment. Keeping the environment clear of these influences is essential if a community desires to safeguard its family life. This, however, is not sufficient to secure the most constructive use of sex which is a dominant factor in family life. The sex instinct has no inherent moral quality. It is neither good nor bad in itself. However, it colors the whole of life for the individual and the nature of its contributions to life and society depends on the way he directs it as a result of his experience and training.

The problems with which social hygiene measures in medicine, law, and the prevention of sex delinquency are concerned are chiefly results of its misdirection and mismanagement. It is therefore necessary for each individual to understand the whole meaning of sex in life—biologically, psychologically, and sociologically—as a basis for formulating a personal philosophy to guide, control, and use this native endowment for normal self development and social good and to direct him in the selection of his mate, and to assure happy marital relations and successful parenthood. Today, as never before, when the instincts and emotions of young and of older persons are being forced and stim-

<sup>11</sup> Chloe Owings, *Women Police*, 1925.

ulated, they are in need of understanding what these emotions and instincts mean. Boys and girls rarely understand the manifestations of the emotional life of each other and there lies a great menace. Tess D'Urberville says, "I didn't understand your meaning until it was too late"—and Alec Smith replies, "That is what every woman says. I thought by your smiling that you quite understood."

Social hygiene recognizes that this education in sex, far from being a separate isolated feature, must rather take its appropriate place in general education. It is, moreover, a social waste and a gamble in individual happiness to leave education in correct sex information and sound sex attitudes to chance. The primary responsibility for it rests squarely upon the home. The birthright of every child is the guidance of its parents. The responsibility for such education is doubly that of parents because it begins at birth. One cannot wait until adolescence. As well try to launch a sail boat in the path of a typhoon or to sail a kite in a Kansas whirlwind as to expect miraculously, overnight as it were, to develop a strong technique of choice in the matter of friends, clothing, and conduct in the adolescent who has had no prevocational training, so to speak, in such technique. And it is a technique. Further, the preparation is continuous and cannot be compressed into classroom periods. Where homes are unable to meet their responsibilities their efforts should be supplemented by the schools, the churches, and other agencies which have to do with the education and guidance of young people.

Thus out of the "epic of standardization" of which Dr. Keyes writes, there has evolved a social hygiene plan which considers that discovery, diagnosis, and cure of venereal diseases, the repression of prostitution, and the rehabilitation of the sex delinquent are urgent parts of its program. They may often be salvage, and salvage at a tremendous individual and social cost. Further, social hygiene considers that all community efforts to safeguard adolescents, especially those whose general technique of choice is undeveloped and whose family life does not provide adequate protection, are vital in the prevention of sex delinquency.

But, the main preventive task of social hygiene is to create in the individual a sense of calm, frank dignity of sex, a right emotional attitude toward it, and to assure him his education in sex as in other matters which are of vital importance to his individual happiness and to his social usefulness and which will more nearly assure "health and idealism in our youth, strength in our maturity and protection of our family life."

## THE RELATION OF VENEREAL DISEASE TO VISION DEFECTS

*B. Franklin Royer, M.D., Medical Director, National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, New York City*

Classification of the causes of vision defects and blindness is not yet satisfactory in this country. Incomplete case histories in the many eye clinics of our great cities, both at the ambulatory clinic and in the hospitals, make evaluation of records difficult. Only a few of the causes of impaired vision and blindness are reportable afflictions; hence, complete case records rarely come within the review of the health authorities. Statistical evaluation over a period of years will not be attempted.

Within recent years, however, the diagnoses established by ophthalmologists have been pretty carefully set forth at the time of admission of pupils to schools for training the blind; in some instances, workshops and institutions for the blind have had ophthalmologists determine the cause of the disaster. Sore eyes in babies due to birth infections have been reported now for a long enough period in a few places to give us some measure of the incidence of such infections. By tabulating the statistics in schools for the blind, we have been able to note more exact statistical trends over a period of years.

The medical profession have always known something of the great disaster wrought by syphilitic invasion of the eye tissues. Syphilis, however, was not a reportable disease until about the time we entered the great World War, and is not even now reported anywhere with any great degree of accuracy. A cross section view of the prevalence is hard to secure.

Gonorrhea, the venereal disease caused by a specific germ known as the gonococcus, is recognized as a transmissible infection causing great wreckage in the genito-urinary and birth canals and adjoining tissues. A hundred years ago, Gibson, in England, pointed out that expectant mothers afflicted with this disease were likely to give birth to children whose eyes would shortly be invaded or lost from its ravages. It is rather interesting, too, to note that even a hundred years ago this wise clinician pointed out not only the necessity for cleansing and treatment of the birth canal long before the expectant birth, but also necessity for removing all possible soilage of the eye tissues by copious cleansing and irrigation immediately after birth. This wise preachment of Gibson fell largely on deaf ears until the advent of modern bacteriology and the application of Credé's observations in the Maternity Hospital of Leipzig, in 1881. The prophylactic treatment was begun by Credé that, with but slight modification, has continued to this day and is responsible for averting many of the eye tragedies due to infections which would have occurred had this teaching not been generally adopted.

It is only fair to the teaching of Gibson, however, to say that the modern methods begun in 1881 are but an elaboration of the methods advocated a hundred years ago, but now based on a modern knowledge of germ life and

growth. Today we feel that the family teacher, be that person public health nurse, social worker, or physician, is grossly remiss if the family is uninformed of the natural possibilities of germ invasion of the birth canal, of easy germ invasion of the eyes of the new born and of their possible catastrophic results. And, further, those who are not alert in practicing such preventive procedures as may spare the new born baby the tragedy of blindness or seriously impaired vision are unfaithful to the guild to which they belong.

A little clarification of teaching on this point may not be amiss. For too long a time the public health and social workers and even physicians were altogether too much impressed with the idea that the eye tragedies of the new born were all due to a social disease involving, in many instances, moral turpitude. About twenty-five years ago, a young ophthalmologist, Mark Stevenson, by name, of Akron, Ohio, was wise enough to give us bacterial explanation of these eye infections. Establishment of these facts enabled teachers to proceed with no thought of offending public sentiment and enabled us to teach what would be a wise precaution following all births. Dr. Stevenson pointed out that birth infections were due to at least half a dozen different germs, and in the succeeding years we have learned to recognize these germs by skilfully applied laboratory technique. No worker in the social field with any kind of knowledge of birth procedures but will at once see that it is almost impossible for a baby to be born without having its eye tissues soiled with the colon bacillus.

Briefly, it is now rather generally accepted that approximately 60 per cent of the birth infections are due to the gonococcus, a germ associated with a common form of venereal disease, and that 40 per cent are due to the other infections, any of which may be disastrous to vision.

Social workers from such studies will see the justification for urging that every new born baby should have its eyes cleansed and protected from any possibility of any sort of birth infection, and they will see that there is complete justification for teaching every mother to insist upon having drops placed in the eyes of her baby. This is the small price of safety.

At the present time, thirty-two states supply to doctors and midwives, usually free of cost, silver nitrate solution in the strength of 1 per cent, all compounded and dispensed in wax ampules convenient for use, and in packages suitable for carrying in obstetric bag outfits. There is no excuse, then, in the vast majority of our American families for not cleaning up immediately after birth any eye infection acquired as the baby passes through the birth canal.

We have records in large maternity hospitals with statistics covering many thousands of births, including many births where the mothers came from a walk of life with great exposure to the more virulent birth canal infection. Despite this factor, these hospitals assure us that no eye infection developed and no eye disaster occurred. The trail of this particular venereal disease due to the gonococcus, then, may be rendered less distinct and certainly less haz-



ardous by bringing the expectant mother under competent medical supervision as soon as possible after conception and by use of the laboratory technique in studying the secretions of the birth canal so that if they are dangerously infected appropriate treatment may take place long before birth occurs, thus not only rendering the baby less liable to eye infection but also rendering the mother less liable to serious bacterial invasion of her pelvic tissues.

The second place where this trail may be rendered less hazardous is by the general application of drops of silver in the eyes of the baby as soon as possible after birth. It is not necessary to feature the need for immediate report of babies' sore eyes to the health authorities and immediate treatment of the inflamed eyes of any baby occurring within a fortnight after birth. This is the law and is the kind of procedure all social workers would urge in any event.

The other great venereal disease left a distinct trail readily picked up by social workers prior to the Christian era. Biblical references are made to a disease that affects the second and third generation, undoubtedly referring to the hereditary evidences of syphilis. We have on every hand along this trail of syphilis hazards of the gravest moment to vision. It is safe to say that at least 15 per cent of all blindness in America is due to this single social disease. For every case of total blindness traceable to syphilis, social workers will meet a still greater number, certainly several times as many, with serious impairment of vision due to syphilis. It is of some interest to the social worker to appreciate that when syphilis is transmitted to the new born through the blood of the mother and it attacks the visual apparatus, it is very much more apt to affect the muscular and vascular coats of the eyeball than other parts of the eye, and it affects these coats early in life. In this variety of syphilis of the eye, which is a by product of social disease of the preceding generation, we may deal more hopefully now than formerly. With modern methods of attacking the virus of syphilis by appropriate medication injected into the blood vessels before birth of the child, much may be done to avert these eye catastrophies and, incidentally, also to avert all of the other manifestations of syphilis.

We have come to recognize the value and importance of routine Wassermann tests of the blood of the expectant mother to determine the possibility of syphilitic infection, and of asking the aid of social workers to urge efficient and intensive treatment until cured. We are assured by syphilographers, obstetricians, and pediatricians that if treatment of the expectant mother be begun by the fourth month of gestation and treatment be given properly, the child born of such a mother is almost certain to be free from any evidence of syphilis.

Every effort in the interest of a better social hygiene campaign, every effort looking toward the establishment of more complete social hygiene procedures, adequate support of social hygiene clinics, with well-equipped social field workers, is bound to show its reflex in the minimizing of hereditary syphilis that attacks the tissues of the eye.

I should like to add a word about the acquired form of syphilis and particularly that acquired during adult life. Under modern conditions of living, many an individual becomes afflicted with syphilis without in any way bearing the stigma of immorality. Whether or not the disease be acquired in innocence is a secondary matter when we consider the disease from the standpoint of public health and physical salvage of the individual. Speaking particularly from the standpoint of conservation of vision of the afflicted, we cannot too strongly urge the routine Wassermann test of the blood of every individual who might in any way be suspected of having had the disease, and of persistent and efficient treatment until the individual is cured.

Unfortunately, the eye symptoms of syphilis acquired in adult life give warning long after the initial symptoms of syphilis have been manifested. Unfortunately, many an individual, having taken treatment for a little while and seeing no signs of skin disfigurement or external evidence that would prompt treatment, and not much out of health, neglects to follow the medical man's advice. The eye tissues, like the tissues of the spinal cord and central nervous system, catch the brunt of the infection and suffer most from the toxic accumulations, sometimes only becoming easily recognizable twenty and even thirty or more years after onset. Too often an individual reached by the social worker or seeking medical advice comes forward with a shuffling gait and dragging toe, lost knee jerks, swaying station, and failing vision. The ophthalmologist finds a hopelessly progressive atrophy of the optic nerve and blindness the inevitable result. If the patient had had adequate treatment fifteen or twenty years earlier, no such eye sequel would have resulted and the locomotor ataxia and other grave complication might have been avoided.

The message to the social worker who must devote much time to these social diseases, then, should be to teach early medical treatment of the birth canal where infection may be suspected, adequate treatment of the syphilis infected expectant mother, drops in the eyes of every new born baby, adequate treatment of every baby, child, or adult infected with syphilis, with treatment continued until the physician is ready to assure the individual that a cure has been brought about.

If, as social workers, we are able in the next ten or fifteen years to make the public realize that these two venereal diseases which so often cause serious impairment of vision or blindness are preventable, that they are curable if recognized in the early stages, and that it is vastly more economical to practice prevention than cure—then we shall have performed our duty to mankind. In closing, I should like to refer to the general topic before us, "the trail of social hygiene in social work," by pointing out that the deeper the trail of social workers becomes worn by their follow up, by their education of the public, by their family welfare activities, the fainter will grow the trail of the venereal diseases with their concomitants: economic deficiency, physical handicaps, and social and spiritual misery.

## IV. THE FAMILY

### THE INTEGRATION OF EFFORT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE BY PRIVATE AND PUBLIC AGENCIES FOR THE COMMON GOOD

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This paper is built upon the contributions of thirty-five correspondents, the files of the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, and the ideas of as many people as could be induced to express a judgment or describe an event.

Judge Pinckney, at Cleveland in 1912, said of the problem confronting the Chicago Juvenile Court when the mother's pension law suddenly placed the responsibility for administering a large relief program upon it,

The administration of this law by the Juvenile Court was from the very beginning attended with difficulties. . . . The Probation Department, upon which the burden fell, was already taxed to its utmost. . . . In the absence of willing cooperation by county officials to furnish adequate and competent help, [we turned] for assistance to [the] charitable, social and civic welfare . . . associations in Chicago . . . [they] came together . . . to advise us in the administration of the new law. . . . [They] organized and furnished a committee of five experienced workers to examine and pass upon the applications for relief. The members [of this committee have access to] all the records of the public and private charities of the city. . . . This information gained . . . where the applicant lives and by a careful examination of records is considered by [the committee] . . . and a report and recommendation are made . . . from which the court enters the orders granting or refusing the relief sought.

It was soon discovered that successful administration depended . . . upon an . . . efficient Probation Department. The County Board, when appealed to, retired behind the plea of no authority to pay and no money to pay with. Private philanthropy represented by a group of Chicago's progressive women employed and paid first five and later twenty-two competent persons . . . as probation officers. In time the public became educated. The law was amended and the financial burden of the Probation Department was assumed as a public duty.

This recital of the circumstances under which a new public service was inaugurated is an epitome of the problems inherent in our subject: a law was passed based on the experience and faith of various private groups; its administration fell upon a public office inadequately equipped to handle it; its officer appealed to the proper public sources for appropriations necessary to meet the work and was refused; he then turned to private sources for two services: advice in case decisions, and additional staff. If all relationships between public and private effort were as successful, this paper would not have been written!

In contrast with the above, another public official—the director of a department of public welfare—writes:

We have tried earnestly not only to achieve friendly relations but to effect a real working basis of cooperation with the family society. Despite various conferences with the secretary, and meeting with her board . . . it has been impossible to achieve any intelligent basis of cooperation. The family society helps when it chooses and we continue to pick up the wreckage. We are trying to maintain as friendly personal relationship as possible . . .

Comment on the foregoing is scarcely necessary, unless it be that it is well for private agencies to recognize that the problem of cooperation is not always on one side.

Dr. Snow, speaking before the National Social Work Council, gave a variant of this difficulty. He cited a city where an efficient public health official was unable to enter into the full exercise of his responsibilities because the local Anti-Tuberculosis Association, which had a long and successful experience in the treatment of tuberculosis problems, refused to turn over to the public official that part of its work which the new law intended he should assume. The state executive of another department of charities writes: "Some of our warmest friends and our bitterest enemies have been private agencies. . . . [We] have made an honest effort to raise standards of social work. . . . As a result of this . . . [certain private agencies] have fought us bitterly."

Another correspondent, in the public field, but who had been in the private, writes: "Private social work has not always made the best use of its opportunity to build up public services of a high quality. I have known of instances where the private agency perpetuated its own existence by capitalizing the poor work done by a public agency."

Perhaps the strongest impression which one gets from reading the letters of thirty-five correspondents is that there are really no satisfactory relationships between public and private agencies, except as cooperating personalities discover a method of working together. There seems to be no necessary correlation between good work by a private agency, and good relationship between it and a public agency; and the cities in which there is a good public agency have not been notable for developing anything especially satisfactory in the way of relationships with private organizations.

A brief review of existing situations, so far as I could discover them, shows the following types of relationships. (I am omitting public subsidies to private agencies.)

First, a formal relationship in which each agrees to become responsible for a certain share of a common task. The Iowa and Ohio plans are illustrations of this point. Each of these is authorized by law to place relief upon the public and social case work upon the private agency. Its distinctive contribution to method is that it uses the facility of the private agency to secure and to hold

social case workers for the administration of public relief funds. The Cincinnati Humane Society and the courts of that city have a similar relationship with respect to non-support cases, and the support of families of prisoners. The Humane Society makes the investigation, carries on any necessary treatment, the courts issue the orders, and relief when necessary is furnished by the Department of Public Welfare.

Second, there is the reverse of this, on a partial basis, where the private supplements the public relief for a variety of reasons. Sometimes it is in public outdoor relief, the public giving an inadequate amount; or it may not give certain kinds of relief at all, and the private meets the deficit. This is quite widespread, and it seems the least defensible of all methods, for usually the limitations on public relief are administrative and not statutory, and could therefore be removed. At other places it is in mother's allowances which need supplementing where the limitation is statutory. At no place have sharper differences arisen. Certain family societies make it a matter of principle not to supplement mother's allowances; others make it equally a matter of principle to supplement them. The issue in this debate is whether public provision will more quickly be made adequate by allowing the public to assume full responsibility than by making good any deficit which may now exist. The answer to this will depend largely on one's governmental philosophy. The facts—that is, under which conditions do public authorities actually assume their full responsibility—certainly give as little comfort to one party as the other. It would seem that any private agency which takes the position of nonsupplementation has two responsibilities: one to see that adequate provision is made elsewhere for those left without it; and second to work continuously for adequate provision from statutory sources.

The third type of cooperative relationship is what may be called advisory, and this has wide applications. As the quotation from Judge Pinckney indicated, the Chicago Juvenile Court from the beginning invited a group of private agencies to form a committee to advise with him on case work decisions, and on general policies in mother's allowances. This combination is widespread, at least Boston, Cleveland, Kansas City, and Minneapolis having such active committees of representatives of private agencies. This places the experience and knowledge of the private agencies at the disposal of the administrations of the mother's allowance law; but it also provides a joint committee to work out the policies on families known jointly to the private agency and the juvenile court. Boston presents a significant variant: the Judge Baker Foundation, a private agency, places its incomparable services at the command of the court. In this, one gets back, however, to a species of supplementation! But I do not believe even its most vigorous critic would object to supplementing in this form.

Fourth, there are certain tasks in which public and private agencies simply must cooperate in the treatment of a client, or the thing cannot be done. Street

begging is an instance in point. In St. Louis partial success in such an effort was secured by the appointment of a joint committee on which sat the mayor of the city, the chief of police, the two municipal judges, the probation officer of the municipal court, the director of the Department of Public Welfare, the warden of the city jail, the deputy city comptroller, the president of the Bureau for Homeless Men, the secretary of the family agency, the secretary of the Red Cross, and a representative of the Church Federation; for each one had some share in the joint plan. It has worked only fairly well, because of its very size; but the job probably could not be done at all except by a combination of the authorities of the city—those before whom vagrants are tried and the private agencies who furnish the case workers.

A fifth example of cooperation is the preparation of trial cases to test the meaning or intent of a certain statute. Miss Bedford once worked up a case, in cooperation with the judge of the juvenile court, the state children's bureau and the attorney general of the state, to determine whether the mother's allowance law, which included mothers whose husbands are under indictment for abandonment of children among its beneficiaries, was intended to include divorced wives whose onetime husbands were under indictment for abandonment of children. All parties concerned were eager to have the test made. The part of the private agency was to find just the right sort of a case; to see that the divorced woman had taken the proper steps in securing the indictment of the children's father, and to get the case ready for presentation to the juvenile court; then to work with the state children's bureau and the attorney general in getting the case before the Supreme Court. On the part of the public, in addition to all the cooperative activities mentioned above in which state officials participated, it was necessary that the judge of the juvenile court should really believe that the law did not include such a mother within the provisions of the act, but at the same time be willing to allow it to be tried, to give a decision in accordance with his judgment, and at the same time be willing to grant the motion for an appeal to the higher court. I believe this is almost an untouched field in which social workers, public and private, will have to do a great deal of work. In the very nature of our legal machinery, it can only be done as a friendly suit initiated by a private agency.

Sixth, the staple illustration of relationship in this field is that in which the private promotes the interest of the public agency, protects it against political spoliation, or enables it to maintain standards in the face of attack. Within a year the private agencies of Boston under the leadership of the Council of Social Agencies protected the Overseers of the Poor of Boston against an effort to weaken their personnel and introduce lower standards of administration in the public outdoor relief and mother's allowance work which they were undertaking. A group of private case working agencies in Providence not only assumed responsibility for the drafting of a mother's allowance law in the state,



but when its administration threatened to nullify the spirit of the law, they were able to bring pressure and persuasion with sufficient effect to insure a wise and efficient execution of that bit of social legislation. One of the great benefits of the advisory committees associated with juvenile courts is in this service of protection from attack, and promotion of standards which the private can give to the public body. There are many successful illustrations of this relationship in the field of public health. I have often wondered whether this easier interrelationship between private physician and public health officer is not due to the fact that professional solidarity is more firmly established in the medical and nursing groups than in social work. The physician or nurse in a position of public responsibility naturally turns to the members of his group for protection and assistance whenever necessary. The members of the profession, in turn, feel a responsibility for the maintenance of decent standards in that part of a public service in which some of their own number are engaged. Social work in its very nature, cannot expect to possess that sort of support, at least not in the immediate future; but there is all the more reason, therefore, for those agencies which do assume any responsibility for the welfare and progress of public social work to attempt consciously to back it up.

Seventh, an essential aspect of relationship between public and private effort is a clear cut delimitation of the field. Possibly on this point there has been a certain amount of chasing of a will-o-the-wisp, the belief that there is a natural or logical division and that until it is found no satisfactory relationship can be created. It is my conviction that there is no logical division, but that the division to which the community has become accustomed, and which works in that community, is the right one for it. The weakness of this chasing a fanciful perfection is that nothing gets done, and both groups more or less cover the entire field. While there are many and interesting divisions now in existence, and many plans suggested on which a useful division may be based, I should like to treat this section of the paper in a more general manner.

Public departments are defined by statute, and their activities are prescribed in that document. They are therefore agencies of limited powers. In contrast, private agencies have unlimited powers, within their own fields. This would seem to indicate that one of the bases for division is that public agencies should do everything within their powers, and private agencies the rest. You have all, at one time or another, given voice to such a theory: the public can do the standardized tasks, and the private occupy the experimental and exploratory field. As a matter of fact, with but few exceptions, no division is actually made on that basis. There are two considerations which I should like to point out. In the first place, the legal limits of the powers of public welfare work are far more often a matter of administrative ruling, or of precedent, than of law. Most laws are broad enough, especially in the field we are now discussing—non-institutional work. Even that bugaboo of all public outdoor relief, the question

of residence and nonresidence is rarely a question of law. (Of course it is in mother's allowances, but that whole provision is a special and carefully protected act.) The average law, giving officials authority to dispense relief, is stated in sufficiently broad terms to enable the public official to do about what the skills in social case work in any given place or time require. The second consideration is that the so called experimental activities of private agencies, if not entirely so, are mostly in the field of the imagination. The actual day by day work of private agencies does not differ so much from the duties of the public official, except in two respects: limitation of intake, and capacity for maintaining standards. For the most part, private agencies are doing work which legally the public could perform; and the conditions under which they work make possible a wider range of quality; at their worst, private agencies do a job inferior to that which a public agency would dare to attempt; they are more free than the public to develop it as far as their ability permits. At least one city, St. Louis, has demonstrated that the standards of case work in a private agency are not dependent upon a limited case load.

The delimitation of field between public and private agencies has at least one danger against which both should be protected. The Family Society in Minneapolis turned over certain sections of its work to the public agency as its own load increased beyond its financial resources: first, mothers eligible for mothers' allowances, and all supplementation of such allowances; then the families of the unemployed; then the aged and the chronically incapacitated. When it became necessary to consider further reduction in intake and an effort was made to define another group to transfer public support, the chairman of the family committee asked: "Where is this leading? We have given over entirely the two most promising groups, widows and unemployed. If we continue in this policy, we shall be left with the ragtag and bobtail of social work."

The public agency faces the same danger. One of the correspondents writes, "a public case working department which had dumped upon it all the failures of all the private agencies." The delimitation of field in each of these instances was obviously promoted by other than careful consideration of the total resources available for the entire task.

There are two themes which keep recurring in the expressions of these thirty-five correspondents, which are, I believe, the clues which will lead to the integration of public and private effort. The first is that no solution is possible unless the job is looked upon as a whole. It is necessary for an agency to have a sense of community responsibility for the task it is undertaking, as well as to do a good case work job on the clients whom it accepts. Private agencies in their effort to escape the suffocating effect of being a dumping ground for all pertinent and impertinent case problems may confuse responsibility for doing the task with responsibility for seeing that it gets done. It is curious that any agency dealing with a social problem should ever make that mistake. It is evi-

dence of the strong lag of individualism even in social work. But so long as social agencies fail to accept their responsibility for social planning, for promoting ways and means by which the social work of the entire community may be accomplished, no satisfactory relationship will be found. While it is a technique it has its significance in the person served, abstractly it is so much red tape. When social agencies are keenly alive to the people for whose benefit they exist, relationships will be accepted on a community wide basis.

The second of these themes is that such community planning may be done only on the basis of conferences. As stated several times, there is no formula which may be applied, in fact, there is no inherently right or wrong method. There is only the one which works or which does not. Several have stated it to be a case work problem; to be approached tentatively; studied in its historic development; understood in terms of the many personalities who have influenced its activities and to be promoted by joint effort. The Council of Social Agencies is an incomparable asset in such a task. But alone it can get nothing done.

The fact that such a paper as this is being read, and followed by another just like it, is eloquent evidence that so far social work has not been signally successful in this community aspect of its work. The promise of the future lies in the rapid awakening of public welfare departments to their responsibilities, in the creation of councils of social agencies, and in the increasing habit of representatives of public and private agencies to sit together in conferences to work out their common problems.

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#### THE INTEGRATION OF EFFORT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE BY PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FAMILY AGENCIES FOR THE COMMON GOOD

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A review of the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* and of various state conferences for the last ten years shows a general acceptance of the viewpoint that both public and private agencies are needed in any major field of social welfare. There is no longer need for a discussion on this point. There would also seem to be a growing conception of the fact that fundamentally the same persons are responsible for both agencies. In the public agency, the citizen functions through his votes and his taxes; in the private, he functions more directly by personal service and by his voluntary contributions. The difference between the public to which the private agency is immediately responsible, those persons who contribute to it and who hold membership in it, and the vast voting and tax paying public which constantly brings

itself to the consciousness of the public agency, makes itself felt in various practical ways from day to day. The group to which the private agency feels directly responsible is a group of higher intelligence than the average man in the street who composes the constituency that constantly presses at the doors of the public agency. This difference is responsible for some of the most burdensome limitations and handicaps faced by the public agency. In spite of this, however, one group is merely larger and inclusive of the other. The persons responsible for the work of the private agencies also share with the rest of their fellows responsibility for the public agencies. The two are different forms of the same community's expression of good will toward its more unfortunate citizens.

Moreover, the aim of both public and private family agencies should be exactly the same. Both the public and private should aim to have the public do just as fine a case work job as the private. Regardless of the practical difficulties that have in the past stood in the way and that may still continue to challenge the best ability of the public official to overcome, no lower aim should be tolerated. There is no inherent reason why a public agency should not do fine case work, and it is an insult to the many devoted and highly trained workers now holding publicly paid positions to consider them equal only to the maintenance of low standards. Moreover, it is poor psychology, for it is a rare community that will develop in its public servants a higher grade of service than it expects.

The great development of public departments and agencies in all fields of social welfare make their standard of work of growing concern to every tax payer and to every private welfare and health agency in the country. We cannot afford to permit our public departments to increase their work so rapidly, both as to quantity and as to the kinds of services performed, without assuring ourselves that our money is being well expended and is producing actual human dividends. In the field of family relief the countrywide development of the mothers' aid movement, which now covers most of the states of the union, expends millions of dollars each year and is rapidly increasing year by year in the number and kinds of families receiving aid, is an especial challenge to the private family agencies of the country who are wise with a long history of patient, thoroughgoing study of the problem, analysis of methods, and development of case work standards. The outdoor relief work of the public official, perhaps the most difficult part of all relief work, is still back in the Middle Ages, but here and there signs of unrest in this field also are becoming evident and we may expect within the next decade a return of interest in this type of relief and a demand that here also the public official shall acquit himself with more credit. The principles of interrelation of public and private family agencies have been studied most thoroughly by the Committee on Relations with Public Departments of the American Association for Organizing Family Social

Work and its report accepted at the annual meeting of the association in June, 1925. It is unnecessary to review that entire report at this time. The attempt of this paper is merely to emphasize certain aspects of the subject from the point of view of the public official.

That the public agencies have made and are making a distinct contribution in the field of family relief should not be overlooked. These agencies are not any longer a necessary evil to be endured as patiently as possible. Not only do they carry a vast relief burden for their communities and thereby make possible more adequate relief than those communities would otherwise be able to afford, not only do they free private agencies from the burden so that they may limit their intake, set standards, and do experimental work, not only do they spread the burden of family relief more equitably than would otherwise be possible over the whole community responsible for it, but also in recent years, especially through the mothers' aid movement, they have made some newer contributions. The very extent of the mothers' aid movement with its application in most localities of some of the fundamental principles of social case work has served to educate communities regarding those principles and to popularize them. The mothers' aid movement has emphasized, to the great advantage of our general viewpoint in family work, the contribution the mother makes to society. In districts where there is a form of statewide supervision of mothers' aid work, it has become possible to gather statistics regarding fatherless families over statewide areas; this could not previously have been done. I venture to think that the mothers' aid movement has even aided in the formation of policies regarding family relief work such as, for instance, the education of children between fourteen and sixteen years, and the use of the standard budget in estimating necessary expenditures. These are no mean contributions to the general field of family relief.

It is clearly recognized most of all, I believe, by the public officials and boards, themselves, that there are inherent limitations and difficulties in the work of the public official. Legal restrictions are capable of change, but the process is slow; the individual board or official often has no direct power over them and his initiative is curbed and his desires frustrated without opportunity for any immediate help. In the field of outdoor relief the settlement laws of each state, together with all sorts of petty local restrictions, interfere with his freedom. In practically all states the mothers' aid laws are themselves so framed that the official's power to act is limited.

The limits set by annual appropriations cannot be overstepped and the distance between the appropriating board at its annual meeting and the public official in his daily work is often great enough so that he has little opportunity to press his point home to those in power. The more modern and businesslike the fiscal control over any board or official, the less freedom there is apt to be in the use that may be made of public monies and, therefore, the more tech-

nical barriers may be placed in the way of adequate treatment of an individual case.

The public board, more especially the individual public official, cannot generally go much in advance of the thought of the average citizen and tax payer, as has been clearly brought out in the committee report previously referred to. This applies both to the securing and spending of relief funds and to the developing of new lines of work. The public official's bosses are the general public and they are exacting and articulate. One requisite of doing good work in a public office is to be able to hold that office and retain the means for working. Many so called reform administrations with the finest of standards and the most praiseworthy intentions have found themselves able to do little or nothing because they have not sufficiently carried their public along with them; they have overstepped what their public believed to be right and necessary and have been deprived of appropriations. Situations may occur from time to time in case work where a public official is not necessarily to be blamed for not pushing action that is technically within his power, against the force of an overwhelming public opinion; he is not necessarily a coward if the question is not a moral issue. The opportunity for the private agency lies in changing the direction of public opinion.

Because of the fact that it is the average person in the community who controls the viewpoint of the appropriating body for the public agency, there is inherent difficulty in public departments in securing funds for administration. The need for relief for the poor—food, clothing, and shelter—is of century old acceptance. The need for investigation, supervision, especially for record keeping and office work, is not proved yet even to the fairly intelligent business man. We find, therefore, that our public agencies the country over are understaffed, that their case load is overwhelming, and that, even where they see clearly, the standards they want to reach are swamped in the mass to be lifted.

Because of the nearness of the public official to his public, we find that he is often obliged to adopt a higher degree of uniformity in his case work procedure than a private agency, in order to assure his public of his fairness, integrity, and freedom from political influences. He cannot make exceptions in individual cases with the freedom of a private agency. To some extent he must always stand ready to explain the reasons for his actions, not to a highly trained socially minded board but to the average citizen who understands little of social work procedure.

There are personnel difficulties in public agencies which are a problem even to the best intentioned public officials. It is practically impossible to secure funds with which to pay for the training of workers, hence, it is necessary to try to recruit workers already trained. In many sections there is a prejudice on the part of trained workers against entering the public service; in



others, there are local residence requirements and civil service obstacles which hinder the freedom of choice of the official and annoy the prospective applicant.

Last but not least, the public agency often faces an unlimited intake; the necessity for trying in some way to meet the needs of all applicants for assistance. It not only has to struggle with a quantity of work often unknown to the private agency, but it also is often obliged to struggle with the difficult problems which the private agencies have been unable to solve. It is the court of last resort. The situation of the public agency in this respect is often so discouraging as to paralyze the efforts of all but very sturdy officials.

Assuming that the public agency in any community is meeting as much of the family welfare task as it is able to get funds and workers to carry, then the private agency, viewing the public as its coworker, as an extension of its own responsibility, and as merely another instrument by which the same community is attempting to aid its unfortunates, has special opportunities for service on their common problem beyond the reach of the public agency. Herein lies the basis for establishing much of the soundest relationship between the public and the private agency. Let each one do that part of the relief job which he is peculiarly well fitted to do, working not as separate units but as parts of a harmonious whole. The private agencies, with their greater stability and flexibility in the development and use of funds, should see to it that they set and hold high standards so that if need be they may show the public agencies how to do their work. More important yet, the private agencies should constantly aim to educate the general public in social welfare standards and to demand and support a high standard of work in the public departments. This includes educating the public to support greater expenditures for administration and for constructive forms of aid to families—something more from time to time than the mere food, shelter, and clothing so generally accepted.

The private agency should study objectively the question of last year's Conference: "How much social work can a community afford?" It should see the problem from the side of the tax payer as well as the social agency and should study how far the use of tax monies for social welfare purposes should properly be extended in a community. It should lead the public not in pounding aimlessly at public agencies for their failures but in guiding appropriating bodies to pass appropriations of the right amount and for the right purposes. It is useless to hope for a satisfactory relationship between public and private agencies in any community unless the private agency is aware of the fact that somebody pays for every expenditure and that the tax payer of moderate means should be burdened with additional taxes only upon sound justification based on a well thought out public policy.

Within the limits of expenditures it determines as wise, the private agency can work for the expansion of existing forms of social welfare work more effectively than the public official or board immediately involved ever can. The

public's plea that an agency be granted more funds to spend is of more value than the plea of the agency that those funds be granted to it.

The private agency can work for the improvement of the personnel of public departments. It can point out constantly to the voters and to the appointing officials the needs of the service and, hence, can help to secure the election, the appointment, and the maintenance in office of the proper persons. It can give to workers training for which the public agency cannot as yet secure funds and it can permit the public agencies to draw upon the private for workers; it can encourage trained workers to go into public service as offering a real challenge and opportunity. What more definite contribution can the private agencies dedicated to family welfare work in this country make than to give to the vast number of families receiving public relief the services as public officials of their own trained workers? Then our public agencies will become real agencies for family welfare and the private agencies will find themselves increasingly freed from the great routine burden of their work to go on to more specialized forms of aid.

The private agency should study the operation of civil service laws. We have fought so hard for civil service in this country that we perhaps rest content when we have placed laws upon our statute books; we do not pay enough attention to their operation. I venture to state that the civil service laws in general are not yet working with great efficiency in the selection of persons for social welfare positions and that this must be a matter of concern to all social workers. The private agencies should study the question, should work to influence civil service methods, and should give their moral support to public agencies trying to secure a higher standard of workers through this means.

Lastly comes the much discussed question as to the granting of financial aid to public agencies by private. In Westchester County, New York, we believe we have made a very rapid advance in the development of public welfare agencies through the principle of financial aid to the public agencies on the part of agencies supported by voluntary contributions. The private agencies have aided us, both as a means of securing adequate administration and adequate relief and also for the purpose of demonstrating to the community the need for these high standards and educating the community to support them. We have not found that when funds were granted for these purposes the effect has been to discourage increased public appropriations. On the contrary, we have found that no argument is more potent with tax payers and appropriating bodies than the argument that people have believed in a measure enough to have been willing to pay personally for it, and that it has been tried out thoroughly and has been proved indispensable. I venture to suggest that in many sections there is nothing that a private agency could do to raise the level of public administration and relief standards in family work more than to invest some of its own funds in the agency's work.

No discussion of the subject assigned me is of value that does not end in at least tentative suggestions of practical means for integrating public and private service in family welfare. I therefore, offer the following as steps which may prove of service toward the end we all desire:

First, let us bring together the workers of public and private agencies as much as possible, not as teachers and unwilling pupils but as coworkers in the same common problem. The private agencies with their wider opportunity for training workers and continuing staff education, often with their greater freedom of community contacts can offer many opportunities to public workers, and I venture to think that workers in public departments with their enforced knowledge of practical politics and the psychology of the general public have something to offer to the private workers. Second, encourage the workers in public agencies to take their place as professional workers with a contribution to make. Even if some of them may not be as yet in that class, we will aid them to attain it more quickly by expecting it of them and then helping them to reach it. Third, emphasize the relationship of public agencies to councils of social agencies, welfare federations, and similar social welfare organizations. The public agency of today is nothing to ignore; we should make it conscious of its own place as a vital part of the social welfare program. Fourth, have a committee of the private agency board with the special duty of considering and working constantly on the relations of the private agencies with the public. Such a committee will find ample opportunity for work. Fifth, encourage the public agency to have an advisory committee to serve as an adviser on policy formation, as an interpreter of the public agency to the community, and as a case committee. This is a new idea to many public officials and some are afraid of it. Those of us who have tried it out for years successfully are convinced of its importance. Sixth and last, develop an interagency committee between the public and private agencies. Such a committee, with even a moderate degree of leadership and consideration, will bring about better understanding generally between the two groups. It will work for the better solution of individual case problems; it will serve as a medium for the development of valuable statistical information, and it will make a contribution toward the formation of policies of work for each agency. There are many problems for such a committee to begin work on such as, for instance, the one which is increasingly pressing upon us: Should the mothers' aid movement or the private agency care for the borderline family?

With enough interagency committees throughout our country in the next ten years, the Conference of Social Work ten years from now will have a greater concrete contribution to make on the integration of effort between private and public family agencies.

SOURCES OF INCOME, STANDARDS OF MOTHERS' WORK AND OF  
CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN FAMILIES AIDED BY THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE FUND

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In passing the mothers' aid laws, now in operation in forty-two states of the union, the state recognizes the value of good home care for all normal children and assumes the responsibility of insuring this care to the fatherless child. It becomes the state's duty therefore to see that the widowed mother is given financial assistance adequate to fulfil her motherly obligations and not lay on her an impossible burden and defeat the very ends the law was designed to accomplish.

During the thirteen years the Pennsylvania Mothers' Assistance Law has been in operation, we have had ample opportunity to test the principles underlying the mothers' assistance work and to have it clearly demonstrated that the assumption by the state of the care of its dependent, fatherless children is valid in principle and practicable in application. But from the beginning in Pennsylvania, as in many other states, no serious attempt has been made to provide funds sufficient to meet the full need. At the time of our study in 1926 there were approximately 3,500 families receiving assistance, but for many of whom the maximum grant was inadequate to provide the necessities of life. In addition there were about 2,500 families on the waiting list, some of whom applied two years ago and all of them just as eligible to assistance.

In the effort to find out what should be the total amount of appropriation in Pennsylvania in order to fulfil the purpose of the Mothers' Assistance Law, it was thought advisable to start with an examination of the whole situation existing in a cross section of the families aided throughout the state. It was felt necessary to clear the ground by determining what constitutes adequacy in money grants and what are the margins of safety, so far as health, education, and care of children are concerned, in regard to the work of mothers and of young children. Our inquiry approached the question of adequacy of grants from three angles. First, what is the actual income situation, what proportion does the Mothers' Assistance Fund grant constitute in the total income, what are the mothers' earnings, what amounts are contributed by its various members and by outside sources? Second, what is the extent of the existing cash deficits, that is, the difference between the amount the case worker has calculated as necessary for the family and the actual amount of income from any source, including the grant? Third, what influence does the adequacy or inadequacy of the grant have upon the general status of family life?

The first question to be answered was: What are desirable sources of income for Mothers' Assistance families from the point of view of the upbuilding of family life? What on the other hand are undesirable sources of income in the sense that they tend to break down health, or to rob the children of a

mother's care, of education, or of the sense of self respect? In making these studies income from the following sources was considered desirable: Mothers' Assistance grant; women lodgers or boarders; fraternal orders, lodges, unions, scholarships, etc.; relatives; older children except when they are compelled to make undue sacrifice, for example, to postpone marriage or plans for an education; mother's work, so long as it is suitable, for health good, and the children properly cared for; the work of children fourteen and fifteen years old out of school hours, during vacations, or full time providing they have reached their "educational limit."

Income was considered undesirable from the following sources under the following conditions: first, mother's work, (a) in the home such as bead work, garment finishing, etc., when it is poorly paid and some plan could be made for more suitable work which would give to the mother stimulating contacts outside the home, (b) full time work if there is no caretaker in the home, (c) work which takes the mother away from her home over three days a week if there is no caretaker in the home, (d) any kind of work if there are five or more children under sixteen years of age in the home, and (e) work which the mother is physically unable to do or which prevents her from giving time and attention to children who present particular problems of conduct, health, etc.; second, work of children fourteen and sixteen years of age if they left school with good school records solely for the purpose of adding to the income of the family; third, charitable relief with some exceptions.

In setting the standard in regard to the work of children fourteen to sixteen we tried to follow the best practice adopted by progressive children's agencies and institutions throughout the country which are giving educational opportunities under carefully planned regulations as to scholarship, grade progress, etc., to children up to the age of sixteen years. Studies of working children made by the United States Children's Bureau and other agencies show that children who go to work at fourteen and fifteen years of age almost invariably enter "dead end" jobs with little opportunity for advancement, increase in wages, or the acquirement of skill; that their wages are extremely small; that they tend to drift from job to job; and that habits of industrial irregularity and instability are thereby encouraged. The Pennsylvania Mothers' Assistance Law itself provides that aid may be granted for a child to the age of sixteen years "but not beyond the time when any child under the provision of the law may secure employment, excepting where the child is physically unable to earn wages, or is at school with a satisfactory record of attendance and scholarship, in which case such payment shall continue until such child has reached the age of sixteen years."

In calculating cash deficits in the monthly budget, no account was taken of deficits under \$10.00, and of all deficits of \$10.00 or over only that portion of the deficits which was in excess of \$9.99 was counted as a deficit—this, in spite of the fact that a deficit up to \$10.00 in a budget representing only the

necessities of life may mean much in the way of privation to families, yet in order that the calculation of this study might not be subjected to criticism on the score of overliberality.

With these principles in mind the extent of the deficits, the desirability and undesirability of sources of income in 2,404 Mothers' Assistance Fund families (representing 69 per cent of the total number aided) were determined. The following are the findings and what they may imply:

First, the Mothers' Assistance Fund grants constitute less than 40 per cent of the total family income. The study appeared to show that the present average grant being given in Pennsylvania—about \$37 per month per family—is adequate for about one-third of the families. The average grant in New York State is \$51 per family and the average in Massachusetts is \$56 per family. We figure that an average grant of \$53 in Pennsylvania would be reasonably adequate according to the principles enumerated above. Because of inadequate appropriations many mothers' aid agencies are faced with a grave dilemma: shall they give adequate assistance in so far as the law allows even though a waiting list is thereby created or shall they adopt a spread-thin policy? In actual practice the limitation of intake can only be carried up to a certain point in any community. Beyond that point public opinion will demand a rough equality of treatment.

Second, in many cases the present maximum grant allowed by law is wholly inadequate to meet the minimum needs of the families. In seven states, of which Pennsylvania is one, the maximum for a family of three children ranges from \$40 to \$49 per month. In twenty states the maximum grant for a family of three children ranges from \$50 to \$70 per month. In seven states aid may be granted according to the need. The majority of states are, therefore, as badly or worse off than we are as to the maximum assistance which may be given. In amending our laws to allow more adequate maximum assistance, is it the best social practice to attempt to remove all limitation as to exact amounts or to try to secure legislation which will permit assistance to be based upon the need of each individual family? Or, is it still necessary in state policy to safeguard public expenditures by setting a fixed limitation of aid per child? Or, again, is it purely a matter of individual state psychology? If a fixed maximum is necessary must we concede the advisability of legislation which will allow larger grants in the cities than in rural districts? Then, further, if we must have a fixed maximum what data must we have upon which a reliable and scientific scale of allowances may be based?

Third, 32 per cent of the families studied had no cash deficits in excess of \$9.99 and no income from undesirable sources. This might be termed the normal group. Seventeen per cent had deficits of \$10.00 and over, but had no income from undesirable sources. Twenty-seven per cent had no cash deficits, but derived a portion of their income from undesirable sources. Twenty-four per cent had deficits of \$10.00 or over and in addition derived a portion of their



income from undesirable sources. In other words, 32 per cent of the families studied might be considered to live under normal conditions, while 68 per cent of the whole group had budget deficits of \$10.00 or over or income from undesirable sources, or both. We have assumed that budget deficits up to \$10.00 are more apparent than real and may possibly be made up through invisible resources. Are we justified in making this assumption? On the other hand are some families whose income is more than \$10.00 below the requirements of the standard budget actually making a "go of it" without physical, moral, or spiritual deterioration? What are the tests which should be applied to determine our answer? Obviously some of the objective tests would be health and nutrition records, school records, and personality studies. Subjective tests are more intangible but deal with attitudes, relationships, and social responses.

Fourth, the mothers contribute 21 per cent of the total income through their own earnings. In about one-fifth of the 2,400 families studied the mothers were engaged in work which was considered detrimental to the interest and care of the children, that is, they were working beyond their strength; or there were definite home problems which made it appear that more of the mother's time was required with the children than she was giving; or mothers were working more than half time with no one in the home capable of giving adequate care to the children; or they were doing industrial home work for long hours with meager remuneration. The following questions arise here: Are some mothers able to give adequate supervision to their children even though they work away from home more than half time? On the other hand, should certain individual mothers, because of limitations in their mental or personality equipment, give full time to the care of their children regardless of the size of the family? Should the age of the children, as well as the size of the family, be considered in deciding how much time the children may safely be left to their own resources? Do some children profit by assuming responsibility of home care while the mother is away working, and are they developing through this experience certain desirable qualities, such as initiative, resourcefulness, independence? In other words, can we make certain broad generalizations in regard to the amount in actual hours of mother care that is necessary for the welfare of the children, or is this a violation of the case work method?

Fifth, the older children contributed a little more than 23 per cent of the income. Certainly we have the right to draw the conclusion that these children are not shirking their family responsibilities. It raises the question as to the extent of the demands for support which can be placed upon the shoulders of older working children.

Sixth, of the 8,145 children fourteen and fifteen years of age 382, or about 5 per cent, were working, some on part and some on full time, and they contributed about 4 per cent to the total income. Their earnings averaged \$27.25 per child for the month, many of them earning \$20.00, and some as little as \$12.00, \$10.00, and \$8.00 for the month when the study was made. So far as

could be judged from the information furnished 186 of these working children having had good school records were obliged to leave school to help support the family. There is some healthy divergence of opinions as to the policy which should be applied to the education of children beyond the age at which they may secure working certificates. Should children who can profit by further education be encouraged in mothers' aid families to continue to the age of sixteen?

In conclusion let me say that our study served a very practical purpose. It provided the fact material upon which was launched a statewide educational and legislative campaign on behalf of an adequate appropriation to meet the full requirements, namely \$4,000,000, which resulted in an appropriation of \$2,750,000, an increase of \$1,000,000 over that of the past biennium. This amount is sufficient to care for the almost entire number of 6,000 eligible families, but does not provide for larger maximum grants. You can readily see therefore what direction our efforts will have to take between now and the next meeting of our legislature in 1929. Our study and the problems it presented has made it evident that further studies are essential if the questions which have been raised here are to be answered. Should we not, for example, be making an effort within the next few years to carry on case studies of a nature similar to those made by the New York State Charities Aid Association, in order to discover what has happened to the families formerly under our care, after the aid has been discontinued. Are the boys and girls who were under our supervision for periods averaging nearly seven years, giving evidence of character, stability, physical and mental health, and the qualities that make for citizenship? Furthermore, if we are to understand the problems of dependent family life facing the community and the nation, is it not essential for all agencies specializing in family care, public and private, to come together in a common effort of interpretation? It seems to us that public departments administering mothers' aid are in a peculiarly strategic position to study the problems of dependent childhood and widowhood and that they have an inherent responsibility for examining into the results of this far reaching public undertaking.

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#### THE EFFECT OF STAFF TURNOVER ON FAMILIES UNDER CARE, AS DEMONSTRATED IN CHANGES OF PLAN AND TREAT- MENT AND GENERAL TEMPO OF WORK

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The study which forms the basis of this report is, I believe, in line with the current widespread interest in measurements which may be applied to case work processes and results. The application of any kind of measuring stick to matter so elusive as human relationships presents many difficulties, but this study was undertaken in the hope that some means, descriptive if not mathe-

matical, could be devised for evaluating and illuminating at least one of the many problems of the interplay of personalities which we as case workers constantly face.

The subject of staff turnover is one which has received considerable attention in recent years, particularly in respect to the causes which produce it. It has become customary to regret it, not only because of the waste of supervisory time which it involves, but even more because of the hardship which we assume it means for the families under our care, when they are subjected to treatment by a succession of visitors. This latter belief seems to have taken firm root, and it is rather easy to produce theoretical arguments to uphold it. It seems at least possible, however, that it contains some attempt to rationalize our individual distress at being obliged to train a succession of new workers, by ascribing to the families under care some of our own emotional reactions to the situation. Whatever the cause of this belief, it is certainly true that there has been little effort to secure a basis of facts in regard to the effects of staff turnover, as compared with the time and patience which have been spent in studying its amount and causes.

What actually happens to a family which is visited and advised by a number of workers in succession? Do they receive contradictory advice? Are promises made, plans initiated, only to be forgotten? Do the successive workers appear each as an unrelated entity, or is there a sense of continuity, of the organization standing behind the worker, unchanging despite the changes in the representative with whom the family has the most direct contact?

In an attempt to find a way to answer some of these questions, an analysis has been made of a small number of records dealing with families who have been under care continuously in one district of the Charity Organization Society for a period of from two to five years. The plan involved selection of continuous records only, as it was felt that the recurring family presents certain special problems. Furthermore, as case records may be closed for any one of a number of reasons, which may or may not be comprehended by the family, what appears to the agency to be a fairly definite status may appear to the family only as neglect, thus creating a new problem in relationships for the visitor who goes to the family after a new application. The selection of cases was also made to exclude any in which the experience of changing visitors has come to the family only once. Where a close personal tie has been formed between a family and one visitor, over a considerable period of time, the change which in the nature of things is almost inevitable, presents emotional problems different from those occurring when the break comes before the tie is so close, and when a change has been experienced before.

The method followed in studying the individual records has been to analyze as a unit the work of each successive visitor. The following items were tabulated in each instance: the outstanding problems or diagnosis, if formally stated; the plan of treatment, in detail; the kind of treatment, in detail; any

apparent change in tempo of treatment, where no change in plan is indicated; the period of time under the visitor's care, as indicated by the dates of her first and last entries in the record; the number of visits to the family at home; the number, type, and place of the visitor's other contacts with the family; the lapse of time between the visitor's contacts with the family; the lapse in time before the first contact with the family of a new visitor; indication that the family was prepared for a change of visitors; apparent reaction of the family to the change in visitors; number and type of direct contacts between the family and supervisor; correlation between changes in supervisors and changes in case treatment; and miscellaneous comment.

The comparative figures as to lapsed time, number of visits, etc., are of course without general significance, based on so small a number of cases. The interesting items are entries which appear under the headings which are more descriptive in character, such as the following in a column relating apparent changes in tempo of treatment: "Increased effort to develop in Bessie a sense of responsibility about appointments"; "budget supervision lost sight of, although allowance was increased"; "Bessie's social activities forgotten in difficulty over work and finances"; "marked renewal of momentum which had appeared in last month with Visitor C"; "physical examinations secured, some attempt to carry out part of recommendations"; "attempted plan for woman blocked by her insistence on keeping the job she had."

Possibly the best way to show the type of evaluation which use of this method may produce, in regard to the points which the program committee felt would be of particular interest, that is, changes of plan and treatment and general tempo of work, would be to give you a descriptive summary of one of the records analyzed. The D family consists of Irish parents and eight children, who have been known to the Charity Organization Society for a little over two years. When first seen their principal concern was employment for Mr. D, a laborer who had had very irregular work for some time. Treatment was aimed at meeting this problem and the resulting financial difficulties of the family. Mrs. D, on applying for help, had mentioned the fact that Edward, the second child, was "delicate." This obvious lead was overlooked by the first two visitors, and the third, seeing the family a year later, was the first to learn that Edward was in an ungraded class, had a speech defect, and really was delicate as his mother had said. It may have been that Mrs. D did not take this up with the first two visitors because of the financial pressure, which during the régime of Visitor C was much lessened. Presumably this visitor wished to see that Edward received medical care but her methods were most ineffectual. She first referred his mother to a clinic, then when nothing happened, took him herself, wasting a trip because she did not learn in advance that he had attended that clinic before. She then repeatedly urged his mother to take him, which the latter finally did after about five weeks more. Subsequent entries indicate that the mother was seven or eight months pregnant at this time, but the fact is not even noted,

still less is there any apparent appreciation of the extra difficulties it might create in securing clinic care of a boy who already had five younger sisters and brothers.

The fourth visitor in this case visited after two and a half months had elapsed, and found a sickly new baby to be cared for and Mr. D again irregularly employed. She secured from Mrs. D, for some reason that is not apparent, a better statement of the family problems than had been given to any previous visitor. Health care of the various children proceeded with a rush, together with an attempt, blocked by the parents, to secure institutional care for Edward, who was finally diagnosed as a low-grade moron, possibly post-encephalitic. There was also an attempt to capitalize, in terms of improved housekeeping which was badly needed but had received no previous attention, the example of cleanliness and order which Mrs. D saw while the baby was in a hospital for several weeks. The oldest girl, the only wage earner besides Mr. D, was assisted in finding better work as soon as she reached the age at which attendance at continuation school was no longer required. The family were remembered at Christmas and occasional special treats have been offered the children, apparently as part of a program of strengthening the bond of friendliness and confidence between the family and the agency.

This case is probably fairly typical of the family situation receiving service only, except in emergencies, and therefore not the object of such close and continuous supervision as would be given a family in receipt of relief in regular and substantial amounts. There is sufficient demarkation between the work of the different visitors to show plainly the trend, which was noted in all the records studied, toward a more complete diagnosis and comprehensive plan on the part of some one or possibly two visitors. There seems to be somewhere in every record an acceleration in the pace of treatment. Sometimes it is in the early part of the record, and is followed by an abrupt drop in tempo. Where this slackening in pace follows an early phase of consistent and thoroughgoing treatment, there seems to be some danger of a loss in leadership. Sometimes as in the D record, the quickened tempo comes after a succession of workers have left a record of futile efforts. Whether it comes too late to be of the greatest possible value is largely a matter of chance, depending on the personalities of the successive workers.

While the record just described does not contain any evidence on the point, others that were included in the study indicate that the place of the district secretary or supervisor in contributing to the consistency or inconsistency of treatment may be a very important one. In one case a change of supervisors, coming at a critical time in the treatment of a problem girl, resulted temporarily in practically complete failure in meeting the situation. In another the district secretary very obviously provided, through her frequent contacts with the family, the element of stability necessary to give confidence in the organization

despite the changes of visitors. The same degree of confidence was never obtained after her departure.

Another point which has emerged from this attempt to discover a possible method of procedure has been the need for a clearer statement in the records of the general objective sought in each case. In seeking in these records for the plan of treatment, I found it necessary to utilize statements of the visitor's intentions which appeared more or less casually in the course of the chronological record. These usually indicated only one or two specific items of the plan, and sometimes it was only by seeking the implications of the course of action followed that it was possible to guess the visitor's aim. The handicap imposed on a new visitor by this lack of a definite and comprehensive statement of not only immediate but ultimate objectives may well account for some of the negative items in regard to the tempo and effectiveness of treatment.

The method of study which has been outlined could, I believe, be profitably adapted to the problem of supervising the continued treatment of families which have been under care a considerable period of time. Especially in cases which seem to present difficult attitudes, it would be helpful to study carefully the treatment patterns of successive visitors.

Undertaken, as this study was, in addition to the regular duties of a district job, and necessarily limited to a very few cases, it obviously could not be expected to produce any important data as to the effect of staff turnover. The one conclusion as to effects at which I have arrived is that staff turnover has good effects if it introduces a good worker in place of a poor one, and vice versa, which after all, might be guessed without undertaking any very intensive research work. But I do believe that the method of study which has been worked out would be productive of important results if it could be extended to a large number of cases, and that it demonstrates the possibility and validity of the use of a combination of descriptive and interpretive analysis applied to an evaluation of at least this one type of human relationships.

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### THE NEED FOR INTERPRETATION OF TRENDS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

*Dorothy C. Kahn, Superintendent Hebrew Benevolent Society, Baltimore*

That trends and accomplishments in family social work need to be interpreted is an idea so generally accepted that it needs no argument. Dr. Emerson's plea<sup>1</sup> comes a little late for the violent note he sounds. How to interpret is being so glibly told us by our publicity friends that we have need to seclude ourselves with our great wealth of material, and in the laboratory of our minds, find out what it is, after all, that needs interpretation.

<sup>1</sup>"Cards on the Table—A Plea for the Measurement of Social Reconstruction," *Survey*, January 5, 1926.



Let us consider first this matter of trends. Without doubt the most significant contribution that has been made to the study of facts about family social work is the work of Mr. Ralph G. Hurlin in the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation. Last year at Cleveland he presented charts showing trends of relief and case load of a representative number of nonsectarian and sectarian private family societies and public agencies over a period of ten years. He is now collecting monthly records of the operations of forty-one family societies.

Here are facts about trends in family social work. Take for instance the general rise of relief expenditures. There is probably no one thing about family social work that is so clearly indicated and as yet so completely unexplained. The lack of such an explanation is due not to any doubt of the statistical evidence nor to any failure on the part of family social workers to be aware of the challenge, but rather to the lack of facilities for study. Such facilities are, of course, developing gradually, in committees of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, in the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association, and in the research work of individual societies. Some attempt of this latter nature has been made recently by the Family Welfare Association and the Hebrew Benevolent Society in Baltimore at whose request Mr. Hurlin drew out of the general trend comparative data curves for the two societies and presented these at a joint meeting of their boards. The two societies are now attempting through conference to analyze and explain for themselves these facts about their work.

But how go about the making of such interpretations? There are at least two approaches. One is a consideration of influences both national and local that may affect trends. For instance, if we ask ourselves what are some of the counter influences of the mass type that might be supposed to have an effect on the trend of a case load and relief in family social work, we might find a group of influences like the following: extension of education into the field of personal relationships as typified by the child study movement, so called general economic well being, social insurance, commercial insurance, the installment method of purchase, cooperative ownership as illustrated by the building and loan association movement, public health measures, and a number of others that might profitably be studied as to comparative trends and possible interrelationships. Would studies of this kind lead us to the conclusion that case loads and relief expenditures are mounting toward or have reached a peak, or to forecast, as some societies have already done, a possible point of control, at least in relief expenditures? Is it possible that there is a saturation point in this matter of relief expenditures, related not to the saturation point in public giving but rather to determinable factors in the present order of society.

There are obvious dangers in the construction of dependency indexes, but these dangers are no greater than those attending any form of experiment.

This entire question was a subject of discussion in March of this year at a joint meeting of the American Statistical Association and the New York Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Dr. Chapin in the December issue of *Social Forces* discusses dependency indexes for Minneapolis. A student at Johns Hopkins University is constructing a dependency index for Baltimore. At this same meeting in New York Miss Margaret Hogg reported on a study in collaboration with Professor Bowley on the measurement of the reduction of poverty in England. In general the subject of dependency indexes seems again to be coming to the fore.

Some less ambitious attempts, however, can be made to analyze the material gathered by the Russell Sage Foundation as a beginning. For instance we may examine the facts regarding case turnover. Case turnover may be a highly variable factor and no attempt is made here to explain differences in practice. But in view of the fact that a year's practice of about forty agencies with an approximate monthly load of 55,000 cases is used as a basis for the following figures, even wide variations in practice would not materially affect the result.

## RANGE OF PERCENTAGE

	Median
Intake as percentage of active cases..... 4-59	12
New cases as percentage of intake cases..... 32-82	60
Reopenings as percentage of intake cases..... 1-34	8
Relief cases as percentage of active cases..... 14-33	18

Do not these facts coupled with the notable differences in relief per family cry for more searching inquiry into the conditioning factors? A further attempt was made to learn something about the factor of case turnover by collecting figures from a number of the larger societies showing the length of time cases under care in March have been under treatment since the date of last opening. Information was secured from nine organizations showing either the total case load of the month or a sample from a typical district of the larger organizations. These figures likewise are too incomplete to use as a basis for interpretation, but they are suggestive. Cases under care: less than 6 months, 23.8 per cent; 6 months but less than 1 year, 31.2 per cent; 1 year but less than 2 years, 17.7 per cent; 2 years but less than 3 years, 7.9 per cent; 3 years but less than 5 years, 6.9 per cent; 5 years but less than 10 years, 6.3 per cent; 10 years but less than 15 years, 4.2 per cent; 15 years but less than 20 years, 1.4 per cent; 20 years but less than 25 years, .33 per cent; 25 years but less than 30 years, .08 per cent.

A further experimental inquiry with reference to relief is soon to be undertaken in cooperation with a group of these same family societies along the lines of the following study. A study of family composition classified to show wage earners as well as age groups, and an analysis of income in families receiving regular allowances in 1926 from the Hebrew Benevolent Society re-

veals the fact that the average number of persons per family was 4.5, the average number of wage earners, 1.3. Analysis of income showed contributions from wages to be 38.2 per cent of the total income of the family, including the society's relief. The organization's relief in this group of families was 51 per cent of the total income. A comparison of these figures by organizations would not only throw great light on puzzling differences but would undoubtedly lead to the discovery of facts about the nature of our problem regarding which we now have only vague opinion.

Turning for a moment to an examination of changes in the nature of our problems we are brought sharply face to face with the fact that we have little, if anything, to show for the beliefs that many of us hold so vigorously about this matter of changing ideals and practices in family social work. We are classifying our problems, in general, very much as we have done for at least the last twenty years. But many thoughtful practitioners are noting changes that are not to be accounted for merely on the basis of change in emphasis in the agencies' approach. In questioning the range of family societies we are now trying to find out not merely how many health problems, how many problems of industry, how many problems of behavior and so forth, confront us, but something about presenting symptoms and the factors conditioning application. Some interesting light has been thrown on this matter by a study of intake of the Family Welfare Association made by a student at Johns Hopkins University.<sup>2</sup> This student attempted to discover the client's conception of the work of the agency, the client's problem as seen by himself and the manner in which he had arrived at the agency's door. Two hundred new cases for the year were chosen at random of which 100 came through personal application, and 100 were referred by interested persons. Of the personal applications, the following conceptions of the society were given by the clients in the order of frequency: relief giving agency, 43; agency for consultation and advice, 23; employment agency, 22; agency to plan for care of children, 11; agency to force husband to support, agency to adjust domestic difficulties, agency to arrange free medical care, agency to plan for widows with children, agency to provide institutional care. The clients saw their problems in the following order of frequency: need of financial assistance, employment and assistance, legal aid and advice, employment only, plan for care of children, adjustment of domestic difficulties, provision for health care, other adjustments such as workmen's compensation, army discharge, release from jail, budgeting of insurance money. This same study shows what is borne out by the figures of other societies, that in spite of the multiplication of social agencies year after year the number of refers to family societies is increased not by the agency sources but by the client himself and private individuals who know him. Nor does the enormous amount of publicity attendant upon campaigns and community fund organiza-

<sup>2</sup> Helen Wine, M.A., *A Study of Intake of the Family Welfare Association of Baltimore*, 1927.

tions seem to play as noticeable a part in the motivation of clients and their friends as is popularly supposed. Of the 100 personal applications, 65 learned of the society through friends or relatives, 24 of whom had themselves been clients. The rest learned through landlords, policemen, nurses, loan companies, employers, doctors, grocers, teachers, employment agencies, one used the telephone book, five saw the sign on the district office, and six learned through newspaper publicity. In the 100 families referred by interested persons, 60 of these interested persons had had some previous contact with the society, nearly half of the interested persons had previously referred cases, a considerable number had been or were clients, a few were members of district conferences, still others had been visited or consulted with reference to other clients. The balance were volunteers, landlords, ex-workers, a judge at the People's Court, a district lawyer, two officers of the society, a foster mother, and a lodge member. Of the 40 interested persons who had had no previous direct contact with the agency, its work had been heard of through other clients, friends, employers, nurses, a former maid of a district secretary, a relative of the district secretary, a nurse at the home of the district secretary, a church appeal story, etc. Only eight of this group learned of the work through newspaper publicity and about the same number "just knew" about the work of the society.

However much we may complain of the size of the sample or the area covered by this interesting alignment of facts, there is some evidence here that it is our deeds and not our words that are finding us out and we may do well to attempt to carry this kind of investigation farther in order to learn to what extent changing methods have a definite and traceable effect on the content of our work. Regardless of the fact that a preponderant number of problems come to us with presenting symptoms, economic in character, the family society is coming to be more and more in demand as the trouble station of the community. Is the family society to meet this growing demand with resistance, resignation, or welcome? At the one pole we have as a method, limitation of intake; at the other is the possible development of family clinics with a fee for service to that constantly growing clientele which, for lack of a better definition, we may describe as "above the poverty line."

It is only the newness of family social work, after all, that makes it necessary for us to talk about accomplishments as we do. In other established professions, achievement is discussed with a kind of impersonality and detachment that seems to be incompatible with the sensitiveness of many social workers—a sensitiveness that is only increased by the lack of facts about end results. I am reminded of a famous physician who was once asked by a sentimental patient to tell how many people he had cured in his long and useful life. The physician replied simply, "I have never cured anybody." Is it really essential in discussing achievements to isolate the social worker as the controlling factor excepting as he contributes something new to our knowledge of

method and treatment, much as the discovery of insulin did in the treatment of diabetes. We need to know everything that enters into accomplishment in family social work, but we need also to develop criteria of achievement. Is it not possible to lose one's perspective in observing the process? Last year this division asked itself "What measures do we have for growth in personality?" This year we may properly ask ourselves whether measures may not be applied to our work as a whole. Is our philosophy essentially missionary or scientific? Do we believe in the efficacy of our efforts and if so are we not bound to look at the great number of families that we have tried to help, rather than pin our faith to the individual instance? Is it really unreasonable for people who for so many years have heard us talk about "working ourselves out of a job" now to ask us why we seem to be working ourselves into more and more? In the field of education, methods of measurement are being developed with remarkable rapidity. Analyses are made of "why children succeed,"<sup>3</sup> and the proponent of one of these analyses believes that it may even be possible, eventually, to measure inspiration. He quotes William James' comment on development in psychology:

A string of raw facts; a little gossip and wrangle about opinions; a little classification and generalization on the mere descriptive level; a strong prejudice that we have states of mind and that our brain conditions them; but not a single law in the sense in which physics show us laws, not a single proposition from which any consequence can casually be deduced. We don't even know the terms between which the elementary laws would obtain if we had them. This is no science, it is only the hope of a science.

With this concept of measurement is it unthinkable that social case workers should direct some attention toward the possibility of formulating a "social adjustment quotient"? John Ihlder<sup>4</sup> warns social workers against being hypnotized by measuring sticks. A greater danger to the case worker is that of being hypnotized by the individual case.

I would like to refer to two studies which have faced squarely this question of accomplishment. Both happen to be in fields where one dominant method is operating and although the approach is different in the two studies and no comment is intended here on the content of either one, they are to be noted for their perspective. One is the study of the State Charities Aid Association of "How Foster Children Turn Out," an attempt to compare the present status with the earlier status of children who have been under the care of the society for eighteen years or more; the other study a recent analysis of the results of probation by the Criminal Justice Commission of Baltimore. The attempt to find out what happened to a given number of individuals placed on probation as compared with a similar number of individuals given penal treatment goes far to show whether probation, under certain given conditions, works. The emphasis in both of these studies is on the net result in terms of

<sup>3</sup> Stuart Appleton Courtis, "Why Children Succeed."

<sup>4</sup> *Survey*, January 15, 1926.

the individual's most recently known behavior. It would be easy, of course, for heedless observers to jump from the fact back to the theory. If, as is indicated in the probation study, 29 per cent of the probationers were reconvicted later and only 32 per cent made satisfactory adjustments, with the balance either unsatisfactory, unknown, or a problem to social agencies, it does not mean that the theory of probation as such is being doubted. It rather opens the way for a study of methods. In family social work it is only accidentally that we meet the results of successful work at a period sufficiently removed from treatment to have meaning for us. It is the failures that keep finding us out. One of the criticisms leveled at social case workers most frequently by members of other professions, including the psychiatrist whose tolerance is supposed to be greater than ours, is that we have a constitutional incapacity for admitting failure. Perhaps faith in the improbability of human behavior is incompatible with an expectation of a reasonable return for the effort invested in changing it, but sooner or later we will be forced to exercise greater selection in giving our service. This selective process will have to bear more reasonable relationship to the possibilities of achievement than it does at present. Is the mere fact that a family comes to us for help a guaranty of its need? I wish it were possible to take a limited section of some congested area in any one of our big cities and study the families in that section on a selective basis for case work service. I wonder how the families selected would compare with the families in that same section now under treatment by the local family society.

The relation of this selective process to the possibility of interpreting accomplishments must be manifest. It is a test of our need to find out not only what is now being accomplished, but what, granted our present knowledge and skill, we are capable of accomplishing. There are three reasons why it is important for us to find out: first, for the sake of our clients who perhaps believe in us too much; second, for the sake of the community whose support we seek; and third, for the sake of professional progress unencumbered by discouragements that are the ungainly shadows of lack of perspective. There is nothing essentially antagonistic between efforts to discover trends and accomplishments in family social work and the most profound realization of the unique character of every individual human being.

The social scientist and the social reformer on the one hand, and the social case worker on the other have challenged each other from a distance. Their points of views start far apart, one in the field of theory, the other in the field of practice, but they do not follow parallel lines. There are signs of their gradual convergence in the field of research.

Recently I came across an ancient Chinese proverb to the effect that you cannot hang a jellyfish on a nail. Family social work is very young from an evolutionary standpoint, but even its greatest skeptics would probably place it at the beginning of the vertebrate period.



## FAMILY LIFE IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

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Perhaps, on hearing this topic, you asked yourself: "Why discuss family life in the rural community? Is it different from family life in the city?" To the casual observer there may be little difference. In general, there is a similarity of family problems everywhere. Although I had five years of experience with rural people and contact with them as home demonstration agent and teacher in a consolidated school, I became conscious of the need of recognizing rural family conditions as distinct from city family conditions only after I became a field worker for the study of the rural child in Iowa. Quite independently I have concluded that farmers are different. I agree with Dr. Ernest R. Groves:

They are not peculiar nor unique nor inferior. They are just different. They live under different conditions from city people; they think in different terms; they breathe a different atmosphere; they handle their affairs differently—perhaps because they have different affairs to handle.<sup>1</sup>

In limited time I can give you but an outline of the intensive study of the rural child in Iowa, begun June, 1923, under the direction of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, and consider briefly the services available to the people of Iowa. Other studies have been made of rural communities in Iowa. Reports of these may be secured from the Rural Sociology Sections of Iowa State College.

For the study of the rural child two rural communities were selected; one, a township in open country with nine one room schools; the other, a consolidated school district. These were considered prosperous farming communities though Iowa is suffering from a grave financial depression. These communities seemed to be especially favored as there were no bank failures, and only a small number of individual farmers suffered heavy losses. We felt we were having a group as nearly representative of rural people as could be selected. Specialists in various phases of child development visited this community and examined the children. I visited 100 families in the first group to obtain desired information on the background of the child. The township is six miles square and is situated forty miles from the nearest city. The largest town in the county had then a population of 2,200. This township has as centers, three rural churches and a township hall. Its population June 1, 1923, was 624; number of families, 164; number of families with children, 118; number of school children, 178; number of preschool children, 99.

It is impossible to go into detail further than to mention a few facts which startled me, and to state a few characteristics which seemed to be distinctive of rural family life. I preface my remarks by stating that I do not intend

<sup>1</sup> *Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, Foreword.

this for a scientific paper. The conclusions I draw and the statements I make come not from statistical methods. I am giving opinions and impressions formulated from close contacts with these families. Complete report of data and conclusions of study in preparation may be secured later from the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station.

The outstanding facts are: first, the large percentage of tenants—or absence of owners as operators of the farms, though many of these are improperly classified. Some, sons and daughters of the owners, will eventually become owners of the land. Many so called owners are so heavily in debt that they hardly consider themselves such. One farmer stated, "Won't be long before the bankers will own all these farms. We'll just let them come out and run them while we go to town and run the banks." It is not uncommon for a farmer to be known as a "banker's hired man."

Second, the type and large numbers of farm laborers—commonly known as "hired men"—many married and with children. The source of this labor supply is mainly the south, the states of Missouri, Virginia, and Tennessee sending the largest number. These men are inexperienced farmers and for the first few years in the state are liabilities rather than assets.

Third, the migration of these farm laborers. The first of March each year brings a turnover of farm laborers, making necessary complete readjustment for the employed, the laborer's family, and the school. Selected statistics follow: families with children in township June 1, 1923, 118; moved in June 1, 1923, to January 1, 1925, 16; added by birth of first child in family, 3; moved out, 24; total families with children January 1, 1925, 114; children in school September, 1923, 178; dropped out before May, 1924, 6; moved out before May, 1924, 17; moved in before May, 1924, 14; new children moved in September, 1924, 5; moved out before January 1, 1925, 8; children enrolled in school January 1, 1925, 176. From June 1, 1923, to January 1, 1925, records were obtained on 140 families and 346 children.

Fourth, the poverty, low standards of living, and ignorance of these people in dire need of medical attention and instruction. People are constantly saying, "There is no poverty in Iowa." But some mothers were unable to send their children to school or to attend the clinic because of lack of clothing. I have never found families in worse condition of filth and poverty even in the slums of a large city. Fortunately, this applied to comparatively few families.

Fifth, isolation, still an important factor despite the telephone and automobile. I found about twelve families who had little contact with their neighbors. (I was the first person to call on the wife of a tenant farmer who came from Tennessee, and they had lived in the community six months.) Some of this is due to distance, impassable roads, or none, and social barriers.

Sixth, a resigned attitude toward existing conditions despite general indications of unrest. I was much surprised by the feeling of contentment expressed by many farmers' wives when asked, "Would you care to have your

daughter marry a farmer? If you had to live life over again, would you live in the country?" Most answered in the affirmative and gave preference to living in the country. They opined that the moral tone of a farm husband was superior to that of an urban husband.

Seventh, lack or limitation of recreation facilities, especially for children, both in home and school. As we visited the homes, we found practically nothing provided for children's play. The schools had no play equipment except in two where there were basket balls. There was no directed play. Often children just stood around during recess and noon hour. Recreation for adults was of various types. Shopping trips to town on Saturday night and to band concerts were available to all. Family dinners on Sunday were usual among those who had friends and relatives in the neighborhood. Occasional group dances—in one instance a play—gave variety to life. Church and school socials, programs, and bazaars offered entertainment. But nevertheless many families, for some reason, were never included socially in the community. The radio is becoming common in the rural home, the victrola in the school. During the winter reading is a recreation of the farmer, farm papers and popular magazines furnishing much of their reading material. Little provision is made for children's reading. Country children are not ardent readers and are not given as much opportunity and encouragement to read as city children.

Eighth, decline of the rural church with nothing yet serving as a substitute. It is assumed that people go to town to church but they do not.

Ninth, general need for social work, such as medical, nursing, educational, and other social services for the entire group.

Turn from these morbid pictures to the splendid people who compose a large proportion of the rural population. We find attractive children, beautiful homes, in many cases ideal comradeship. I pay tribute to the intelligence, industry, and splendid management of the farm woman. In addition to her heavy home and farm responsibilities, she participates actively in the educational progress of the community. She, more than the man, is the leader. It is to be regretted that even in these homes the advantages are few in proportion to those in city homes which often are much inferior. This fact irritated me when I was doing social work in Chicago. It seemed an injustice to give aid to the dregs of society in the city when rural people, higher in the scale, lacked the meagerest service. I do not wish to detract from the organized charities of the city, but I would hasten the day when equal opportunities are offered to rural communities. There is need for arousing community consciousness to the responsibility of securing advantages for children in the good home as well as for those in dependent and unfortunate families in rural communities. Possible plans for such a program will be discussed later.

Instruction in rural schools is commonly recognized as poor. It is false economy not to attract and retain teachers of experience, vision, and inspiring personality. No guidance and inspiration are offered to the student. We often

think that good school systems accompany the fine school buildings which predominate in Iowa. In one community an educational survey showed that the achievements of the children did not measure up to their intelligence, the cause being inadequate instruction. By and large, the educational program for the state of Iowa has improved tremendously in the last twenty years, and increasing effort is evidenced to promote this improvement. The country is a splendid place in which to live, and it is rich in educational possibilities for the child provided someone gives him a little guidance. But we often find the rural child with less nature lore than has the city child with his directed nature study. We find cases of malnutrition on the farm where there is plenty of food.

Farmers have met with resentment many movements toward rural betterment because little attempt has been made to discover rural needs and how they could best be met. Farmers are independent, self respecting, and have a definite social position. They are not interested in being uplifted. Sympathy and understanding and a thorough acquaintance with rural people are prerequisites for successful rural work. Frequently people directing rural welfare work are stimulated by motives other than assistance to the farmer. Several philanthropic organizations are rivals in this field, promoting their program chiefly to gain prestige for the organization.

A number of national and state organizations offer real service.<sup>2</sup> Our objective is to create a desire for the betterment of social conditions, and to make the services of these organizations function in the community through various local facilities. To secure these services for rural children, we must recognize distinct rural attitudes of mind. Two may be mentioned: first, strong, parental interest. Rural people have intense interest in their children and will undergo inconveniences to give them the benefit of any opportunities offered. A number of successful programs have been developed on this attitude. It is hoped that this interest will never be exploited. A second distinct attitude is fear of new things. To overcome the inhibitions caused by fear we should tie up the new endeavor with those already established in the community, such as the school, the church, and the farm bureau. We should determine the wave of community life and go with it. Results of such a program will necessarily be slow and not countable in numbers. It means a persistent struggle to gain confidence and develop a new attitude of mind. This eventually resolves itself into the question of leadership. The success of any program advanced for the betterment of the community depends upon the local people who are interested and take the responsibility.

The movement for parent education, now sweeping across the United States, had its beginnings in this section of the country at the Iowa Child Wel-

<sup>2</sup> A complete list of the state and national, public and private organizations to which we referred has been prepared by the Iowa State Council of Child Study and Parent Education together with a statement of the services offered. This list may be had for the cost of mimeographing and postage, from the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station.

fare Research Station. In making this program for Iowa, it seemed feasible to use organization and leadership already developed rather than to initiate a new program for a public already overloaded with welfare programs. The objective of this program is to stimulate an understanding attitude toward child life. This is approached on a cooperative statewide plan. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station serves as coordinating center for the Extension Services of Iowa State College, Iowa State Teachers College, and State University of Iowa. The State Council of Child Study and Parent Education, composed of representatives of social, educational, civic organizations, and professional groups with programs of special interest in child welfare, is working to bring about a coordinated plan for the combined effort of all agencies.

Through two methods it is hoped to achieve gradual growth of better opportunities for children in home, school, and community life: first, conscious effort in dissemination of knowledge in regard to children and development of an understanding attitude toward child life through organized study groups of parents, teachers, and all interested in children, and training for leadership of such groups; second, unconscious emphasis in all programs that a child is developing personality and a distinct individual. The gradual betterment of a community will depend on how complete is the realization that the various activities of home, school, and community life inevitably work together to influence children, and this betterment must come through the cooperation of all individuals and organizations in the community. I appeal for more directed understanding and sympathetic service to rural communities.

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#### THE USE OF COMMITTEES AND VOLUNTEERS IN RURAL SOCIAL WORK

*Wilma Van Dusseldorp, Secretary, Social Service League, Eldora, Iowa*

The number and variety of problems faced in the rural districts may easily be overestimated if one allows first impressions to become deeply rooted before attempting analysis and study. Yet, there are conditions under which we work in the rural field which present a variety of problems not found elsewhere: first, no work of any variety can be undertaken, the intimate details of which can long be kept hidden from the ever watchful eye of the personally interested rural citizen; second, the reactions to the work are amazingly immediate, for the types of social organization and varieties of communication are such that news, stories, and attitudes travel very quickly and widely over rural areas; third, there are large case loads covering considerable territory, it being not uncommon for rural workers to have from 120 to 300 cases under care scattered over an entire county, the usual size in Iowa being from 500 to 700 square miles; fourth, there are undeveloped roads which limit the general travel over the entire county to a few months of the year; fifth, the work

is frequently under public auspices and is effected by two rather general public attitudes toward the use of public money, that everyone should have a right to know for what the money is used and that, generally, people judge the value of the work from a financial point of view.

In reviewing actual experiences in rural work, we recognize the recurrence of situations which are the sole result of the above mentioned problems working singly or in various combinations. As summaries of experiences are related, it is believed that you will share with me the belief that hope for the success of case work programs in the rural district may be safely vested in the liberal use of local people in all parts of a county, who might serve as individual volunteers and as members of local community advisory committees which are given a portion of responsibility for the carrying on of the work.

The rural community is noted for its intimacies. The residents are persons whose financial, business, and social interests are largely local, and probably have been for several generations. Interrelationship is common. He who knows considerable about his neighbors cannot help but be personally interested in his neighbors' affairs. These intimacies contribute both rich and binding friendships and as equally strong, long lived animosities. An impartial social worker entering a community as a stranger to practice case work is not aware of all of the dovetailing influences which the past history of the community has developed.

The clients, Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Baker, are equally important to the social worker. To individuals in the community, however, Mrs. Adams has been the regular and faithful helper in the Jones home for over twenty years, and is therefore considered entitled to special consideration by the poor relief officer. But the Borgs family, whose financial interests have long conflicted with the Jones', considers Mrs. Adams unworthy of aid because she has property, money out on interest, and a grown son who won't work. The Borgses believe their wash lady, Mrs. Baker, to be much more worthy than Mrs. Adams. Mrs. Baker is not physically strong, has reared a nice family, and has always been so honest and dependable. The Adams and Baker families were found to be friendly neighbors, who compared notes with each other a great deal and reported what the social worker said and did to their respective employers who had taken a personal and kindly interest in their affairs.

An investigation revealed that Mrs. Adams had poor health, several children still in school, one grown boy who refused to work, and they all needed medical care. The home which the widow owned was a modest one. The only money "out on interest" Mrs. Adams could show was \$200.00 which she had loaned years ago to an aged mother-in-law from which she never expected returns. The family was given full support, and medical attention was provided. The oldest boy, found to be psychopathic, was sent away to be treated and educated. Mrs. Baker, it was found, had many resources for her livelihood; grown wage earning children, well to do relatives, money in the bank, and



ability to work. When the problem of taking over her own responsibilities was presented to her, she admitted that she could get along without aid, but had been advised to take it if she could get it. She was nevertheless disappointed when it was discontinued, and told many people about it, expounding upon it at great length before her sympathetic employer. The existence of the offended employer was not known to the social worker until criticism began to come to the county officials, and to local people interested in the success of social work. The social worker in the light of those who had been displeased was a meddling intruder with impractical ideas. "The very idea of treating that lazy Adams boy!"

A local source was found which helped to meet the difficulty, for of course the matter had been discussed at several club meetings, neighborhood sewing circles, and other gatherings. A retired and well respected woman, long known in the community for her charitable spirit, was found who in the past had employed both Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Baker. She liked both women and readily saw the reasonableness of the plan which had been tentatively outlined for the two families, and staunchly backed them. She volunteered to visit Mrs. Adams and assist in carrying out the details of the plans. The interested and disapproving employer, when interviewed by the volunteer, appeared to change her mind, possibly because of the reasonableness of the plan, but probably because of the influence of a local, respected citizen. The success of the plan was observed over a period of a couple of years, and the many people who were involved have had an opportunity to watch attentively and see the results first hand.

This situation is related because it illustrates a combination of characteristics of rural communities which infinitely affect the methods of the case worker: the intimacies of the rural community, the intensity of personal interests, the lack of understanding of case work method, the directness of the means of communication, and the possibility of doing most effective case work by encouraging and guiding the participation of local people.

The plan of recruiting and guiding local helpers, of course, presents problems. It is difficult for an only worker, pressed by the multitudes of urgent calls, to take the time necessary to organize and meet with groups of advisers and to instruct and interview volunteers. Moreover, there may be many more persons in each community willing and eager to aid in one capacity or another than a worker at best can have time to direct to advantage. But may we not consider that the very facts of the volume of work, the eagerness of the rural people to help, and the necessity for having time in which to do intensive case work, are three good reasons for needing the volunteer?

The value of any work is likely to be judged by the apparent and most obvious results. It is accepted that good case work is impossible for one worker on all of a hundred or more cases scattered over an entire county, especially so when general travel over the territory is likely to be seasonal. Unfinished

pieces of work unattended for weeks at a time, hasty and ineffective work, have the inevitable results of dissatisfaction and criticism from the observing public. The only way of demonstrating what good case work can accomplish is through working intensively on at least one or two cases at a time in each community and in doing so enlisting the aid of the naturally interested people. They will gradually become acquainted with the details and methods of good case work. They will understand the necessity for taking time to do thorough work and will be active in supporting case work for its possibilities in spite of its numerous failures. The volunteers are challenged to combat criticism and to develop interest and they serve in those capacities much more ably than the worker possibly could.

Where social work is largely financed by public funds, and is rather directly under the control of publicly elected officials, the continuance of the program depends greatly upon the feeling of organized support for the work from the general public. The winning and maintaining of the support of the general public depends upon overcoming a few deeply rooted general attitudes toward the use of public money. Numerous examples could be cited to illustrate how the people, in expressing their opinions regarding individual cases, reveal that their concept of "justice" in the giving of poor relief, is colored very greatly by the fact that, after all, every property owner contributes to the general taxes and that public relief should therefore be given to the Adamsses and the Bakers, not in consideration of their social, physical, mental or educational differences, but rather their economic likenesses. That Mrs. X has ability and a good education and Mrs. Y has both limited ability and poor health are not always the factors considered. Rather, both are respected, are without means and are willing to accept aid, and since it is the public money that is being applied for, the applicants should be treated alike, and it should be any citizen's right to know the details of any case.

Moreover, the uninformed and often influential citizen commonly judges the value of the work to the county from the financial point of view. It is true that the characteristics of the public attitude toward the use of public money referred to may be found to exist generally, in large cities as well as rural counties. It is the result of a loudly expressed opinion exerting a wide and direct influence that presents the problem in the rural community. Unless a plan is developed whereby the problem can be met before it becomes overwhelming, a program wanted and fought for by a few earnest, intelligent, and active people can be readily overthrown by an uninformed majority acting in haste.

We note then, the far reaching influences of the intimacies, the rapidity of communication, the great volumes of work largely under public auspices, and emphasize the value of volunteers in the rural community who serve ably in at least five capacities: first, to interpret the community to the worker, that the standard of case work may be adjusted to the understanding and characteristics of the people; second, to interpret the worker to the community;

third, to help local people acquire an objective attitude toward their unadjusted people; fourth, to broaden the field of service, where the volume of work is greater than one person can handle, by the sharing of responsibility; fifth, to develop a type of countywide organization necessary for the permanent stability and progress of the work.

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## THE USE OF COMMITTEES AND VOLUNTEERS IN RURAL SOCIAL WORK

*H. Ida Curry, State Charities Aid Association, New York*

Rural social work in the various states has developed a wide variety of programs with a still more diversified use of volunteer service.

At one extreme we find the volunteer as a member of the board of managers, under whatever name known, which employs a competent and self-sufficient social worker who does the work, raises the money, and reports to the board (if a quorum can be got together) what has been done, and even, occasionally, her plans for new undertakings. Frequently this type of volunteer, while swelling with pride when "our society" is mentioned, actually does little or nothing except to lend a name to bolster up the reputation of the particular organization. At the other extreme we see a board of unpaid volunteers, who parcel out among their membership the various individuals or families who are to be ministered unto: the unmarried mother, her baby, and the supposed father; the widow with children; the child to be adopted; and the family wishing to take a child either for work or for adoption; the family with sickness or other trouble; the dissolute parents who are neglecting their children; the children who are getting into mischief. All these and many other problems requiring all the known niceties of social adjustment are handled by these volunteers. Between the extremes there is to be found almost every possible variation of volunteer service.

Let us for convenience classify our volunteers in two groups: first, those who do no case work, and second, those who do case work.

Among those doing no case work we can recognize several general types. In the first group we will put persons of importance whose names add to the standing of the organization, but who can give no time to it except on rare occasions. If such members know and believe in the organization, and if they can be depended on to contribute to it, not only financially, but with occasional advice from their rich experience, they may be extremely useful volunteers.

There is one member of the board of managers of the organization with which I am connected, a man of international reputation, who has not attended a board meeting in many years. He does not contribute largely to it financially, but he is among its very useful managers. A legal opinion over his name is decisive, a letter or an address on rare occasion, always showing his

complete familiarity with the organization and its ideals, are worth the personal attendance at meetings of many other board members. A sprinkling of such persons on a board of managers is useful, but too large a proportion on any board probably would be disastrous.

The second group would include active board members who attend meetings and take a hand in discussing and in establishing policies and procedures. These are the people who make the wheels go round, who know the objectives of social work, and who build up the confidence of the community in the organization. They interpret the work to the community, and stand behind their executive staff, and answer effectively critics who do not understand what is being undertaken.

In rural territory such committee members are more than useful; they are essential. In some counties known to me, a large membership of four or five hundred men and women representing every part of the county has been built up, with an executive committee of fifteen or twenty to handle details. When any part of the social program is supported by public appropriation, the expressed interest and desire of such a group of taxpayers, bring results. No public official is willing to consider favorably increased expenditure, with the inevitable accompanying increase in taxes, without the backing of such a group.

A third type of the volunteer non-case worker we find on committees, or sometimes on a board of managers which assumes the functions often assigned to committees, who get very close to the problems of the social case work, but usually do not personally deal with the family. In this group we find our case committees. Case committees in the rural work are needed even more than in cities because of the relative isolation of the rural worker. She must have their encouragement and advice. The fresh viewpoint of men and women whose main interests are elsewhere is essential to insure our social programs being both sound and practical. The social worker immersed in details is in danger of a too close-up view preventing an accurate perspective. In certain well organized counties several case committee groups have been formed, one in each center of population. The social worker discusses with each group the problems of its section of the county. In the rural field we need volunteers of this character. No rural social work, whether supported by public or private funds, or by a combination of both, can afford to be without the interest, the backing, and the help of such volunteer members of committees or boards.

There is also a largely representative group of volunteers who are in the case work field. It has never seemed to me that the mere fact that one person was paid a salary by a social agency made her, ipso facto, a social worker in whose hands it was safe to intrust the delicate job of tinkering with human welfare. Nor have I thought that an unpaid person just as definitely was disqualified from knowing how to assist a fellow man. In some instances a volunteer over night has become a professional, by being put on the payroll. In one instance known to me such a former volunteer can hold her own with al-

most any trained social worker. And indeed since becoming a professional, this particular worker, through periods of study and eager association with other workers, has become a trained worker. On the other hand, I can think of another volunteer board member, who, having become a professional by reason of a salary being provided, is dabbling in social situations, with no appreciation that there are things to be learned either in schools of social work or from association with other workers. Each of these is typical of many others. Isn't the difference between the social worker and the volunteer sometimes other than salary versus no salary?

It is not safe to conclude too quickly that volunteers don't know how. However, none will deny that the trained and experienced social worker will in the long run get better results than the majority of volunteers. Why? Because to a certain extent, she has studied the results of the experience of all previous social workers, and has some conception of what social situations are apt to be found and what the social forces are with which she is to deal. She has during her training passed through a period of intensive case work and has mastered certain of its fundamentals.

Public boards of volunteers with case work responsibility are with us willy-nilly, and they must be made as useful as possible. Usually these are county boards of child welfare or of public welfare, with at least a theoretical supervision by a state department. Without the leadership and guidance of an experienced case worker not more than half the desired results can be expected from such volunteer boards regardless of what expenditure is made either of time or of money. If volunteer board members are to do the case work in relation to mothers' allowances, unmarried mothers, licensing of boarding homes, the placing of dependent children, etc., and if they are to do as much good and as little harm as possible, there must be developed intensive training and supervision by the state. Case work training courses for these volunteers in their own territory can be undertaken only if there is a larger number of state supervisors than is now employed by any state. The state inspectors or supervisors usually are so few that their visits to any one county board are but a touch-and-go affair. More frequent visits by the supervisors with a longer stay in the county, and with a definitely worked out course of training based on a kindly but critical study of the field work of each volunteer seems the most practical way to attack the problem. Gradually each board might be led to desire the full time service of such a supervisor, so that the desired combination of a paid professional and of a supervised and directed volunteer service would become established.

The placing of case work duties on volunteer board members is the immediate result of legislation in a number of states. I have had the opportunity to observe the social case work of volunteer members of public social welfare boards in several states. On the whole, it has been uniformly bad, although I have seen striking exceptions. By and large, I am inclined to think that the

communities are better off with the stumbling service of these volunteers than with no service at all. However, a very real difficulty shows its head at this point. The community sees certain desirable results and concludes that this unpaid service is not only satisfactory but entirely adequate, and so the day of a paid worker of training or experience is postponed, and the community fails to profit fully by its expenditure. To be sure, volunteer board members sometimes become discouraged and overwhelmed with the problems confronting them, and demand the service of a trained social worker, in order that the individual volunteers may retire from active responsibility. It is a short-sighted social worker, who, when taking up the work in such circumstances, permits a board member to retire completely, that is, unless she happens to be one of those persons utterly without social sense.

There probably will never be funds available from either public or private sources to pay salaries for a sufficient number of social workers in our rural territories. Those of us who have borne some responsibility in raising funds for rural work from private sources or from public appropriations appreciate the comparatively narrow financial limit of social work development in such fields. And if money could be secured for more social workers in the rural fields, where would the workers be found? Much time has been consumed in my own office in searching for such trained workers. Not infrequently months go by before the right person is secured for one of our county positions with salaries averaging \$1,800.

I am convinced that volunteer service must be developed to an ever increasing extent to supplement the paid service in rural territory—notice that I said supplement, not supplant. How shall it be guided and trained becomes the question. All too frequently the social worker discourages an inclination on the part of committee members to work with individual families. It is easier for her to do the job herself and there will be less likelihood of its being messed up; it takes as much time to direct a volunteer as to do the job, etc. True, but the few social workers in any county, and usually it is the one social worker in a county, can undertake to serve a very limited number of clients. In the rural field the number of actual or potential clients is, and always will be, far beyond her powers to respond to. In the circumstances what will be for the widest social benefit of the community now and in the future? We might try any one of several methods. We might limit the case work treatment to what the social worker herself can do, recognizing the fact that the pressure of cases will inevitably force down her standards. This is the method most often attempted. It may be possible to limit the intake in a metropolitan area, but in rural territory no arbitrary line can be drawn and public agencies can draw no line, and the pressure of cases on the social worker is heart breaking. One social worker in a county is able to assist a limited number of individuals, but her individual circle of influence is, after all, very limited. The disappointed would-be volunteers, too, may become critics instead of boosters for the work. Again, the



work might be divided by assigning to the volunteers for investigation and treatment those cases which appear simple on the surface, knowing full well that these may really be the most difficult to diagnose, and are often those in which wise initial treatment will be the most productive of desirable results. But this plan does not seem very promising.

A combination of professional and volunteer service, with real cooperative effort, is a third method which suggests itself. If the rural social worker could gradually develop a group of volunteers, at least one person in each section of her territory, which in most cases, I suppose, is a county, and if she could gradually train these volunteers, she should be able to depend on them for reliable assistance. The social worker could make the initial investigation and outline treatment. To the volunteers at the beginning could be assigned many of the simpler tasks connected with investigation and treatment, visiting schools for school records and reports; putting families in touch with churches; seeing that various members of the family can and do carry out plans for medical examinations and dental care; advising mothers on household management, family budgets, and simple dietetics; keeping an eye on children in boarding homes, between the visits of the social worker; and dozens of other things which all too often are left undone or half done by the harassed social worker.

If these volunteers were treated as students and gradually given additional responsibilities until they could take care of a case from the beginning, they could eventually carry full case work responsibility. I know of no county in which this plan has been fully worked out, but I can conceive of one social worker in a county acting as teacher and guide to such volunteers who, through her training, had become competent to do the actual field work. Such a set-up would reach far more of the social problems of the county than are now reached by the most competent and energetic social worker.

If volunteer service is to develop to the full extent of its usefulness in rural territory, and if it is to be intrusted with an appreciable part of the case work responsibility, those of us who rank as professionals must do our part, especially in two particulars: first, in developing in ourselves the attitude which says "they can" instead of "they cannot"; and second, in fastening upon our volunteers a sense of serious responsibility to the community for the families or the children whose welfare has been intrusted to them.

The rural field needs more trained service, more committee members who will create ever widening circles of appreciation of what social work really does to help people, more volunteers to take an active part in our social programs, and more, much more, direction and training of volunteers who carry case work responsibility. But does the rural field differ materially from that of the city in these respects?

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE FAMILY AND  
SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MODERN CHILD

*Henry C. Schumacher, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Cleveland*

Conflict commences in earliest infancy and is present throughout life. In infancy the child's whole energy is directed toward the satisfaction of sensory curiosity. At first the infant finds delight in the impulses to see, to hear, to smell, to taste. A little later he learns to crawl and to walk, and so larger fields of sensory exploration are opened up. He is activated by a drive of sensory impulses seeking gratification. If at all thwarted in attaining these pleasures he reacts by crying. This usually results in mother or nursemaid supplying what is wanted, thus satisfying his desires. It is not long before the child learns that in this way he can dominate his little world and obtain what he wants or a satisfying substitute, namely the compensation of sympathy and affection of the parent.

However, as he grows a little older his cry may not always be heeded; the wise parent will permit him to learn the important lesson that he cannot have all that he wants all of the time. Usually the child reacts to this attitude on the part of the parent by crying and screaming until, wearied by his exertions, he finally falls asleep. Thus he loses his first battle in the conflict with reality. Every child must learn he is not omnipotent. This means, however, that he loses many such battles in his conflict with reality. And unfortunate the child who does not lose them in infancy, for the time will come when his selfishness will be repugnant and abhorrent to those with whom he comes in contact. Parents who grant every whim and desire of their child fail in their duty and are making life's path doubly hard for him.

As the child grows from infancy into childhood, in addition to the conflict from without, namely with nature and its unalterable laws and man and his unyielding will, there is the conflict from within, from his ideals of conduct. In childhood, therefore, there is this double conflict. The conflict from within, i.e., from his ideals of conduct, varies with the child. The conflict from within depends for its severity on the ethical and moral training and ethical and moral development of the child. The conflict with reality does not cease in childhood. The child still seeks to dominate the environment, but the impulses which drive him in seeking this dominance now frequently clash with the internal conflict. In this clash it frequently happens that the moral ideas are not strong enough to win, for it must be borne in mind that voluntary control is weak in the child. It is not surprising, then, that the child often succumbs to his impulses.

Neither does the advent of puberty do away with the desire to satisfy sensory curiosity. In fact, the healthy boy and girl at puberty are anxious to see and hear the things read about and to actually take part in these things. But in addition to this frank sensory curiosity there is the awakening of sexual curiosity. All too frequently, because of much misinformation in this sphere,

the moral conflict becomes particularly acute at puberty. The fact must not be overlooked that sex episodes occurring before puberty may cause profound emotional reactions during the adolescent period. The efforts of the adolescent at repudiation of his earlier sex misconduct very often lead to marked preoccupation with the sexual theme. The end result of this conflict may be a feeling of guilt leading to mental depression, or a free indulgence in sex activities with much false rationalization of this conduct. This false dichotomy is the basis of many psychoneurotic disturbances.

With this brief résumé of the development of the conflict, which you note is a dynamic conception, let me cite a case history to bring out many of the environmental conflicts of the youth of today. In this record no reaction to any single environmental situation is extreme, the case being of interest, however, in that this patient has conflicts over many environmental situations. I use it, therefore, to save citing several cases each one illustrating a conflict over a single environmental situation. In my experience with "problem" children as well as "non-problem" children it is extremely rare to find a child who does not have as marked conflict over at least one of the environmental situations noted in the case chosen.

Isadore is a fifteen-year-old boy whose only sibling is a brother almost six years younger. His parents are intelligent Jews in comfortable financial circumstances, with a good family history. Until the birth of his younger brother Isadore was indeed the child of oversolicitous parents. His every whim was a law to them. With the birth of the second child, however, there soon developed an antagonism between the parents and Isadore until at about the age of eight he had become a problem which has grown in magnitude up to the present time. His parents are convinced that he dislikes them and they are agreed that they have no control over him. Isadore is an attractive youngster. His intelligence quotient is 127 on the Stanford-Binet scale. His Army Alpha test score is 168. He talks freely of his difficulties and his reactions to life's situation. He states he has lost all respect for his parents, and this many years ago. He accuses them of not having given him proper training. He feels both parents have set him a poor example. He wonders why parents should expect their children not to break the prohibition law when they themselves do it, or why his father should object to his smoking and swearing when he himself is guilty of so doing. He is convinced that he is not treated fairly; that his younger brother is the favorite. Nor does he feel that his parents are training this favorite child in the proper way. He insists they are spoiling him and setting him as poor an example as they did him (Isadore). Isadore therefore wishes to train his brother according to his understanding of child training. As a result of this desire on his part there is much disharmony between the brothers, in consequence of which Isadore finds parents of no particular value. He hopes the government will establish farms where children can be raised scientifically and that scientists will some day discover a way of bringing children into the world other

than nature's way. Not only does he condemn parents, but all adults. He says all adults are making fools of themselves constantly. He criticizes them for having stolen "not only our (youth's) customs, but also our costumes." He feels that youth looks down upon the general adult population because age has come down to youth's level.

Isadore does not believe the Sunday Schools are really doing what they might do. His chief criticism is that the two commandments which youth should have fully expounded receive but little attention at any age of childhood, and none at adolescence when, he states, "We come under the demoralizing influences of present day society and are most in need of having these two commandments impressed upon us." He refers, of course, to the commandments of the Mosaic law, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife." He has many conflicts over religion. His mother is "orthodox," his father "reformed." He cannot see why certain customs should be followed by his mother and disregarded by his father's people. In consequence he feels there cannot be much truth in any of the parents' beliefs. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that religion has lost its hold on adults and if they still attend church they do so very irregularly and do not carry over the teachings of the church into their everyday life. Neither does Isadore believe that the schools are making a real effort to inculcate ethical teachings. Many teachers, he states, make no attempt at all, and those who do make the attempt are nonplussed by the twitter of laughter arising from the class. Should a biological topic involving sex be mentioned, there frequently is called a conference of the boys and girls after the class session to decide what the teacher could have meant. The upshot is that some smutty story is generally the result of their conference.

As to movies, Isadore is convinced that we need a strict censorship. He feels sure that the only reason many, if not most, high school boys and girls go to the movies is because of the erotic satisfactions they thus obtain. He called particular attention to "Faust" and told of the misinterpretation of some of the scenes made by many of his classmates. In his opinion two-reel comedies are particularly to be condemned, since so many of them deal with situations interpreted by him to be immoral in the sex sphere. He also calls attention to the ease with which boys and girls can carry on their amorous behavior even in their own homes, since no attempt is made to supervise or chaperone them. The dance, he finds, is another sphere of immoral influence. He criticizes fathers and mothers for taking part in the present day dances, for he feels that in so doing they are setting their stamp of approval on them. Isadore frankly admits his interest in sex matters. He criticizes his parents for not having answered frankly and truthfully his questions relating to sex, thus leaving him to pick up his knowledge on the street. He thinks the boy and girl of today are much more frank in their talk on this topic, but he also feels that much experimentation in this field is the result of overstimulation due to stage and screen

dramas and comedies depicting the sex side of life, and also to the numerous newspaper stories of adultery and of the "eternal triangle" situations.

Is Isadore at all justified in his reactions to his environment? Granted that there are certain factors in his particular situation that have called out these particular responses, and granted also that some other child in Isadore's place would not have reacted in just this way, yet I am sure that all of you who are dealing with children have had brought home to you the conviction that Isadore presents the thought of youth fairly accurately.

Most of the problems of childhood are brought about by the behavior of adults. Isadore not only incriminates his parents, but many other adults—in fact, society. He challenges not one but many social institutions, the home, the church, the school, the theater, the dance hall. With all of them he is in conflict through his contacts with them. The child did not bring about the changes in these social institutions. On the other hand, he inherits them; they are his birthright. But just as these institutions have changed, so have man's ideas and ideals changed with them.

The social institution that comes in for the most criticism is the home. Home life has changed to be sure, not because of the two individual parents but because society has changed. The home merely reflects this change in principles, customs and standards of society. In these social changes going on constantly can be found some of the causes of domestic unrest. In the new social order woman has much choice whether she will become a mother and how much attention she will pay to her domestic duties. Yet the child today, as formerly, learns his first lessons in socialization in the home and much indeed does depend, as in Isadore's case, on the standards of a home in so far as it relates to child training. Children in conflict come from homes of varying economic status, from the homes of the rich as well as the poor, from the homes of the educated as well as the illiterate. Isadore acted adversely to parental control. He criticizes the undesirable behavior patterns of his parents, their unwise training of himself, their early oversolicitude and their later harshness, their disregard for the laws of the land, their neglect of his ethical and moral training, their inability to impart any sex information, much less undertake any sex education. In all this, however, they were hampered because of their early training and their reaction to the everchanging social standards. Since the parents, because of ignorance of the subject matter or of ignorance of the need of proper training in the child's formative years, cannot give much training, society must not blindly sit by. Instead society must make the proper provisions for training for parenthood. This must not be left to high school and college, for most parents do not go to high school and college; instead their education ends with the completion of the grammar grades. There is some evidence that society has begun to realize this need of training for parenthood. However, the emphasis is misplaced. It should be in the grades instead of the focusing of attention on

adult parental education courses. Much of a child guidance clinic's work is in reality that of parental guidance.

But not all of Isadore's conflicts arose within the home. School and church are also incriminated. In Isadore's case, as is true in more than half of our school population, the school curriculum was not adapted to the child. When Isadore came to see the psychiatrist he was failing in almost all of his studies despite the fact that, judging his ability on the basis of his Army Alpha score, he exceeds the average college Senior in mental ability. He gives as one reason for his present failure his never having learned habits of study. He feels that he made his reputation in the first three grades and that since, instead of his teachers really showing him wherein his difficulty did lie, they have told him of his past excellent record and that he could do better now if he wanted to. His reaction is that instead of stimulating him to better effort it made him feel inferior and unable to do his work. He is frank in admitting that he never got proper satisfaction out of his school work and that he has gradually come to despise it and has resorted to imaginary attacks of illness to escape what is to him an intolerable situation. Furthermore, it has played havoc with his vocational ambitions and now we find him in conflict over his life work activities which unless remedied may result in his never being properly assimilated into the ranks of labor.

The church, too, has added to this boy's conflicts. Instead of instilling those ethical principles properly elucidated and humanly handled which would have been of value in helping him resolve the false dichotomy relating to sex, the church avoided the issues, although he was duly registered in classes for children of his life age, namely adolescent classes. The church, if it is to function well, must come to the aid of the family and help the child in properly evaluating those moral truths which will be of aid to him in resolving his own internal conflicts. The church must teach him to free himself from his sense of guilt and sin over his sex reveries—a normal accompaniment of the adolescent age—and aid him in the achievement of an adequate understanding.

Isadore's remarks about the movies are well taken. Society, including the home, has not done its full duty toward youth in this matter. The primary purpose of the motion picture is entertainment for adults and to that end many of life's problems and situations are dramatized which in book form we would not put into the hands of our children or even our adolescent boys and girls. Yet many parents make no pretence of choosing the type of cinema production they permit their children to witness. Then, too, many of the pictures, dramas as well as the two-reel comedies, are seemingly intended to arouse erotic feelings. The problem cannot be solved by stating, as did Carl E. Milliken, secretary of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., in his article "Photoplays for Children as I See Them" in the May (1927) issue of *American Childhood* (Vol. XII, No. 9, p. 11) that "much passes over the heads of chil-



dren" that is pictured in the photoplays. Isadore is witness for it that that is not so, and younger children than he have confessed to learning ways of stealing and of becoming sexually stimulated as the result of witnessing some photoplay. True enough, it may not have been their first introduction to stealing or to sex arousal, but the photoplay was for them an occasion of sin. It is too simple a view of the situation to make all of the child's life activities depend on just his heredity or his reaction to the home environment. Instead, due consideration must be given to what he is, with whom he is, and where he is. These variables influence his reactions; for the child is a dynamic, not a static being.

In our social treatment of the child we must, therefore, take cognizance of the social alterations of this era, and not attempt the impossible, namely an adjustment of social standards and ideals of a bygone age. The so called revolt of the child is no greater than the revolt of his elders. Unfortunately for the child, he has come into a world of many unsolved problems, problems his elders are but partially solving. It is the problems of the adult, their state of flux and great uncertainty, that is making the environmental conflicts of the modern child so difficult. His ethical teachings, what little he gets, are not harmonized with the behavior of the adults.

In no age since the Renaissance have so many great social alterations taken place as in this one. The great progress in industry, with its concomitant urbanization, together with the feminist movement, have done much to change the status of the family. The reaction to the aftermath of the Great War, the revolt of adults to the traditional views on sex, marriage, divorce, the popularization of psychoanalysis, with its emphasis on sex, the discussions of sex topics, including birth control, in newspaper, novel, and drama, all have had their effect on the present generation. Youth has always had its environmental conflicts and probably always will. The wonder is that youth of today meets and resolves these conflicts as well as it does. All our evidence is to the effect that the modern child is facing his problems with great candor and much freedom in both thought and expression. But in this society must help. Society must realize that most of the child's conflicts are due to social activity and to social inactivity. Society must, therefore, be ready and anxious to assist in all measures looking to better character formation during the early years of the child's existence, thus preventing many of the serious environmental conflicts of the modern child.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE  
OF THE MODERN CHILD

*Margaret H. Watson, District Superintendent, Family Society, Philadelphia*

Environment, even the simplest, contains such possibilities for conflict that it is not surprising that the child of today, faced with the complexities of modern life, should be the playground for many opposing forces which, working usually for constructive development become destructive conflicts that tear him asunder and divert him from the channel of normal growth and expression. The case worker is faced constantly with the necessity for understanding the existence of these conflicts which are not always manifest except in some unexpected response to a situation. She soon learns that identical environmental stimuli produce various responses according to the conditions and previous experiences of the individual receiving them. It would be convenient indeed for the social case worker if she could have the certainty that given an objective fact in the environment, she could expect a known response from every individual.

The theory of the part environment plays in the makeup of personality is often met with the old argument "but take two children of the same family, having the same environment, and yet behaving so differently." To answer this it is necessary to divide environment into its two parts, physical environment and social environment, just as we divide heredity into biological and social heredity. By making this distinction we can analyze the environment of two individuals and find that even two children of the same family, nearly the same age, may have had very different life experiences. Then when we realize that any event in a person's life may produce an emotional response quite different from the same occurrence in another person's life, and add each event, not to the preceding incident but to the effect of the preceding incident, we begin to see why individuals starting from the same point and with great similarity in their physical environment present totally dissimilar pictures of personality.

Thus we see that an individual is not the result of his physical and social heredity alone nor only the sum of the objective factors of his environment, but of the interaction of these two; not of the experiences but what those experiences meant to him. In short, an individual is at any given moment the sum total of his original nature plus all his previous experiences plus the effects which these experiences have produced in him in the form of attitudes and patterns of behavior. Here we find the sources of many conflicts, for when a new factor enters which is at variance with a preceding factor and yet to some degree touches the individual's desire or interest, a conflict is set up which may perplex the case worker if she is not keeping the previous attitudes and behavior patterns in mind.

In studying human behavior it has been customary to consider first the abnormal, or the individual who presents a problem and forces himself on our

baffled attention. Let us reverse this, and take first an illustration from the lives of two boys, brothers, who have had a similar physical environment and have come into adolescence presenting a picture of normally developed boys. They have their difficulties, their moods when they are hard to handle, but they are very different in personality and type of response to any situation. Can we find the causes of this difference, the explanation of their various moods, in conflicts set up by certain differing factors in their social environments, making due allowance for the biological differences due to heredity?

Philip and James are the eldest sons of an American laborer's family. There is just two years difference in their ages, but those two years were enough to give them a different start in life. The father is an infantile man with a strong sense of inferiority, incapable and unsocial, for many years labeled a hopeless drunkard. His drinking after marriage began about the time of Philip's birth. The mother is a woman of intelligence, ambition, and energy. After marriage they went to live with her parents and the latter gave much love and attention to Philip when he was a baby. The father at this time was working with horses, buying and selling, which necessitated long hours away from home. Little Philip, therefore, scarcely knew his father during the first two years of his life. He accepted his grandfather in his place and gave him the love that would ordinarily go to the father. His mother had time and money then and she kept Philip dressed always in white and spotlessly clean. Receiving so much attention from her and none from his father, Philip naturally grew very close to her and then were planted the seeds of a mutual dependence which were to bear bitter fruit in the adolescent years, when the boy was ready to start out on his career in life.

Both the father and mother had a false conviction that Mr. L.'s drinking was caused by the companionship of the rough men with whom he was associated in his work with horses, and so he came to the point at which he threw up his work. Contrary to his wife's hope he did not seek any other employment. This occurred when James, the second son, was six months old and Philip two and a half years. Mr. L. thoroughly enjoyed his babies until they reached the age where they became critical of him. He spent hours playing with them, on their own level. It is easy to be seen then how this man, never a thinking, reasoning man, having become resentful of Philip's lack of interest in him, lavished all his love, all his starved emotion on the second boy. James was his boy. Not working, he had plenty of time to spend with the baby. Mrs. L. meanwhile was increasingly burdened, for her father and mother were both ill and needing her attention, and she was having to go out to work and earn the money her husband would not. Thus we find this boy with the potentialities for an identification with his father similar to Philip's relations to the mother.

However, it was not such clear sailing for him. Philip had every reason as years went by to find pride in his mother and satisfaction for himself in her de-

pendence on him. Life was serene and calm for him. James, on the other hand, as soon as he could begin to reason, found the object of his affection was considered unworthy; he was despised and looked down upon; he was the source of their misery and poverty. James had no one else to whom to turn. His grandparents were dead by this time and his mother's first interest was in Philip. So James, instead of being able to let his emotion go forth in one strong channel, had to make the choice between restraining it entirely, turning it back upon himself—the course his father had chosen many years before—or of letting it flow freely in apparently easy, superficial contact with many people. So we find him on the surface light of heart and easygoing, pleasure loving and gay, and are surprised to find beneath this a deep current of hurt love, of shyness and sensitivity. Is it surprising that, when sometimes along the course of his easy flowing stream, rocks appear in the nature of simple denials in his environment (he cannot go out camping with some boys, he cannot spend his money as he chooses) suddenly the whole stream is dammed and moods of depression and sullenness develop. This is but recalling what we said earlier, that conflict arises from the effect of a factor in the environment, added to the effect of an earlier factor.

In James we find another source of conflict, due again to earlier factors in his social environment. The father's early associations with the boy, the separation of the two sons as "your boy" and "my boy," even though this was never put in words, made it easy for the mother to identify James with his father and for James himself to feel a separateness from the mother and a rivalry toward Philip. Every difficult trait he showed was "just like his father." James was too intelligent not to grasp the implications of this and too sensitive not to be hurt thereby. To be identified with the unloved, unworthy one by the mother whose love and attention he craved but did not succeed in winning so completely as Philip had was a difficult thing for the boy to face. There was but one road he could see to escape from this and that was repudiation of the father. His love must be concealed even from himself and so of all the children James became loudest in his denunciation of his father, most mocking and jeering and most eager that the latter should be put out of the home by the mother.

This identification with the father brought James under stricter discipline from the mother and in his rebellion he reached out more eagerly to the outward signs of independence and again came in conflict with his environment when he found that because Philip as a matter of course gave all his money to their mother, he was expected to do the same. Here the mother wondered what made James so different from Philip and so selfish, while James was resentful because he was expected to behave just like Philip.

But James was not the only one to whom the steadily increasing number of experiences of life brought conflict. Philip's dependence on his mother was planting the seeds of later trouble, which came after his sixteenth birthday. Philip had no emotion about his father all through his boyhood. He had never

had the close relationship which might lay a foundation for it. He was able to view his father and his difficulties impersonally, untouched by them, so his life ran smoothly and brought him closer always to his mother. There was within him a vein of independence and the offer of a job, arousing desire to express himself in his own way, brought it in conflict with his emotional dependency. He had always wanted to be a salesman but his mother did not want him to be for fear he would go out on the road and she would lose her boy. She wished him to be an accountant, and adopting her wish so completely that it seemed almost to be his own, he studied bookkeeping. Then came the offer of a job which would ultimately lead to selling on the road. This was a simple factor from the point of view of a mere observer, but it threw the boy into a state of great depression. Here was really the decision of his lifetime. The conflict caused was almost enough to have spoiled the boy's life had not other developments in the situation offset it. His father had practically ceased to drink and his mother with renewed hope was paying more attention to her husband and therefore was less dependent on the boy. So she was able to see the need for the boy's growing up and to set him free to make his own choice.

Many such possible causes of conflict in opposing stimuli are avoided by an individual because the new factor does not touch that person's need or desire. Because Philip's desire was aroused by the offer of the salesmanship job he was unable to avoid the situation. Here we see the part played in production of a conflict by a factor at variance with preceding factors and yet touching an existing desire. In the divergent attitudes of these parents and in the relationships that developed through the boys identifying themselves with parents of unequal emotional maturity, we find the most striking and significant differences in the social environments of Philip and John and the basis of their conflicts.

Environment expresses itself most potently in the life of the home, and its influence is most effective during childhood and adolescence. It is in this formulative period that the patterns are set for the later development of the individual. The attitudes and conditionings then built are the basis either for future failures or future achievements. It is through understanding the conflicts of these years, and in particular the destructive conflicts, that the case worker can help the individual to free himself for normal growth.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE  
OF THE MODERN CHILD

*Lillian S. Cowan, Family Case Worker, Mother's Assistance Fund of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh*

In Dr. White's words "Conflict is at the very root and source of life; it is the very stuff out of which life is made, and the necessary pre-condition of progress." If the home is to establish a mutual respect and understanding in the relationship of one generation to the other, it should not confuse customs and ideals. Not by the discard of the old and the adoption of the new is social progress attained, but rather by making the old a basis for and a part of the new. If each generation is to carry over its heritage of ideals from the past, the home should be the means of transfer.

On the threshold of entering school the child is faced with three phases of his life, the physical, the intellectual, and the emotional. If he is to avoid destructive conflicts, all three must be coordinated. A wise parent prepares his child for life through an understanding of the mechanisms of character formation. We may reasonably expect that the child as he grows older will be able to select, to transfer, and to adapt. The parent should be ever alert to the opportunities available for the broadening of the child's experiences through creating new interests. If the child is to develop his ideals, the parent should seek to understand the stresses through which he passes as he makes his transfers, selections, and adaptations.

When Old World traditions are transplanted into a new country where ideals are in the process of development, but where there is not an unbroken continuity with the past, conflicts are not uncommon. Our foreign youth is bewildered by the breaking down of traditional influences. He flounders about first trying one means and then another in search of that which satisfies his social and emotional needs. He sees the tradition of his parents weakened as it rivals many diverse traditions for a prominent place in American life. Thrust into the maelstrom of human strivings, he casts from him in his search for satisfaction his birthright of ideals, which still remains the dearest possession of his parents. The first great differentiation between his and the American background comes when he enters school and becomes acquainted with a language unknown to his parents. At school the people with whom he comes in contact and whom he learns to respect are unlike his parents in dress, language, customs, and standards of living. He wants to belong but how can he with parents clinging to the past? The social life of his schoolmates is so different from his own old folkways. Our forms of social life soon push in upon his being and change his previous conceptions of social life. For his Old World folkways he readily substitutes such form of social life as the moving picture, and the public dance hall. Meanwhile his parents are left farther and farther behind. Their ways are no longer his. They cannot understand and are fearful of any new ex-



perience which carries their child farther away from them. The child soon finds himself in the throes of a conflict which try as he may he cannot resolve.

Let us consider Anna, a little flaxen haired Polish girl, who left the eighth grade at the age of fourteen, and before her father's death, to add her small wage to the family's income. Upon the father's death she became the medium between her foreign speaking mother and the outside world. She was successful in her social relationships at her work and was well liked, but aside from her social life in her employment she had no social contacts outside of the home except with a Bulgarian friend, who had real affection for her. Anna developed a thyroid condition for which an operation was advised. The mother, still hampered by Old World background, objected to surgical treatment. Anna grew steadily worse. She was too ill to work. This further limited her companionships. Her fear of the operation, fostered by her mother, led her to evade reality. This culminated in a marriage with the Bulgarian. Disagreements arose as Anna disliked the customs of her husband's people and felt that the people of his nationality were inferior to American people, one of whom she was earnestly trying to become. She charged him with unfaithfulness, and cruelty in the marriage relationship. They separated several times, Anna returning to her mother, who sympathized with her in her critical attitude. The social worker, realizing Anna was motivated by desire for security, interpreted to her step by step the causes of her difficulties. First she was shown that nationality differences did not necessarily mean that one nation was inferior to another, and that although it was probably impossible for her mother to change her customs for American ones, yet Anna could carry over into her new home that which was best in her Old World background, such as loyalty and affection. The social worker, who had come to know the husband, pointed out to Anna that the differences were in his customs, not in his ideals. She also emphasized his habits of soberness, industriousness, and dependability. Anna was shown how in the evasion of her health problem she had married only to escape from the demands of real life, while her husband had married because of his affection for her; how if she would be really secure, the problems thus far evaded must be faced; how the recovery of her health was the first step toward security. She finally consented to an operation which she had refused for years. Following the operation Anna was sent to a psychiatrist. She was found to be infantile in her emotional development, due to inadequate preparation by her mother, who was handicapped by Old World ideas and an unhappy married life. Anna, in a state of conflict, could not accept the marriage relationship, so a voluntary separation for three months was advised by the psychiatrist. During this period Anna was able to develop a sense of proportion and to see things in their true relationship. She expressed a wish to return to her husband, who was anxious to reestablish their home. She has carried over that which was best from her Old World background, unhampered by the domination of her mother. She is now happy with a husband who too has developed a sense of proportion

and has placed affection for his wife and the child soon to be born above his Old World customs. In Anna's inarticulate way she has said, "Now that there are bigger things to think about, the petty ones disappear." In Anna's case the evasion of reality was due to an outgrowth of her ill health, to the too early assumption of financial responsibility, to unwise early training, and to the breaking down of traditional influences.

In contrast, let us consider the M. family where there has been an understanding parent well able to utilize community resources for the development of normal healthful interests in the lives of the children. Mr. and Mrs. M. were very happy together and possessed many congenial interests, one of which was their love of music. Since Mr. M.'s death, Mrs. M. has passed on to the children her own and the father's interests. She has ever been alert to the opportunities available for the broadening of the children's interests according to their individual needs. And while they have been developing, she too has broadened her interests through art classes at a neighborhood settlement, and through cooking and nutritional lectures and demonstrations. The home has always been a place where relatives' visits are made occasions for family dinners, and where birthdays and holidays are celebrated by simple home parties, to which the children invite their friends in the neighborhood. John, aged eight, is entering enthusiastically into the social life of his group in the neighborhood and in the school. He is always invited to the neighborhood parties and in turn entertains in his own home. With his playmates he skates, sled-rides, and enjoys active outdoor games. James, aged thirteen, is doing well at school. From participation in group activities at the Y.M.C.A. he has developed from a shrinking, backward boy into a child who welcomes new social contacts. He also finds emotional satisfaction in manual training in which he excels and in his music which is taught by his sister Marie. William, aged seventeen, benefits from courses in a night school, conducted by the corporation for which he works. He also enjoys lectures, banquets, and social good times, arranged by the corporation for its employees. He is a lover of art and music and frequently goes to the musical and to the art exhibitions. Much of his leisure time is spent in radio construction. Marie, aged eighteen, a stenographer, attends night school at a public high school. Here she is finding emotional outlets in her art class, in dramatics, and through the publication of her literary compositions in the school paper. Her music is a source of real satisfaction and she expends her entire weekly allowance for lessons.

From the time of birth, desire begins to play a part in the life of every child. In the very early years the discrepancy between desire and attainment is not so great, but as the child touches reality at numerous points, the difficulty tends to increase. The wish is then the force which drives the individual to seek the fulfillment of his aspirations. As life becomes increasingly complex the attainment of desires is indefinitely postponed. When insurmountable difficulties make wish fulfillment impossible, an individual trying to escape from

the demands of real life evades reality until he loses himself in an emotional haze. Conflicts may then act as strong motivating forces which stimulate individuals to constructive thinking and acting, or if attainment is thwarted and desire becomes dominated by the emotions, conflicts may result in abnormal behavior of various kinds.

Does not the final resolution of the environmental conflicts in the family and the social life of the modern child depend, first, upon an understanding parent or upon a person who acts as interpreter for the child; and secondly, upon opportunities which the community offers its youths for the successful development and coordination of the physical, intellectual, and emotional life?

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### SUMMARY OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

#### ROUND TABLE NO. I.—SPECIALIZED APPROACHES TO CASE WORK

Miss Amelia Sears, Associate Director of the United Charities of Chicago presided. The discussion was from four viewpoints; that of the psychiatrist, the social worker, the sociologist, and the children's worker.

Dr. Frankwood Williams, National Director of Mental Hygiene, presented the psychiatric approach to social work. He said that as a result of early acquired emotions such as anxiety, fear, guilt, and inferiority, confusion results when these come into contact with others. Physical, social, economic, and legal problems are likely to arise. The foregoing problems are not causes but symptoms of conditions. The psychiatrist looks at the family in the same way as does the family case worker, looks beyond the symptoms to the causes, and seeks to remove or adjust the fundamental difficulties in each individual and interrelated members of the family.

Mr. Harry Lurie, Superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, presented the social workers' view. The approach of the social worker is that of sympathetic interest and a desire to solve problems. The social worker has a realization of the economic situation. He seeks causative factors using the analytical method. Much of social work process and technique conforms fairly well to definite standards, but the ability to select such process and technique as is needed, is a most valuable gift.

Professor Ernest Burgess, Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago, exploded the usual theory held by the sociologists. In his opinion sociology has made little or no direct contribution to social case work. On the other hand, social case workers have contributed much to sociology through case records. There have been three stages in the development of the approach to social case work. The first stage was based on experience; the second on the economic, legal, and political science phase of the work; and the third on psychiatry. The second is the most important and still holds. Further devel-

opment must come through the cooperation of sociologists and social case workers.

Dr. Jacob Kepecs, of the Jewish Home Finding Society of Chicago, represented the children's worker. The approach in children's work differs in theory but not in practice from the approach of the family case worker. There is possibly no specialized approach. There are three stages in children's work: first, the intake problem, involving the separation of children from the home, in which the approach is that of the family case worker; second, treatment, which is distinct from the family case worker's approach to the extent that the children's worker must become subjective rather than objective; third, follow up, which does not differ from the approach of the family case worker save in scope. The definite trend is to get away from a specialized approach. In fact, there is no place for such, coming as it does from the same angle as the family or psychiatric approach.

#### ROUND TABLE NO. 2—ANALYSIS OF PROCESSES IN RURAL FAMILY WORK

Miss Gertrude Vaile, Executive Secretary and Overseer of the Poor, Ames Social Service League, Ames, Iowa, presided. Miss Lucy Frances Johnson, Executive Secretary of the American Red Cross of Wichita, Kansas, spoke on case work in a rural community. While the technique is the same in rural and urban work, it must be differently applied. A cordial and sympathetic relation with the people in the community is particularly important. Another point of interest brought out by various speakers was the problem of the frequent changes of public officials which interrupts the cooperation that should exist between officials and social workers.

#### ROUND TABLE NO. 3—MEASUREMENTS IN FAMILY CASE WORK

Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, was chairman. Among the interesting topics discussed was a report of the Committee on Measurements of the 1926 Institute which was read by Miss Sophie Hardy, chairman of the committee. It approached the subject from the point of view of attempting to measure growth in personality by an analysis of the habits and attitudes which enter into a particular problem. A questionnaire dealing with habits relating to work, health, family relationships, leisure, and religion was worked out. There were found to be four definite uses for the questionnaire when revised and equipped with a better marking system: first, it is a great help in analyzing the problem of non-support in an individual case; second, it can indicate progress, retrogression, or a static condition in a given individual's habits; third, it can form a basis for research of the social and personality factors underlying the difficult problems of non-support; fourth, it can initiate a method of measurement that can be carried over into other problems of case work.

## ROUND TABLE NO. 4—INTERPRETATION OF FAMILY SOCIAL WORK STATISTICS

Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin, Director of the Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, presented charts showing comparative statistics compiled for forty selected agencies during the past year. These figures compare the agencies on a basis of composition of the case loads carried; the proportion of cases which were given relief; the proportion given service only; the proportion which were new each month, etc. These figures showed considerable variation, the explanation of which is discussed by the representatives of several agencies.

Curves were also shown comparing case loads of relief giving agencies over the past ten years, compared with an index of employment for the United States as a whole. These curves showed high inverse correlation in their fluctuation and suggested the possibility of arriving at a basis of forecasting changes in social work loads.

## ROUND TABLE NO. 5—TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP IN FAMILY SOCIAL WORK IN CITIES OF SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND OR LESS

Mr. Walter W. Pettit, Assistant Director of the New York School of Social Work, presided. Discussion leaders were Orville Robertson, of the Family Welfare Society, Duluth, Minnesota, Miss Ruth Kolling, of the Red Cross, Salina, Kansas, Miss Cora Jacobs, of the Public Welfare Association of Madison, Wisconsin, and Ruth Bowen, of the Social Service Bureau of Lansing, Michigan.

Miss Kolling stressed personality as being more important than training in the development of leadership. Mr. Robertson emphasized that social workers are born and made, that both the right type of personality and sound training are absolutely essential. Qualities for leadership were summarized as first, understanding of the town; second, insight into group situations; third, willingness to conform temporarily; fourth, a knowledge of where the social case worker is going; fifth, ability to improvise in resources; sixth, ability to promote related activities; seventh, ability to see your own agency in perspective; eighth, permanency of residence on the part of the worker; ninth, knowledge of history and policies of particular agencies; tenth, a spirit of cooperative service to other agencies and to the community; eleventh, understanding of the interrelationship of all types of social work; twelfth, ability to work harmoniously with the staff, the board and the community.

These qualities of leadership were analyzed in an effort to determine which were the results of personality, of technical training, of philosophical attitudes, or of the general background of the individual.

## V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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### THE CHURCH, PUBLIC OPINION, AND INDUSTRY

*Rev. Francis J. Haas, St. Francis Seminary and Marquette University,  
Milwaukee*

One of the aspects of industrial life that has received comparatively little attention from the students of industry is the attitude of the American public toward the wage earning population, and the effect of this attitude on the American labor movement. This is a subject that cannot be adequately covered in the brief space of twenty minutes, therefore all this paper will attempt is a short analysis of the effects of adverse public opinion on the welfare of wage earning groups.

In order to view the problem in its proper setting one or two preliminary things must be said. First, it will be necessary to weigh the relative merits of the two great instruments for improving industrial conditions, namely, collective bargaining and legislation. After this it will be in place to discuss the major hindrances to adequate collective bargaining, with special emphasis on the one hindrance of unfavorable public opinion. Finally, some concrete proposals will be offered to the consideration of church leaders.

The instrumentalities for securing adequate income and proper working standards for wage earners can be narrowed down to two: collective bargaining and legal enactment. Let us take the second one first. It is perhaps conceivable that American industries can be made to submit to minimum wage and maximum hour laws in the same way that English and European industries are made to submit to them. But in contemplating the possibility of a program of this kind certain facts peculiar to our country must be kept in mind. First, minimum wage laws for even such weak economic groups as women workers are by judicial interpretation out of harmony with the "freedom of contract" clauses of our federal Constitution. Furthermore, the individual states are loath to surrender sufficient power to the national government to permit it to set up minimum standards for the entire country. In addition, the average American has a deep seated reluctance to submit to new governmental regulations on his freedom of action. In view of these facts it is not likely that regulatory laws for industry can be passed in any large number in the near future, or if passed, that they would be enforced. Moreover, this state of affairs is likely to persist so long as our natural resources continue in their present abundance. Finally, disregarding the immediate obstacles to the adoption of an elaborate system of governmental regulation of industry, it is to be remem-



bered that the general welfare requires that the state should not do for its subjects what they should do for themselves. Sound social policy dictates that the state intervene only after all private efforts have proved inadequate. It is only by adhering to this principle that initiative, enterprise, and civic mindedness can be preserved.

The second instrument for securing proper living standards for wage earners is collective bargaining. By collective bargaining is meant the joint adjustment of wage scales and working conditions by representatives of management and representatives of organized workers. In the industries where collective bargaining is practiced, in mining and printing for instance, it is a purely private arrangement free from governmental regulation. Approximately 20 per cent of the 26,000,000 wage earners of the United States are organized and enjoy the benefit of collective wage contracts. Incidentally, these 20 per cent are for the most part the more highly skilled and better paid workers of industry.

This is not the time or place for an extended demonstration of the justice of collective bargaining. It will be sufficient to say that under modern conditions of massed capital and centralized control of management the individual wage contract lacks one of the first essentials of justice. Justice requires that in negotiating a contract of any kind each party be free from undue compulsion to accept the terms offered by the other. But undue compulsion is present in the average wage agreement where the worker bargains individually with a corporation. The elementary requirement of justice that the negotiation be approximately free on both sides has formed the central objective of every legitimate labor movement in Europe and the United States since the Industrial Revolution. It would seem that there should be no need to defend the reasonableness of this demand. It is well worth pointing out, however, that anti-union leaders show an astonishing lack of foresight in using their financial resources in keeping the rank of labor disorganized. The ultimate effect of anti-union activities can only be the establishment of the thing that anti-union leaders most dread, namely, additional regulation of industry by the state. A moment's reflection will show why this is true. Because of unrestricted competition the individual wage contract results in low wages and undesirable working conditions. These ultimately end in the demand for greater regulation and supervision of industry by the state. The cycle runs its course. The more that labor organizations are aggressively opposed the more legislation will be extended. Thus democracy acts as the clumsy balance wheel of justice.

After these preliminary observations we may pass to a consideration of the obstacles to the extension of collective bargaining to the unorganized, who constitute about four-fifths of the total number of the gainfully employed. Only the more prominent of these obstacles will be indicated, and a somewhat more extended treatment given to the one factor which has been generally neglected in the discussion of labor problems.

The outstanding fact with reference to the small percentage of organization among wage earners is the large reserves of concentrated capital at the disposal of the major industries. Vast sums can be drawn upon and are drawn upon in various ways to prevent the spread of organization. The cruder and coarser methods include the financing of undercover men, card indexes and blacklists, and the maintenance of propaganda bureaus, whose practices are at times unscrupulous and dishonest. Other methods include the creation of funds for legislation and litigation.

Since 1914, however, there has been a marked tendency to spend reserves in a more beneficent direction. For example, during the past decade shop committees and welfare plans have been encouraged and financed by industrial leaders with surprising rapidity. Thus the National Industrial Conference Board reports a growth of shop councils from 225, representing 391,400 workers in 1919, to 814, representing 1,177,037 workers in 1924. Similar progress has been made in the development of welfare systems of various types. In fifteen years the total amount of group insurance in force has grown to four billions of dollars covering between three and four million workers. Moreover, nearly 400 companies now maintain old age pension systems, most of which have grown up since 1915. Finally, approximately six million workers in American industry own in the neighborhood of one-half a billion dollars worth of stock.

Without stopping to appraise the social value of these plans, the general statement can be made that their establishment necessarily retards the extension of collective bargaining. However, there exists another influence that is also highly operative, and one which has received only scant attention in proportion to its importance. This leads to the main thought with which this paper is concerned.

Even the casual observer has noticed that the labor movement suffers from a lack of prestige in the eyes of the general public. It is not saying too much to assert that in the minds of the upper middle classes and the professional and salaried groups generally, the labor union is something that needs to be apologized for as socially reprehensible, or at least not entirely respectable. The labor official is made to feel that he is not entitled to the same place in the public esteem as the attorney for example, although when all is said and done their functions are essentially the same. Both are paid spokesmen for others. Even university and high school instructors in economics who write or speak of labor problems impartially, to say nothing of those who frankly express their sympathy for the aspirations of labor, lose caste in their own circles and in the estimation of the general public. There can be little doubt that the quasi-stigma attaching to the labor movement operates powerfully to keep large numbers of workers, both men and women, out of union bodies. The extent of this influence may be measured by estimating the increase in union membership that would result if there were to be a shift in public opinion, and affiliation

with a labor union regarded as good form, like membership in a parent-teachers' association or a business men's dinner club.

The causes of the aloofness of those who are not in the labor movement toward those who are readily suggest themselves. Some of the causes are in the labor movement itself; some are outside of it. The first of the causes within the labor movement is the fact that here or there corruption is found in the management of union affairs. This is a matter that must be approached with caution in order to avoid misunderstanding and injustice. It is to be remembered that graft is always bipartite. There can be no graft taker without a graft giver. This to be sure is no justification for the corrupt union official, but the point to be emphasized is that the whole labor movement suffers because of his dishonesty. An analogy may be drawn from the administration of municipal government. No one would seriously maintain that the police system of a city should be abolished because some police officers are corrupt. Nevertheless, the fact remains that every member of the city police system is made to share the disgrace brought upon the system by a few. In a similar way the overwhelming number of upright and self-sacrificing officials of the American labor movement are unjustly made to bear the reproach cast upon their work by the dishonesty of a very small minority.

Again, it is to be observed that the labor movement is a fighting movement, employing economic pressure as its principal weapon of aggression. Now it may be true that the American public secretly admires an aggressive group, but it reserves its admiration for the aggressive group that is successful. This may be illustrated by contrasting the general esteem in which the strong railroad brotherhoods are held with the almost contemptuous pity that is meted out to weak groups like the textile operatives and the street railway men. Here the old axiom is verified that nothing succeeds like success. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why the American labor movement with only one-fifth of the wage earning class within its ranks does not command public approval more than it does. Finally, and this is perhaps the most fundamental of all the causes under review, the labor movement embraces the weaker economic classes and those of the humbler walks of life. From the first centuries of our era, in spite of the clear teachings of Christianity to the contrary, the more successful and comfortably situated classes have evinced a greater or less degree of snobbishness toward the less successful and those of lower station. The pagan Roman concept of labor as something menial and beneath the dignity of the free citizen survives in modern society in a false glorification of the white collar occupations and a corresponding aversion if not contempt for those who labor with their hands. This attitude has been extended from workers themselves to their activities for self improvement, and organization has been retarded accordingly.

Among the causes outside the labor movement the first to demand attention is the attitude of our courts toward the activities of labor organizations.

It is commonplace to say that the labor movement in the United States has been subjected to far more constitutional restrictions than that of Great Britain. The Hitchman Coal case, the Duplex Printing case, the Truax case, the Coronado case, and the recent Stone Cutters' case, upholding the use of the injunction, come to mind at once. The effect of these decisions on public opinion has been to strengthen the popular conviction that the labor movement is something to be circumscribed in its activities because it is out of harmony with American ideas of justice. The consequent loss of prestige in the popular mind is evident.

Another factor may be mentioned in passing. This is the anti-union propaganda quietly insinuated into the public mind through the press. Both the editorial page and the news column are used for this purpose, although it is quite probable that the carefully edited news section is more effective than the outspoken pronouncements of the editorial page. It may be conceded that the average metropolitan newspaper is forced to reflect the economic thinking of its reading clientèle and its advertisers. But it should not be forgotten that there is a large section of news readers who are not directly identified with the economic policies of the paper. These persons are influenced by the news they read, and in turn play an important part in shaping public opinion.

It may now be permitted to offer one or two concrete suggestions to church leaders as to how they may aid in correcting the false and pernicious attitude of the general public toward the working classes. In the first place, the church is entirely within her jurisdiction in addressing herself to this task. A humane and orderly system of industrial relations cannot be established unless society frankly accepts two basic postulates which are essentially ethical in character. They are first, that the person of the worker is of intrinsic worth, and secondly, that the requirements of objective justice have a prior claim over the arrangements of the *de facto* justice set up by purely economic forces. But these postulates are empty forms unless one accepts the existence of the moral law and the law of conscience.

The direct bearing of the moral law on the wage problem is obvious. A wage contract does not satisfy the demands of elementary justice if its determination is left exclusively to the interplay of supply and demand in the labor market, regardless of the physical and moral needs of the worker and his dependents. The physical and moral needs of the worker and his dependents, however, rest in turn on the ground that they are needs of beings of intrinsic value, and that these needs must be adequately satisfied if there is to be normal human development. These premises can be rejected only by those who refuse to admit that there is anything in man beyond the chemical elements of his body. The church therefore stands on the firm ground that in working toward better industrial relations she is dealing with matters entirely within her province.

But the real difficulty arises in translating these principles into specific

programs of action. And it may be added that the difficulty will remain a difficulty so long as religious leaders are unwilling to venture out beyond the safe inclosures of general principles. The problems of industry are admittedly complex and technical. This circumstance doubtless makes the zealous religious leader resort to meaningless platitudes about industrial questions, or perhaps deters him from speaking about them at all. What is of prime necessity therefore is an honest, openminded, and persistent study of the facts of our industrial life. This can be undertaken and carried on with the assistance of the national research bureaus of the various religious bodies. The Protestant clergyman can obtain reading courses and valuable literature from the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ at New York. The Catholic priest can turn to the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference at Washington for help in working out a study plan, and for books and pamphlets in practically every field of industry. He can also bring himself into personal touch with the outstanding leaders of both capital and labor by taking out membership in the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems and attending the national and regional conferences.

When the clergyman possesses a familiarity with the various aspects of industrial life he will be equipped to do his part in breaking down the many erroneous opinions now held regarding the labor movement. Moreover, he will be saved from making ill advised or even unjust allusions to labor organizations either in the pulpit or the public press. His first hand acquaintance with industrial questions and his appreciation of their importance will urge him to promote forums and invite employers and labor officials to present their respective points of view. These are only some of the ways in which the healthy public conviction can be created that the claims of labor are deserving of respectful hearing and that the welfare of the wage earning classes is essential to the welfare of the entire community.

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#### MIGRATORY CHILDREN

*Laura Hillier Parker, Council of Women for Home Missions, New York City*

No one will deny that this is the age of the can opener. "Our nation is literally living and thriving out of a can" was a statement that went unchallenged at the recent convention of the National Cannery Association. "Over six hundred sixteen millions of dollars was the total value of fruit and vegetable production finding its way to market through three thousand canneries of the country." What is the human value in this investment? The danger in a mechanical age is to lose sight of the human element, of the people who picked

these fruits and vegetables and canned them. How do they live? What about the children?

Canneries have long been known as exploiters of child labor. Although really in the class of factory work they are frequently exempted from legal factory regulations, especially regarding hours of work. Eight states have such exemptions. Have you seen the children working in the oyster and shrimp canneries of the South? If you have, you will never forget it. If not, read the Children's Bureau vivid study of the oyster canneries. There they stand in cold, damp, drafty sheds among the mounting piles of empty shells, the acid of the shrimps eating away the gloves and their hands constantly sore.

Back of all the tin cans lined up on shelves in groceries, delicatessen stores, hotels, and homes there lies a great army of migratory folk, a group ever on the march, with little or no idea of the basic institutions of the home, the school and the church. Look closely and you will see many nationalities: Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, Japanese, Mexican, Negro and white American, North American Indian. You will find them in the East in strawberries, peas, beans, corn, tomatoes, cranberries; around the Gulf in oysters; throughout Texas in cotton and fruit; Ohio in onions; southwestern Missouri, in the Ozarks, in strawberries; Michigan, Colorado, and Nebraska in beets; Washington and Oregon in berries, apples, and hops; California in prunes, hops, rice, almonds, asparagus, figs, grapes, cherries, cotton, citrus, walnuts, and beets, down to the very tip of the Imperial Valley on the Mexican border.

Think especially what this means to the little children of these rovers, little nomads who are to be the citizens of the future. How are they learning to live while roaming from crop to crop over the country in an old car, they themselves "our greatest crop"? Often they do not know geographically where they were last, and in reply to an inquiry will say "Oh yes, we just left prunes."

In 1920 the Council of Women for Home Missions, representing twenty-three of the national mission boards of the Protestant churches, made a beginning with some migratory groups in the Chesapeake Bay District. The interest of the canner was enlisted and centers were opened with opportunities for carrying on the program of a Christian social center, a cross between a day nursery and a community center. College students trained in kindergarten, playground, domestic science and art, first aid, and religious education directed activities adapted to the needs of the group served. As a result of the limitation of immigration Negroes are being employed in canneries in the East where European labor is no longer available. Here Negro students from Hampton, Fisk, Tuskegee, and Knoxville serve their own people. These young students are appalled by the living conditions, which are a physical and moral menace. The words of Carlyle are true of many a migrant family. "It is not to die or even to die of hunger that makes a man wretched. Many men have died. But it is to live



miserably and know not why, to work more and yet gain nothing, to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated and unrelated."

By very slow degrees living conditions in some states are being improved. A recent survey made by the Pennsylvania Labor Department has resulted in definite improvements in the housing situation. California, through its Commission of Immigration and Housing, has a high standard and is working hard to maintain it, but we still have a long way to go. This picture of conditions at a Mexican migrant camp tells its own story. In the great Imperial Valley, way down on the Mexican border, twenty-six years ago a desert but now noted the world over for its cantaloupes and lettuce, migrant Mexicans work the crops, the poor Mexican often despised and ill treated and yet as the growers say "When there is no Mexican there will be no Imperial Valley." In a study of Mexican population made in the Imperial Valley in the spring of 1926 by Charles A. Thompson for the Council of Women, we find some rather interesting things. Take a look at this description of a migrant camp:

The camp stretches along the road under eucalyptus trees. There are between twenty and thirty shelters and it is said to house one hundred and fifty people. Shelters were made of almost every conceivable thing—burlap, canvas, palm branches. Not a single wooden floor was observed in the camp, although there was at least one family which had been there for six years, leaving not even in the summer. Chicken yards were mixed in with the human shelters, in a perfectly democratic way. Calves and horses wandered at will about the shelters. There was a huge pile of manure close by the houses, although when we visited the camp, men were at work removing this and piling it at a short distance from the tents. This greatly interested a group of children who were having a great time tumbling around in the manure as though it were a hay stack. . . . There were flies, everywhere, guaranteed by the large manure pile. In front of each human shelter was the inevitable laundry tub, and many of the women, as usual, were busy with their washing. . . . We found one woman carrying water in large milk pails from the irrigation ditch. The water was brown with mud, but we were assured that after it had been allowed to settle, that it would be clear and pure. This is evidently all the water which they have in camp. There were no baths.

We visited one family which had lived in its cramped dirty quarters for a period of six years. There was a Victrola and a sewing machine in the tent. The beds were made of lettuce crates, the slats forming the springs over which a few quilts had been placed. Two men, not able to work because they were "Poco malos," were in the tent. Both of them were interested in drawing, working with colored crayons. One of them was copying chromos and the other was working upon his masterpiece, which was a picture of God. Under the bed, chicks a day or two old, were hunting insects upon the dirt floor. . . . In front of the shelter was a tiny garden of pinks, tomato plants and chili.

With such conditions not uncommon in many labor camps the need for better housing is obvious. The remedy for the situation is unfortunately not so obvious. With the seasonal crops, the demand for labor increases and decreases with startling rapidity. For three or four weeks there may be need for forty men on a ranch; then there is need for but five or ten. Consequently capital invested in adequate housing for the peak of labor supply would lie inactive

most of the time. Further the system of leasing land for only three years, and following that period changing to other land, makes employers hesitant about investing largely in housing.

However, it can be said that the economic value of good housing is being increasingly recognized by employers. They are realizing that laborers must have a decent living place if they are to do good work. The social dangers of present conditions are also being recognized. Certain of the large employers have already committed themselves to a better program. The visit of Mr. Brown of the Immigration and Housing Commission, his lectures on state requirements, his conferences with groups of employers and representatives of the large companies, and the one or two arrests made, have all served to stimulate action. (The Mexicans themselves are demanding better conditions, and some of them refuse to stay where conditions are very bad.)

The ideal as visioned by Mr. Brown is the establishment in various parts of the Valley, adjacent to the principal towns, of small Mexican colonies, with small inexpensive frame or adobe huts, where the individual dwellings could be owned or rented by the Mexicans themselves. These camps would be so located in relation to the areas of cultivation and to the large ranches that the Mexicans could live therein and, using their automobiles or the trucks of the employers, easily reach their places of work. It was suggested that the financing of such projects be handled through a cooperative association of growers, through the chambers of commerce, or perhaps by the county.

State child labor laws practically do not regulate agricultural labor of children. Child labor in rural communities cannot be assumed as like that in urban communities. The fact that children begin working in agricultural pursuits at a much earlier age than is usual in city work may account for a larger amount of illiteracy. Said a little eleven year old Mexican girl who was surprised at the school attendance law being enforced, "I am glad, cause we beet children can learn jes' like Americans."

In a study made by the Children's Bureau, in southern New Jersey, of 869 children 47 per cent were in the country and away from school both in the spring and the fall.

Although school authorities of Philadelphia, whence most of the children came, make every effort to enforce the attendance laws, they have, of course, no power to do so outside the city limits. The great majority were not only out of jurisdiction of city school officials, but also out of the state of Pennsylvania. The majority of the children working on the farms of southern New Jersey failed to reach average grades for their years. Seventy-four per cent of migratory children interviewed were retarded in school. The fact that most of the absence for farm work is concentrated at the most important parts of the school year—the beginning and the end of the term—makes it even more disastrous than if it were scattered in brief periods throughout the year. . . . Studies of other migratory workers made by the Children's Bureau in different parts of the country indicated that communities to which these workers move seldom consider that they have any responsibility for education of children of compulsory school age brought in to assist in the crops.

This attitude of mind is that of many growers also who do not see their responsibility for the children of their workers. Education of all kinds is but a slow progress. There are several cases in hop yards and berry fields of Oregon where the local people and the growers are being stimulated to face their obligations to the migratory fold whom they need to call in to harvest their crops. A program similar to that carried on in the eastern centers is being developed. California, through Georgiana Carden, State Supervisor of Attendance, is carrying forward an excellent program by means of the schools planted in migratory centers. Even so "You can't educate a procession."

Let us now look at the school situation in the Imperial Valley. Figures from four points, illustrative of retardation, were obtained; two of these points were towns, Calipatria and Imperial, where the Mexicans and Negroes are in a separate school from the white American children; and two of them, Meloland and Jasper, were country schools: In Calipatria there were 46 per cent American white retarded and 74 per cent Mexican (including 25 Negroes); in Imperial, 27 per cent American white, 78 per cent Mexican; in the Meloland school, 6 per cent American white, 51 per cent Mexican; in the Jasper school, 32 per cent American white, 79 per cent Mexican.

What is the cause of this retardation among the Mexican children? Is it because of their lack of capacity? Is it the language difficulty? Is it the parents' indifference? The educational authorities consulted, who are in touch with the situation, agreed that the following scale was approximately correct.

The first and most important cause is the migratory life of the Mexican family which may place the child in several schools during the course of one year, which causes him to spend much time outside of school, resulting in the discouragement of the child and also of the teacher. The second difficulty is that of language. It is estimated that it takes a non-English speaking child about a year and a half to complete an ordinary year's work. But once he gets the language, the foreign child goes ahead. The language difficulty, however, does not approach migrancy in importance as a cause for retardation. Other difficulties mentioned were the indifference of Mexican parents to their children's schooling, and also the attitude of American teachers, under pressure from the school trustees, to favor the American children. Any supposed inferiority of capacity on the part of the Mexican child was not emphasized by the authorities consulted.

This retardation would naturally extend into the high schools, and so it is not surprising that the study of Dr. Bloch, Statistician of the Labor Department of California, revealed that though the Mexican children comprise 32.2 per cent of the elementary school children, they form only 7.6 per cent of the high school registration.

One cause for the retardation, the late arrival of the children in school because of the migrant life of their families, is clearly shown by the average

attendance by months of the Brawley Eastside School. As has been said, this school is entirely Mexican save for about 25 Negroes and a few orientals.

As will be noted from table I, a large group of children (100-150) are a month late entering school in the fall; consequently they are retarded themselves and they tend to retard others. Then also in the subsequent months until the spring, other children are coming in. The Superintendent of Schools had this to say in comment on the figures:

The school population is increasing; automobiles are more and more making it possible for the Mexican to live in town and go out to his work in the country. Then also the Mexicans like to have their children in school where they receive attention; in the rural schools, where the Mexican children are in with the white, the former are neglected. Once a Mexican child enters our school, we rarely have trouble with truancy. The Mexicans now tend to stay in the schools longer. The Mexicans are settling down here and are improving their

TABLE I

Month	1923-24	1924-25	Average Attendance (Daily), 1925-26
Sept. ....	146	192.27	234.03
Oct. ....	242	326.21	372.79
Nov. ....	295	353.19	443.39
Dec. ....	300	346.59	414.74
Jan. ....	332	374.49	472.41
Feb. ....	383	399.78	522.30
Mar. ....	373	415.	.....
Apr. ....	324	440.18	.....
May. ....	238	361.87	.....

economic position. Formerly the children would come to school looking wild, with straw in their hair, and poorly clothed. But now they look well-fed and well-clothed. This past year we have noticed very few cases of distress among the Mexicans. They are buying more homes. There has been more improvement in the Mexican business section than in the white. Mexican labor is tending to do a higher class of work, and is replacing white labor in some occupations—in the ice houses and as chauffeurs.

The social cost of migrant labor is clearly seen in these glimpses of the educational problem faced by Imperial County. As long as multitudes live on wheels, moving from place to place to earn their daily bread, so long will the education of their children be retarded, and those children be forced out into life without adequate preparation for citizenship in a democracy. The school authorities find their hands tied. The basic remedy must be economic. Only when families live a relatively stable life can their children achieve the education necessary.

Since November, 1926, an American Spanish speaking woman employed by the Council has been at work in the Valley with the Mexican migrants. The physical needs alone are very great. Every town needs a clinic. A short term

clinic was put on during cantaloupe season last summer, in which the Council, the local people, and the former Shepard-Towner nurse cooperated. One can imagine the health menace where water unboiled and unchlorinated is used from the irrigation ditches, and where there is no idea of the very simplest laws of sanitation. A series of "nationality nights," in which the children played a most important part, sponsored by Filipinos, Japanese, Mexican, Negro, and white Americans, is creating a deeper and finer racial appreciation and understanding in the Valley.

Another project put on this year was in Oregon. In the fall of 1926 a cooperative health program was carried on in Hood River Valley. Here the worker from the Council (a special student in home economics at Oregon Agricultural College) worked right along with the county nurse and the school officials. Up to this year the schools had been disrupted by communicable diseases weeks after the migrants left the Valley. These were two major aims for the season of 1926: First, to keep the school children well and free from communicable diseases. This year each child had a physical examination before entering school, which proved to be a tremendous help. It was the best year from a physical side they have ever had. Second, to get as many as possible of the migrant children of school age into school. Here were difficulties because Oregon does not furnish books and people coming from other states could not be compelled to buy them, but they got the books. In addition to these two efforts there was the general camp work. "We spent as much time talking to mothers about their children's food as we did in our work with the school children." One cannot isolate germs. They tackle the migrant and resident alike, but we can use preventive measures.

Children employed in the crops too young suffer undernourishment, impaired growth and ignorance of the fundamental principles of living which ought to be the heritage of every child. Let us see that these children are given a chance at the things we believe America is eager all should have—the right to live, to be clean in body, mind, and soul. One employer remarked: "I have three crews working all the time, one working, one coming, one going." In cases where a worth while program is developed with the children, families are apt to stay until the crop is harvested. The whole proposition proves itself to be a stabilizing effect in the labor situation. Programs may vary; principles remain the same. Here is opportunity for the socially minded group in a community to see that the employer gives his people the right kind of living and working conditions. This way means legislation, a long hard fight. The health and school authorities must face the obligations that arise when a migrant tide comes floating in; the church must be open and forward looking in its approach to folk "who do not bother much about religion." This will give to the great roaming group on wheels at least some meaning of the home, the school, and the church.

Let the Declaration of Geneva voice the appeal for the child, especially every migratory child:

The Child a birthright shall inherit  
 For natural growth in flesh and spirit.  
 The Child hungered shall be fed  
 The sick child nursed and comforted  
 The backward child with patience led;  
 The erring shall be claimed from sin,  
 The lonely child, bereft of kin,  
 Unloved, shall be taken in.  
 In dire catastrophe and grief  
 He shall be first to have relief.  
 Betimes the way he shall be shown  
 To earn his bread and stand alone.  
 None shall exploit him yet ungrown.  
 And this, his trust, shall be defined:  
 The best of him, of head and mind,  
 Is at the service of his kind."

—Done into English verse by ETHEL SIDGWICK

## THE SOCIAL RESULT OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING WOMEN WORKERS

*Flora Dunlap, Roadside Settlement, Des Moines*

It can be taken for granted that the first result of legislation on any subject is to produce, in general and to at least a limited extent, the results for which the legislation is designed.

This is true of the Ten Commandments, one of the oldest and, at the present time, one of the least controversial pieces of legislation ever enacted and also of the Eighteenth Amendment, the newest and at the present moment the most controversial piece of modern legislation.

Legislation reducing working hours for women have reduced working hours and legislation affecting conditions under which women work have affected and bettered the conditions. It is difficult to set forth what have been the social results of such legislation, how it has affected the health, education, and recreation of women workers. The first effect of maximum hours legislation is, of course, to reduce the number of hours in which women are employed in the industry affected and to release that number of hours for other employment.

In the matter of education, certainly, standards of admission to practically all classes of employment have been raised, demonstrating that more hours are free for educational pursuits. Many classes of employment, once having no educational admission standards, beyond an ability to read, now require eighth grade or high school certificates. Night classes everywhere are filled with adult



men and women striving to increase their wage earning capacity by more education. Those of us who have lived for a long period in industrial neighborhoods have observed the increase in night school pupils among our adult neighbors. It is easier to persuade parents that children should be helped to remain in school for longer periods. This is partly the result of course of better school attendance and compulsory education laws, but these laws could not be enforced unless there were more leisure to pursue education. Telephone companies, insurance companies, and even some industrial companies refuse to accept applications for employment from girls who have not finished the eighth grade or high school even though the applicant has reached the age of legal employment.

The benefit of recreation to the health and efficiency of workers and its relation to shorter hours of work is so well known as hardly to need mention. Hardly an industrial plant today but provides some recreational facilities for its employees not as a philanthropic gift but as a business asset. The use of recreational facilities means, naturally, shorter working hours. The struggle for limitation of hours legislation and minimum wage scales is now supported by the most enlightened and the most successful employers. There is, however, a distressingly long list of employers in states where these laws have not been enacted who still hope to extract greater financial profits from women working long hours for low wages, with the resulting physical depression.

There can be no argument as to the benefit to health from shorter hours for both men and women and this fact is being increasingly recognized by the more intelligent employers and employees. Most employers admit the advantages resulting to employees from shorter hours, in better health and education. There is much discussion and doubt as to whether employees use shorter working hours for the kind of recreation which best fits them for the next day's work. This question is no more pertinent in the matter of industrial employees of course, than the question as to whether all of us, employees and employed alike, use our leisure for recreation of the kind which is to the best advantage of our health, education, and morals, or for the kind of recreation that best fits us for the next day's work. There are men and women, boys and girls, in every station of life who do not use leisure in the best way. There are both employers and employees who dissipate rather than recreate in their leisure hours. This must always be a personal problem and decided by individuals rather than by groups.

Do women employees generally use shorter hours of work and better pay in fitting themselves for more productive work, by cultivating better health, acquiring more education, and refreshing and renewing themselves by rational recreation? Every employer and observer will answer this question in terms of his own experience. My answer must come from twenty years of residence and observation in an industrial neighborhood in the largest city in Iowa. Iowa

has no limitation of women's hours of work by legislative enactment. There are a few trades in which women are admitted to trade union membership with men and share the union hours of work. There are some industries where the intelligence of the employers and the high grade of the employees have shortened the hours of work.

One instance of shortened hours and the results in the lives of the employees I recall very clearly. In 1908 women day workers who received their calls from work from the settlement employment agency, by concerted action raised their rate of pay from one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents, at the same time reducing the hours of work from nine and a half, ten, or ten and a half, to eight hours. Many of these women were accustomed to leaving their children in the settlement day nursery while they were employed. We at once found it possible to change the hour of opening the day nursery from six to seven o'clock, and to close it at six in the afternoon instead of seven. It was interesting to see the change in the appearance and behavior of the children in the morning. They came better dressed, more of them had eaten breakfast at home, there was much less crying when mothers left them at the nursery door. Naturally having had an hour's more sleep they were in a better state of mind and less nervous and excitable. In the evening the mothers returned from work looking much less fagged, and the children went home with a mother who was both better tempered and less exhausted, or better tempered because she was less exhausted.

A few days ago I glanced through a package of record cards dating back to this period. Many of the families I know still and I can recall in some instances the uses to which some of these women put the extra hours gained by the shortened work day. One, a middle aged woman who could not read, was very anxious to learn, so that she could read the street car names and thus get more easily to and from her various places of employment. She had been too tired to come to night classes before but now that she was through with her supper by six-thirty or seven she could come to class at seven-thirty. Other women went to night classes in sewing or millinery. As I read the names of these cards I recalled women whose children were better dressed, whose houses were cleaner, who were themselves improved in health by the shortened hours. The majority of them used the shortened hours wisely and advantageously.

It is still assumed by many, perhaps by most, people that most women who work do it in order to earn pin money, or money for their own support entirely and have no one dependent on them as most men have. Therefore the general public argues low wages and long hours are not as much of a handicap to women as to men. A great many times when that statement has been made to me, I have asked the speaker to count over the employed women he knows who are without home responsibilities and who devote their earnings entirely to personal uses. The result is always a revelation. It is often a revelation to

one's self, when one goes over the list of one's friends and acquaintances and notes those who are helping to support parents or other relatives, who are educating other members of the family or helping in the maintenance of crippled or invalided relatives. Usually one can count on the fingers of one hand those among one's acquaintance who have no such obligation. And almost always the majority are responsible for older people where the burden of support will grow heavier with the years rather than lighter, which is the case where the dependents are children or young people.

As I said in the beginning there are no statistics by which can be proved that all employed women use shorter hours and better pay to the best advantage from a social standpoint. Common sense proves that better health inevitably results from better working conditions. As to the recreational and educational uses to which working women devote the added leisure and income, one can only say that human beings are pretty much of an average whether they belong to the class generally termed employees or the class generally called employers. And one can assert with emphasis that the chances are that employed women use leisure as advantageously and wisely as the average man or woman.

Many times at this Conference and at conferences and conventions on almost any subject there has been reiterated the need for preserving the American standard of living, and concern where there is seeming danger that these standards may be lowered by further immigration or the shifting of too many low scale workers into occupations filled by high scale workers, who believe in the preservation of American standards. All good Americans therefore would seem to be pledged to a work day short enough to leave leisure for education and recreation and a wage high enough to provide decent and comfortable living and health conditions.

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#### THE EFFECT OF LABOR LAWS ON WOMEN WORKERS

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The effect of labor legislation on women, terms of their actual conditions and opportunity for employment in industry, has been a subject of investigation by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor for many years. In practically every study we have, of course, had to allow for the standard set up by the laws in the different states and the conditions brought about by the application of these laws. In the investigation of which I am going to talk to you this morning, however, we have attempted to examine a more limited aspect of the effects of legislation. In other words, we have tried to isolate one aspect of the effect and discover whether such legislation has resulted in

a diminution or an enlargement of opportunity for women in industry. The facts we have collected we have tried to interpret in terms of actual employment and opportunity for women.

This subject covers a vast field, and before starting in to discuss our findings, or indeed to make our investigation, we had to delimit our subject, so that it would come within the possible field of analysis. The first thing we had to decide was what labor legislation we were going to undertake to examine. Anyone who is familiar with the mass of labor laws in this country knows that these laws fall roughly into two groups—first those which regulate employment and second those which prohibit certain types of employment for certain types of workers. Much of this regulatory and prohibitory legislation deals with both men and women, but some of the laws apply only to men, and others, probably a larger group, apply only to women.

Aside from these general distinctions of labor legislation, it must be remembered that in each state legislation differs, sometimes in small details and sometimes in a very broad way. The conditions stipulated by laws may be slightly different in different states, the groups covered may vary, the powers of enforcement may be weak in one state and strong in another, and the policies of enforcement may be liberal in one state and strict in another. All of these things influence the ultimate effect of legislation and must be considered before just conclusions can be drawn. For this reason, we found in our investigation that it would not be possible to make blanket findings for all legislation, nor for any one type of legislation as applied to many different groups of persons. We have found that laws drawn for a large group of industries might be extremely disastrous if applied to some specific occupation whose requirements vary greatly from those of the industrial jobs in the industries concerned. It is also possible and probable that a law drawn to meet the specific requirements of one occupation might be totally inappropriate when applied to another occupation or group of occupations.

The most important conclusion which we have reached as a result of our investigation is that it is entirely erroneous to estimate that because a law has affected in a certain way the persons employed in one occupation, similar laws would have a similar effect on persons in other occupations. This absolutely is not the case, and yet it is one of the most prevalent misinterpretations of the effects of laws which we have run across in the course of this survey. For instance, for years we have been hearing how laws regulating or limiting women's hours of work have thrown women out of jobs, and the most prominent examples of the results of this law have been women street car conductors. Anyone who has studied the conditions and requirements of employment on street cars knows that these conditions are rarely paralleled in any industry, and that the effect of a law on street car conductors cannot possibly be interpreted as the effect on women in other industries and working under different conditions.

This is a day of specialization and we have got to specialize in our thinking on this important subject if we are to come to reasonably accurate conclusions.

An example of the need for more accurate understanding of legislative effects occurred not so very many weeks ago in New York, and I think it illustrates very clearly the dangers of jumping at conclusions on the subject of legislation without knowing the complete facts. The legislature of New York was considering a forty-eight-hour law for women in industry. In New York State, the laws, as drawn and enforced at present, deal separately with women in manufacturing establishments, women in restaurants, women in stores, etc. Separate laws are drawn for these different types of occupation. The law in New York which was being considered was a daily and weekly hour limitation for women in manufacturing. Some of the opponents to this law produced restaurant workers as their chief witnesses, and as their most telling arguments described the effect which such a law might have on women waitresses in restaurants, when such women would not be touched by the law which was under consideration. I could multiply such stories many times, and I am sure that probably most of you could do the same. For this reason I feel that it is the most important beginning for the development of a policy regarding labor legislation for women to first realize that each law and its application must be studied in detail.

There is another qualification of the law which has been much misinterpreted and which also needs to be carefully considered in estimating the effects of laws. That is, what groups of women workers do they cover? In this respect also laws differ in each state. They differ in the list of women included in the law, and they differ in the policies of the enforcement officials, so that in the last analysis no mere reading of the law can tell us what women are covered. We must go into the state and see for just what groups the law is enforced. This is a very serious matter, and one on which there has been, probably, more misconception of the scope of the law than on any other. It is these misconceptions which the Women's Bureau has found most frequently during the course of its investigation. We set out to find women who had been discriminated against because of the law. We would arrive in a state and go to some source of information and think we had got some valuable data, and then we would find that the women who, we had been told, had been discriminated against by the law had never come within the provisions of the law, or that the law had never been enforced for them. This was especially true in California, where we got many references to women employed in offices who had found that the law was a handicap. As the law in California has never been applied to women in offices this evidence was not very weighty.

In this investigation, therefore, both in collecting the material and in presenting the findings, our effort has been to isolate more or less homogeneous groups of women and of laws and examine them separately. Our method has

been to take certain industries and occupations which are typical of women's employment and to study them in states where there is a high standard of labor legislation and in other states where little or no legislation exists. In this way we have been able to contrast the position of women, in the same industries and occupations, where they are employed under legislation and where no legislation applies to them. Furthermore, we have interviewed in every state we have visited any women who could be located who have had actual experience of the effect of any law. In all we have interviewed something over a thousand women and have visited about 1,500 factories and places of employment of women. The states in which we have conducted our investigation are California, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Michigan.

Taking first the women in manufacturing industries, who are a fairly homogeneous group as far as the requirements of their employment and the possibilities of adjusting it to the standards set by legislation are concerned, there are three types of legislation the effect of which we have considered: first, daily and weekly hour limitations; second, prohibition or regulation of night work; and third, the requirement of special working conditions. Generally speaking, we have found that the most important effect of hour laws on women in the usual industrial occupations has been to shorten their hours. It has been interesting, however, to discover that in many establishments the passage of an hour law has not meant a readjustment of hours, as the standard of the establishment already was as good or better than the law required for women. This perhaps is one of the outstanding elements in legislation which are not sufficiently taken into consideration when legislation is discussed. Our experience has shown that in many cases legislation requiring certain standards for the employment of women is merely a reflection of the standards which have already been established by the most up to date and efficient employers. When, however, the result of a law was to shorten hours, in a plant where men and women were employed, it usually shortened hours for men as well as for women. We found many employers who shortened hours for their men at the same time that they shortened them for their women simply because they did not care to run their plant on two schedules. Other employers reported to us that they had at first attempted to run longer hours for the men than for the women, but they had found that it did not work successfully and therefore they had shortened the men's hours also. Naturally, in some plants studied, the men still worked longer hours than the women did, but these were in the minority.

Another effect of the passage of hour legislation for women seems to have been a certain standardization of hours. This may not be due entirely to the law, and yet it seems almost too striking to ignore that the employers who reported that they did not have overtime and did not want overtime were very much more numerous in states such as Ohio, Massachusetts, and California



than in Illinois and Indiana, where there is very little legal limitation of hours of work for women.

In no state and in no industry have we found that the legal limitation of women's hours of work has brought about any degree of substitution of men for women. We found one isolated case in a hosiery plant, where men had been substituted for women because the women could not work more than nine hours a day. We found another isolated case in a paper box factory, where the employer stated he would put women on a certain occupation if they could work overtime. That makes two bona fide cases, but the second was not so very bona fide, because the occupation for which women had been considered was not one on which women usually are employed in the paper box industry. I must confess to a considerable degree of surprise at the result of this inquiry as to the substitution of men for women because of the hour law. I thought we should find that it had occurred to a larger degree. From the many interviews we have had with employers, however, it is apparent that they hire women for certain work because they want women for that work; and the legal limitation of women's hours does not keep them from being hired. Nor is it the legal limitation of their hours that keeps them from being promoted to the supervisory positions. Many other things prevent their being appointed to supervisory positions, such as the supposed dislike of women to work under women, the refusal of men to work under women, and the prejudice of the employer against putting a woman in a supervisory position, but the fact that women cannot work more than a certain number of hours does not seem to be one of the factors which keep them so numerically few among important positions in industry. To be sure, we found few women supervisors in the states where legislation restricts their hours, but we found equally few in states where legislative standards were so liberal as to be practically nonexistent.

The opportunities of women in industry seem not to have been limited by the daily and weekly hour regulations. Their opportunities were no greater in Indiana than in California, in New York than in Massachusetts. However, the fact that in certain states women cannot work overtime has resulted not in the restriction of women's employment, but in increased opportunity for women, because in states where the women's hours are so limited that they cannot work overtime it is the usual policy of employers to hire additional women when there is extra work, or else to carry a larger force of women the year around in order to handle the peak season. In states where there is no legal regulation the employer's policy is not to hire extra women for these rush periods, but to employ the women he already has for very much longer hours. Of course, in both types of state, efficient management levels out the peaks so that there is no overtime problem. So much for the daily and weekly hour laws for women in industry.

Night work laws have a different story. We have found that laws which

prohibit women's employment in industry after a certain hour at night do result in a certain amount of substitution of men for women. If a plant must operate at night and cannot employ women at night, it is natural that men should be employed in women's places. However, the important fact about this situation is that this substitution occurs only in some of the plants which work at night. It is much more usual to find that the plant which operates a night shift does not run at night the occupations on which women normally are employed. There is an astonishingly strong feeling in industry against the employment of women at night, irrespective of legal regulation. Employer after employer told us during the course of this survey that he would not think of employing women at night. It was bad enough for men, they would say, and they would not have women around on a bet. The most outstanding reason for disapproving of night work for women was the amount of supervision necessary. There are, of course, a considerable number of employers who would like to put women on at night, during certain seasons, when their plant includes occupations which women can perform very much better than can men. In few cases, however, did the fact that an employer could not legally employ women at night limit her opportunity for employment during the day. This fact bears out the findings of the effects of the hour legislation, which is that employers hire women in industry because they want them for a special job which men cannot do so well or so cheaply, or because they have always used women and therefore consider it a woman's job. In certain establishments the fact that women cannot be employed at night does eliminate the possibility of employing them during the day time. In some plants which run on a three shift system, it is the custom for the employees on the different shifts to change from one shift to another at stated intervals, in this way each taking a turn at the day, the evening, and the night shift. Where the law prohibits women's employment on the night shift it is not unusual to find that their employment in such plants is limited on the day shifts also, because of the necessity for rotating shifts. But this occurs not only under the legal prohibition of night work. One of the most striking instances which we have found of this effect on women was in a state where there was no night work prohibition. In this state, an employer of an extremely large group of persons on the rotating shift system disapproved so strongly of the employment of women at night that he hired only the minimum number possible for employment on jobs performed only in the day time, and would not use them for his general production work because he would not employ them at night. On the whole, our study of the effect of night work regulation on women in industry has shown that night work itself, for either men or women, is frowned upon by industry and is steadily decreasing. Night work for women is considered by the majority of employers to be even more undesirable than for men, and they would not employ women even if the law permitted. There is a small residue of employers who

would put women on at night if the law permitted, and to this extent the night work law restricts women's opportunity. Against this restriction, however, should be measured the social results of the elimination of night work which have already been discussed by Miss Dunlap.

In addition to the regulation of hours and night work for women in industry is the regulation which stipulates certain working conditions and sanitary arrangements where women are employed. Here is a type of legislation which is almost entirely a reflection of the standards of efficient management and as such it is almost impossible to measure its effect in terms of women's employment. It is not likely that one will find an employer who will not hire women because he has to have a separate lavatory or toilet provision for them. His provision of chairs is also a minor matter so closely allied to efficiency and production that it cannot be easily measured in terms of possible discrimination against women. There is one type of working condition requirement, however, which has caused considerable discussion, and which we have found it possible to investigate. This is the requirement of the installation of special partitions and ventilating devices when women are employed in core rooms. It has been claimed that the requirement of such devices and the limitation of the weight which women may lift in such work has resulted in the elimination of women from this occupation. In Massachusetts, in 1917, a regulation went into effect requiring that in core rooms where women were employed there should be a partition between the oven and the core room, with special ventilating hoods over the oven and a special type of door between the two rooms. During the course of our investigation in Massachusetts, we visited every core room which we could locate where women were or had been employed. We did not find one plant which had dismissed women or curtailed their employment because of the requirements of this law. We found plants which had cut down the number of women for other reasons, but the regulations in question were so obviously the standards accepted by the industry that they seem to have had little effect on women in the Massachusetts plants investigated. A regulation requiring that women should not be allowed to carry core and core box whose combined weight was more than 25 pounds had perhaps proved a slight handicap in one or two cases, although in the majority of establishments women were working on such small cores that this regulation had no effect on the work they were doing. In one or two establishments employers stated that they would have tried women on larger cores had it not been for the necessity of careful watching of weights to see that they did not infringe the law. It does not seem likely, however, that this can be a very serious handicap to women, as in the very large majority of core rooms they were found to be working on the most satisfactory type of core for women, which is the very small one requiring a delicate touch and light fingers.

Legislation applying to women in stores is not very different in its effect

from that applying to women in manufacturing industries. It should be considered separately, however, as it usually is enacted separately and the conditions are somewhat different. In our investigation we studied the employment of women in stores in Indiana, where there is no legal regulation applying to women in stores, in California, where their hours are limited to eight a day and forty-eight a week, and in Massachusetts, where the hours are limited to nine a day and forty-eight a week. We found first that the standard of hours was a very much longer schedule in Indiana than in California or in Massachusetts. Saturday hours in Indiana ran up to ten and eleven. In California and Massachusetts Saturdays in stores are not the exhausting experience that they are in the state without legislative regulation. The position of women in stores in regard to opportunities of employment as buyers and in supervisory positions was not less advantageous in Massachusetts and California than it was in Indiana. In three stores in California we found a certain indication that the law might have restricted the employment of one or two women where the work had to be done before or after the store hours. In one California plant the employer stated that he could not employ women in the shipping room, and in another that he would not employ them as floor women because of the occasional requirement of long hours on these jobs. In a third California store it was stated that if a man and a woman applied for a job and were equally well qualified, the man would be selected so that there would be no possibility of getting tied up with the law. In one Massachusetts store it was stated that a woman would not be hired as buyer for the toy department because of the long hours required for this work at Christmas time. That is the sum total of the possible discrimination against women in stores resulting from the legal regulation of their hours of work which we discovered in this investigation.

Women employed in restaurants present rather a different problem from the women in the general industries and those employed in stores. We studied the employment of women as waitresses in restaurants in California, Illinois, and New York, all of which states have different types of legislation affecting this group. California limits their hours to eight daily and forty-eight weekly, Illinois to ten daily and seventy weekly, and New York to nine daily and fifty-four weekly. In New York there is also the prohibition of the employment of women in restaurants after the hour of 10 P. M. In that state the law does not apply to restaurants in hotels in cities of the first and second class, so that it has been possible to examine the conditions of employment of women in restaurants under the law and without the law. We have found that the legal standard for daily and weekly hours for women in restaurants is very largely accepted by the restaurants as a standard for men also. In California, for instance, there was practically no restaurant which employed men longer than the legal hours for women, indicating that this restriction on women's hours in restaurants did not place them at a disadvantage in getting employment. In

the New York restaurants to which the law limiting women's hours applied, less than 10 per cent of the men employed were working longer than the legal standard for women, and in those restaurants where the law did not apply—in other words, in the hotels—the legal standard for women in other establishments seems to have been followed very extensively, as only 2 per cent of the waiters and 9 per cent of the waitresses were employed longer than this legal standard.

With the night work law, however, the situation seems to be somewhat different. In about half of the restaurants in California and Illinois, women waitresses were employed at night. In New York the indications are that the opportunities for women's employment at night would not be great if the night work regulation were removed. Of fifty-six hotel restaurants which are exempt from the night work law in New York, only three employed women at night, although there was no legal reason why all of the fifty-six could not have done so if they had wanted to. These figures bring out one very important element of the employment of women in restaurants which has not been sufficiently emphasized in connection with the effect of legislation regulating their employment. That is, that women are not usually employed in the type of restaurant where employment after 10 o'clock at night would be especially desirable. We have all heard many times the plea that women be removed from the legal handicap which prevents their being employed in restaurants when the tips are highest and the work lightest—in other words, after 10 P. M. Our investigation has shown us very clearly that women are not employed in this type of restaurant, at any time, to any considerable extent. The restaurant which gives formal service, where the waiters get high tips, which runs special suppers after the theater, and so on, is not employing women for waiting. We found a very general feeling among managers of what might be called the first-class restaurant that the public desired men for the type of service they expected in such places. In the less desirable type of restaurant, where there was a combination of counter and table service, there was apt to be a considerable proportion of women employed. In such restaurants, however, service during the night hours can hardly be considered especially desirable. The restaurant where the largest group of women are employed and where they are employed almost exclusively is the lunch and tea room kind of establishment, where women are especially desired because it is felt that they give a homelike touch to the service and that they are neater and daintier in their work and appearance. Such establishments rarely are open as late as 10 P. M. Of course there is occasionally a high type of establishment which employs women, and some of these might employ them at night if they were not prohibited from doing so because of the law, but the indications are that such opportunities would not be very widespread and that the restriction of the night work law as it applies

to women in restaurants is not the main factor which prevents their being employed in the places where "the tips are highest and the work lightest."

In addition to the general occupations of women in manufacturing, mercantile, and restaurant work, there are many special occupations which have been affected one way or the other by legislative restrictions. These occupations cannot be grouped, as they are distinctive in their requirements and in the effects of the laws, but they show some of the most interesting factors which should be considered in outlining legislation and putting it into effect. Perhaps the most prominent of these occupations is the employment of women as street car conductors, guards, and ticket agents. Many of us have heard the story of the women employed in the rapid transit companies of New York City, who were taken on during the war as conductors and who had been employed as agents for many years before the war, who were put under the factory law limiting their hours to nine consecutive hours a day and fifty-four hours a week, prohibiting night work, and requiring one hour for lunch and one day's rest in seven. As a result of the extension of the law to this occupation, the company laid off many women and claimed that it was due entirely to the law. After considerable effort on the part of the women who had been laid off, and others, the law was repealed. This story has been told many times as an example of what legislation does to working women.

Now I want to emphasize more strongly perhaps than I want to emphasize anything else that the effect of this law on this occupation in the first place is not entirely clear, and in the second place cannot possibly be interpreted as typical of the effect on other occupations of women. In the first place, employment in transportation offers unusual problems. We all know of the peak periods which come in transportation, but they are far distant from each other, and we can realize some of the problems which must come to a company which has to have its maximum number of employees at two periods of the day, ten or twelve hours apart, and is faced with a law which requires that its women be employed a limited number of consecutive hours. The transportation company also must run continuously, and the shifts on which the various employees work are some of them desirable, some of them undesirable. To adjust the distribution of these undesirable and desirable shifts, it has been necessary to resort to a scheme of seniority rights, by which the person with the greatest advantage of seniority right can choose his or her shift. If women are not allowed to be employed during the periods when the most undesirable shifts occur, and if women are the most recent comers and therefore have the lowest seniority rights, I think we can all understand that the company must be in something of a quandary as to how to adjust the employment of women with the legal requirements. The street car company in question in New York City did not find that it could so adjust, and laid off its women employees in great numbers.



The most intriguing element in this situation, however, is that at the same time that this company was laying off its women conductors because, it said, it could not meet with requirements of the law, another company in the same city, which was operating over a state line and therefore did not come under the New York law, stopped hiring women conductors who had been taken on during the war simply because it considered that this had been merely emergency work for women and it did not care to keep them on after the men returned. This same company is employing women ticket agents for not more than nine hours a day, and it employs no women after the hour of 10 P. M. It is apparent, therefore, that a certain amount of adjustment can be made by a transportation company to meet modern standards for women's employment, but anyone who has studied the necessities of transportation will realize the folly of trying to enforce for its occupation a standard which has been devised for industries which operate under such different conditions.

The regulation of the hours of women printers has been another very controversial subject in relation to legislation. Here too, as in transportation, we have come against the problem of the need for employment at night, in this case the work being to get out morning newspapers. In this occupation also the method used is that of seniority rights and choice of shifts. The night work law which was enforced for this occupation in New York State undoubtedly proved a handicap to a certain group of women employed in printing establishments. They combined, and after some years of effort secured an exemption from the law. The extent of the effect of this law has not been very great, however, because there are comparatively few women employed in this occupation. In fact, a recent study made in New York State showed that five years after the exemption of these women from the provisions of the law only forty of the one hundred fifty women employed on newspapers were employed at night. In our investigation we found women employed at night in printing establishments in other states who were highly skilled, well paid, and thoroughly satisfied with their work. This is a highly organized trade, and the women in it are in a position more or less to influence the terms of their employment. It seems, therefore, as if this were one of the occupations which could be successfully regulated without resort to legal enactments.

The employment of women in pharmacy is another of these semi-professional occupations of women to which the law has been applied in some few cases with unsatisfactory results as far as the opportunity of the women was concerned. We have made a special study of women pharmacists because we felt that, being a semi-professional occupation which required considerable preliminary training, it was one in which the effects of legislation would show up very clearly. It was necessary to get our information about this occupation through questionnaires, which is, at best, an unsatisfactory method. We found among those questionnaires enough evidence of a possible handicap to women

in this profession because of legal restrictions of their hours to make us draw the conclusion that this too is an occupation which could be left to other methods of regulation. Almost every state has special regulations applying to men and women pharmacists alike, which limit their hours of work, and it seems as though this should be an adequate method for this occupation. Although we have found enough evidence of possible discrimination to warrant the statement I have just made, I think it is important to tell you that as far as the actual position of women pharmacists is concerned the removal of such legislation probably will have very little effect. It will be far more important to develop public opinion to the point where the woman pharmacist is accepted on the same par as a man pharmacist. At present the public does not feel the same confidence in the woman pharmacist as in the man. The employer does not feel the same confidence in a woman as in a man, and there also are some drawbacks to the employment of women in pharmacy which will serve as a more or less permanent handicap. These drawbacks relate to the physical requirements of the work, such as handling heavy carboys and packages of drugs. More efficient management may in the future obviate this drawback to women's employment, but at present it seems to be one of the chief reasons given why women are not more extensively employed. That and the public prejudice against the woman pharmacist are the two things which are at present holding women back in pharmacy. Legislation may have had some minor effect, but if so the effect has been so minor that it can hardly be measured.

I have saved until the end the greatest offender in laws for women. These are the laws which prohibit women's employment in certain occupations. There is a long list of occupations which are prohibited for women in one or more states, and some of these prohibitions have aroused the ire of the opponents of labor legislation, and I think justly so. Others of these prohibitory laws are insignificant in their possible effect on women, but certain of them deserve very careful consideration. The ones that we have taken up in the course of this investigation are the laws which prohibit the employment of women operating certain grinding and buffing wheels on certain types of material, the laws which prohibit their being employed on acetylene or electric welding, and the laws which prohibit their employment as taxi drivers or gas and electric meter readers. Ohio and New York are the states which prohibit the grinding and buffing. We have found in many other states women successfully employed on grinding and buffing operations which would be prohibited for them in these two states. We have found employers satisfied with the work of women on these operations and we have found the women enthusiastic about the work and the pay. We know that the origin of these laws was a safety measure put in at a time when the safeguards and improvements of machinery had not been installed, so that modern conditions were not considered. Under the present modern conditions, however, it seems nothing short of absurd that women

should not be allowed in these two states to do this work, which sometimes is highly skilled but in many other cases is purely automatic and is done under excellent conditions. Of course there are many types of grinding which are not suitable and probably cannot be made suitable for women. This is not sufficient justification, however, for prohibiting all grinding operations for women.

The same thing seems to be true of the electric and acetylene welding; although women acetylene welders are not employed in any great numbers they are occasionally so employed with very great success, and with the modern safeguards there seems to be little reason why a prohibition of this work should exist for them. In Ohio women cannot be employed as taxi drivers, and yet we have found in New York, California, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania women who are doing this work with perfect success and satisfaction. In fact, in Pennsylvania a company has recently inaugurated a whole fleet of cabs driven by women chauffeurs, and their report to us is that the women are most satisfactory in every way. These women are employed under better conditions than the men were employed under by the same company; they are not allowed to take out their cabs after 10 o'clock at night, and the latest word we have from the company is that their accident rate seems to be lower than the men's.

Gas and electric meter reading as an occupation for women has been rather difficult to investigate, as we could find practically no women so employed. The statements of a number of public utilities companies, however, indicate that they had tried women at this work during the war but had not found it too successful and had transferred the women to other departments. It is, however, in the realm of possibility that a certain amount of meter reading might be developed which would not have the drawbacks of the present methods of work.

On the whole, it seems as though these prohibitory laws were the outstanding examples of possible discrimination against women which we have met in the course of this study. It is a difficult thing to measure what such a law might do to women's opportunities in the state where it exists, and yet from the experience of other states it seems probable that regulation is better and just as feasible as prohibition for those occupations in which women might become useful employees.

We have covered a broad field in discussing the effect of legislation on women workers. If we are to get any idea of what this effect is we have to cover a broad field. Our investigation started out to get definite conclusive figures on this subject. We found that we cannot get such figures. It is a question of policies of employment, and these policies have to be secured not from figures but from the employer in terms of what he has done. There is no one thing that we can put our finger on and say "this shows the effect of the law." We can only point to the fact that in industry itself, after persistent

questioning and interviewing and examination, we found many different reasons for employing women here, there, and everywhere, and we also got many reasons for not employing them, but the least of all the reasons given to us for not employing them was the legislation regulating their employment.

On the whole, I think we can safely say that the regulatory laws as applied to the great bulk of women wage earners, those who are engaged in the manufacturing processes of industry, do not handicap women but serve to regularize employment and establish the accepted standards of modern efficient industrial management. When applied to specific occupations, not entirely akin to the industrial occupations for which the laws were drawn, this regulatory legislation has in a few instances proved to be a handicap to women.

Laws prohibiting night work for women in industry seem also to be generally merely a reflection of the usual attitude of employers regarding such employment, but occasionally they result in a limitation of women's employment. When applied indiscriminately, however, to certain special occupations which are professional or semi professional in type, night work prohibitions or regulations have resulted in restrictions of women's employment which do not seem to be entirely warranted by the conditions of work. The laws which prohibit women's employment in certain occupations have been found in a number of instances to be an unnecessary restriction.

The most satisfactory future policy for legislation affecting women will probably be a more careful adjustment of laws to the requirements of certain occupations, a more specific stipulation of the type of worker covered by the law and a replacement of prohibitions by regulations except for such occupations as are shown to be more hazardous for women than for men.

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#### RELATION OF THE CURATIVE WORKSHOP TO THE REHABILITATION OF DISABLED PERSONS

*Hilda B. Goodman, Director, Junior League Curative Workshop, Milwaukee*

You all remember how at school we studied the courses of rivers and watched them grow from the source to the mouth. When I was motoring through Glacier National Park the driver stopped the car at the top of a hill and said: "If you were to pour some water over this spot it would flow into three rivers—the Columbia, the Saskatchewan, and the Mississippi. If we were to follow these tiny streams we should soon see other streams from the right and left joining the main stream, and as this continues for many miles we at last have these mighty rivers but if these tributaries did not make the contact and join the main stream there would be smaller rivers resulting in far less power and force." So it must be with our job. We are all working at different branches of the same big scheme, rehabilitation. Sometimes we are so busy

carving out the bed of our own tributary that we fail to make the contact with the main stream and so all lose by it.

We must have cooperation so that we can understand the whole situation, so that we do not duplicate what someone else is doing, so that we work in an intellectual and scientific way. What has occupational therapy and a curative workshop to do with the rehabilitation of disabled persons? Let us start at the beginning and see what happens when a man gets hurt. He is taken to the hospital and for a few days he is in too much pain to do a great deal of thinking, but everything has changed for him. Maybe he was earning thirty, or forty, or fifty dollars a week, perhaps more, and now his income is cut to eighteen dollars. He soon begins to realize that he is going to be out of work for some time, that his home cannot be kept up on that amount, and that his wife will have to go to work or run into debt. If his wife works, who is to take care of the children and the home? This is the man's problem and what he is worrying about. Again, the man has always been very active and used to hard work and now he is forced to lie idle week after week. Do you remember the time you were shut in the house for a week and how irritable you were by the end of that time? We are free people, we hate to feel restraint of any kind, and when we are restrained it gets on our nerves.

The doctors are trying to mend the damage done, the nurses are busy taking care of the patient's physical needs, the social service worker (if the hospital has one) is trying to do what she can for the family, but who is taking care of the patient's mental needs? For a long time this aspect has been neglected, but now we are beginning to realize that the mental attitude of the patient has a great deal to do with his recovery. This is the job of the occupational therapist. As soon as the man is able to take notice the "O. T." should begin to interest him in something—perhaps just at first to read him a short funny story, then later to get him to do some easy piece of craftwork. This work is recreational only; the "O. T." is trying to make the patient content; she is keeping up his morale. He soon becomes interested in making small gifts for the many people who are being good to him and so the time passes quickly. If the man has a fractured leg and has to lie in bed for many weeks he should be receiving physiotherapy treatment for his uninjured muscles. These muscles can be exercised and kept in tone while the patient is in bed thus giving him more strength when he begins to get about. Then comes the period when the man is an ambulatory patient in a wheel chair. He may try to help the nurse but if you have spent much time in a hospital you will all agree with me that these men need some definite work to do. Many of the lazy habits that the insurance companies have to fight against later are formed at this period. After one has lounged around aimlessly for a few weeks it becomes a habit and work means effort. Every hospital needs an occupational therapy workshop where the man is kept busy. This again is recreational work unless other-

wise prescribed by the physician, but the "O. T." has a real job in directing the patient's efforts in the right channels. It is also essential that the patient be having physiotherapy treatments and exercise every day. If it is known that the man cannot go back to his old job an official from the vocational school should also visit him. "Keep the man right up to the mark," is our slogan so that he does not have the chance to get rusty thoughts and rusty joints.

Then comes the day when the man is discharged and is sent home. It is going to be a long time before he can go back to work. His treatments must be continued and the right place to send him is a curative workshop. At the curative workshop in Milwaukee the patient must be sent with a doctor's prescription. He is then given physiotherapy and occupational therapy. The physiotherapy treatment is a passive treatment; it is something we are doing for the man; the patient has to make no effort himself; in fact he is told to relax his muscles. These treatments are preparatory; heat, electricity, and massage have put the joint in the best possible shape for movement. We are willing to do all that is possible for the man, but afterward we expect him to do something for himself. So he is sent to the Occupational Therapy Department where he takes his active treatment, making voluntary motions. A man with a painful stiff joint needs a great deal of encouragement, it is a painful process; he needs competition to capture his interest for cures work very slowly. He needs advice and instruction, for although most men are anxious to get well very few know how to do the exercise. They need to realize that they are improving, so drawings are made of their stiff joints when they enter the workshop and each week thereafter. These drawings are put where the men can see them, then they are given tests. In the factory they must pick up small objects, so in the workshop they pick up beans in a given time, hammer nails, and put in screws.

It is fun to watch the progress. If a man has a stiff shoulder he climbs a registered ladder or turns a wheel. It is much more interesting to exercise a stiff ankle on a scroll saw than it is to exercise it mechanically. The workshop also means companionship and a three hour a day job. We try to make the work interesting, but also to make the men feel that they have to play the game and do their best. When a man wants to fake he generally tries to get out of coming to the workshop, for he knows he can't fool anyone there. We have a recreational room where the men can play pool and other games and incidentally get a great deal of exercise. Patients are sent to their doctors each week. When the drawings and measurements cease to improve it is time to discharge the patient. If he can go back to his old job he should return; if he cannot do the work he has been used to he should be turned over to the Vocational School where he can be fitted for a new trade or be advised about some other kind of work he can do; if he cannot return to work at all he should then be handed on to the shut-in or homebound organizations where he can



learn to make things that will bring him in as much remuneration as he is capable of earning.

A great deal of education is still necessary. The public, out of sympathy, gives charity which keeps many crippled men from making a real effort to support themselves. Then employer and employee must cooperate. There are a great many jobs which the handicapped can do, but at present people generally regard a cripple as a helpless person and only a few employers will consider giving him a job. In France in 1848 the government erected national workshops with the idea that every citizen has a right to work; in England an unemployed man gets the dole. Both these methods have failed in their purpose. As we are all individuals it would seem that no organized plan will be able to fit all cases, but it is only just and fair, when a man has been injured through no fault of his own and is willing and anxious to do his best at a job again, that there should be some job that he could do. Rehabilitation is only in its infancy, but it has a good, sound beginning and the future looks very bright for the movement.

## VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

### THE CHALLENGE OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

*E. L. Morgan, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia*

The social and economic situation indicates that farm people are in the midst of the greatest crisis in their history, which holds the possibility of a strong, virile, sound system of living on one hand and peasantry on the other. This crisis will pass as soon as we are ready to make the necessary adjustments in agriculture and country life which permanent progressive development demands. There is no panacea for this, but it must be worked out through organized self help.

This brings clearly into prominence the importance of the local rural group which is the community. Here it is a distinct challenge to reconstruction through social organization. Throughout all human relations there is the challenge of progress accompanied by the tragedy of change, e. g., change must be met with change.

Probably the greatest social change in our civilization is now going on in connection with the small town and the open country and community units. The development of modern transportation and communication has broken down old community boundaries. New alignments are being made. Rural people are deserting one community as a service station for another merely because of greater convenience of transportation. Accompanying this is the tendency toward breakdown of the open country communities which has up to this time been a large factor in the development of rural America. The rural social unit of the future will consist of a village and the surrounding farm country. Its boundaries will be determined by both the trade and social service areas.

Any development of social work outside of cities will need to recognize two things: first, the county as the organization unit; second, the community as the operating unit. The use of the community as the operating unit is far more feasible than within the city. The unit is sufficiently small so that its problems appear in relatively simple terms. Small town people are in the habit of thinking and planning together. It represents what Colley calls the real "we group." Everybody knows everybody else.

The community planning idea while almost unknown to cities has been used in small town and open country development for more than a quarter of

a century. Farmers living in the midst of planning look ahead and readily appropriate this to their social relations. The outstanding need in connection with the rural community is that a comprehensive, practical program of work be developed which can be made the basis of progressive development. Such a program should involve those things by which a community lives, e. g., agriculture, education, civic affairs, recreation, home making, religion and morals, the welfare of childhood, etc. Such a development will not come about without experienced leadership. This can be furnished by a social worker, a teacher, county superintendent of schools, county agricultural agent, or any other person who is acquainted with modern procedure in community organization. In such development the following steps are thought to be essential:

First, conferences of the outstanding leaders of the community to discuss the feasibility of the development of a community program of work.

Second, if this group of leaders is favorable to an organization plan they may call a mass meeting of the community at which time the entire matter is discussed and the community decides to proceed to develop a program of work or to let the whole matter alone.

Third, if the community decides to proceed it then works out a planning committee for each of the major community interests. These committees are expected to do two things: (a) study the community to ascertain the outstanding needs in their particular field of interest; (b) develop two or three projects upon which the community may work during the coming year.

Fourth, as soon as the planning committees are ready to report a second mass meeting of the community is called at which time the committees report their proposals. Some of these the community accepts and some may be rejected. Such as are accepted become the community program of work.

Fifth, at the second mass meeting the community elects permanent officers, consisting of president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer. These officers together with the chairmen of committees make up the executive committee which is the only organization usually necessary. These officers then proceed through monthly meetings and continue to work out the program of work.

Sixth, about a year from the time of the first get-together the community meets in what is called the annual community meeting. At this time reports are made concerning the work done during the past year and new committees are appointed to work out projects for the coming year.

Some such a plan of community organization as the foregoing represents in my judgment the limiting factor in the development of rural affairs. There are, of course, some rural problems which must be developed upon a national or state basis. The outstanding need, however, is for organized self help among farm and village people. This can come about on a community basis only. It is this patient, thoroughgoing, practical development of local community affairs which I consider to be the challenge of country life—social and economic.

## RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH—METHODS AND RESULTS

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Man is the label of heredity and environment. He is, in part, also the manufacturer of both his heredity and his environment. Scientific research and experimentation are the modern means for the accurate analysis and synthesization of heredity and environment as these forces of nature and nurture relate to the improvement of man and as man relates himself to them and to their improvement, both in his attitude and his actions. This paper will deal primarily with research, the first of these two instruments of social progress. Furthermore, it will be restricted largely to rural social research.

*The purpose of or objectives in rural social research.*—Rural social research plays an important rôle in the answer to that perpetual dual question which socially conscious individuals and communities are always asking about their communities, namely, what can be done to improve local conditions and how can it be done? To answer this dual question specifically for any community there is needed a type of research that discovers, analyzes, and correlates the inside, or taproot, forces which give rise to a community's social relationships as well as the surface factors which serve as connecting links in those relationships. Such a type of research rests on the basic principle that social conditions are open to correction as they are to creation. This involves social diagnosis, social prescription, social persuasion, and social production.

But even more specifically rural social research, as the writer sees it, may take as its purpose or objective one of the three following goals, or a combination of these: first, to give students first hand experience in social fact finding; second, to ascertain facts on rural social conditions as such for the purpose of increasing the volume of rural social scientific knowledge; and third, to ascertain scientific facts regarding specific communities for the purpose of projecting and executing practical programs of local improvement and social progress. Any one of these objectives, within proper limits and safeguards, constitutes a very worth while goal in both social research and social progress. However, two or even all three of these goals may often be achieved in the same process, if careful planning and tactful leadership is exercised in connection with the work. If the three purposes can be served in the one process the largest amount of social good will have been achieved, with probably the minimum expenditure of individual and social effort. This suggests that careful planning, a tactful setting up of the project and skilful and thorough procedure are essential in scientific rural social research. This in turn brings us to a consideration of instruments and methods of rural social discovery, diagnosis and treatment.

*Instruments of rural social research.*—In many fields of investigation experimentation is extensively used as an instrument of research. But experimentation has very rigid limitations in its direct application by the sociologist

to at least the main part of his subject matter, namely man. Experimentation has a somewhat wider application to the activities of men and to social institutions and organization. But even in this phase of the field of social progress experimentation of the purely "hit or miss" or trial and retention or rejection type is likely to be both extremely slow and very costly. The trial and retention or rejection type of experimentation has little to recommend it for the sociologist unless it is based upon thorough preceding study of local conditions.

Indirect experimentation, that is, experiments carried on on other animals followed by man's translation of the results as to their effects when applied to man and social institutions, also has very rigid limitations for the sociologists. As to direct experimentation upon man himself, and even to a large extent upon man's institutions, there are two difficulties which handicap the sociologist. These are: first, since a generation in the life of the main part of his subject matter is the same as that of the experimenting sociologist he is unable to experiment with enough generations to make his experiments scientifically reliable. Even in the case of social institutions the sociologist cannot himself directly observe the action and reaction of several generations of men toward them. Second, neither men nor social institutions will voluntarily surrender or lend themselves for long time experimentation unless the service received in return therefor is considered comparable to or sufficient compensation for the self surrender they must undergo in the process. That is to say, free men and legitimate institutions will not long permit themselves to be used as social clinic material unless a satisfactory and compensating service is received in return therefor.

A fairly common instrument of social research is investigation in the narrower sense of the word. In this sense of investigation, the investigator usually has some idea that he wishes to verify, or has some preconceived notion that facts or conditions are about so, and so sets out to verify them by making certain observations and inquiries in the field. Sometimes he tries to do this by not letting it be known what the actual reason for his presence in the field is. That is, he may camouflage his real work and presence by openly doing something else while he is in the field, or round about. This camouflage method is commonly resorted to when the investigator is seeking damaging evidence pertaining particularly to the action of certain individuals or institutions. Investigation in this narrower sense usually does not represent the entire social picture, either because the investigator who has preconceived notions about conditions probably sees in the field only those facts which verify his preconceived notions or ideas or because he fails to see these facts in their true setting; or in the other case because the investigator seeks only damaging evidence. So the portrayal of social conditions based on investigations of this kind are not based on the complete observation and evaluation of all the facts, or at least, not of all the facts in their true relationships to each other.

During the pioneer stages of rural social research, and even yet when very

large areas are involved, it has been common to resort to the commission inquiry and report method of research. The Roosevelt Country Life Commission inquiry and report is a good example of this type of procedure in rural social discovery and social diagnosis. This commission went about from place to place over the country connecting up with leading local individuals and institutions and thus sought to gain from them reliable information concerning local conditions. The information so gained was in a large measure somewhat better than average estimates. The scientific reliability or accuracy of information so gathered may, of course, well be questioned, but in the case of the Country Life Commission Report, and as is the case with most of such inquiries and reports, the report served a good purpose as a preliminary survey and contained enough of concise and suggestive information to center constructive thought upon this hitherto neglected field with the result that it blazed the trail for the early organization of more serious and thorough research in this field. Commission inquiries and reports may, therefore, still be regarded as a constructive instrument of rural social research particularly as a means of making preliminary or superficial surveys of large areas. Information secured through its use is more suggestive than scientific, and so suggests leads to be followed up rather than provides bases of complete discovery and thorough diagnosis.

The questionnaire as an instrument of social research is no longer extensively used except in very restricted fields where an individual expert may resort to its use to secure specific information from fellow experts in the same or closely allied fields. The reason the questionnaire is not and cannot well be relied upon by itself is that it is selective in its operation and yet it provides its user no scientific means of determining just to what extent it is selective or to what degree the information it contains is representative. The questionnaire, as a supplement to the social survey or used in connection with the social survey, has possibilities, which, in the opinion of the writer, have not been as extensively utilized as they may well be. Most social surveys must of necessity be quite restricted as to the areas which are covered by this method of study, and often also as to subject matter. An important question that arises in connection with survey findings is, to what extent are the findings of the survey representative of conditions in areas contiguous to the surveyed area? By covering these contiguous areas with a well arranged yet simple questionnaire it is possible that some fairly reliable checks and guides may be secured for generalizing from the data secured in the survey as to actual conditions beyond the boundary of the surveyed area.

The social survey is now undoubtedly the most commonly used instrument of rural social research. For that reason it will be considered in more detail than any of the other methods of social research. A rural social survey is a scientific inventory, analysis, and portrayal of the forces and factors which exist and are at work, both favorably and unfavorably, in a rural community. Social surveying is a type of photography. Social photography or social survey-



ing differs, however, from ordinary photography—photographing—in that in ordinary photography the photographer usually does a lot of retouching on the negative so as to remove all the defects which the camera found in the subject while in social photography, or social surveying, the photographer gives to the community the unretouched though clearly marked picture of itself and leaves the retouching for the community to do.<sup>1</sup> The social survey is then both a scientific and a practical tool of social construction.

*Classification of surveys on the bases of scope of inquiry and intensiveness of inquiry.*—Rural social surveys, based on the scope of the inquiry, may be classified as, first, composite surveys, second, segmental surveys.

The composite social survey is sometimes designated as a synthetic survey, or as an intensive survey. This type of social survey aims to make at least some study of the population, economic, educational, moral, political, religious, and social forces and factors, both individual and group, that are extant and operating in the area surveyed. A social survey might be made, however, in which no considerable attention had been given to one or more of the divisions listed above and yet it would be designated as a composite social survey by most social surveyors and sociologists.

The segmental social survey is a problem survey. It is sometimes denoted as a special or limited survey. A segmental survey would single out and make a study of one of the divisions or segments listed under the composite survey. Or it might even be restricted to a study of one part of any of these segments, as for example, a health survey or a recreation survey, both of which are parts of what the writer includes under the term social, as listed under the composite survey.

*The rural social survey set-up.*—There are a number of important factors in the setting up and the execution of a successful rural social survey. First there is an important difference between the ways social construction work is carried on in the country and in the city. All, or at least most of you, know how extensively the case work method is relied upon and practiced in our cities as a tool of social construction. Case work is a triangular system. At one corner of the triangle is the philanthropist, whether a private individual or the public, who furnishes the means for carrying on the work, at another corner of the triangle is the expert social worker who is employed by the philanthropist, and at the third corner of the triangle is the case that is to be assisted or reconstructed by the expert social worker. The philanthropist is not a social case, at least he does not regard himself as such. He is employing the social expert or case worker to work with or upon someone else whom he regards as a social case. The philanthropist pays for the expert and the case gets her services. Of course, the philanthropist also gets the services of the expert, but it comes to him and the community indirectly through the direct expert service which the philanthropist provides for those individuals the employed expert assists.

<sup>1</sup> Sippy, *Rural Manhood*, April, 1915, p. 172.

In the country it is different. The country has not yet reached the case method stage in any large way. In the country the County Agricultural Agent and the Home Demonstration Agent are not paid by one group of individuals primarily, that they may directly serve or assist some other group. The very term "agent" in the title of these experts is significant. They are thought of as the direct agents or paid experts of those who employ them quite as much as that they shall serve as experts to others, as is the case of the social case worker. The triangular system then of the city, when applied to the country, is not a triangle but a straight line system. That is, at one end of the line are those who pay for the expert. At the other end of the line is the paid expert and he or she is to serve up and down that line and not off at a third corner of a triangle. These experts serve their employers directly and primarily in the capacity of agents and counselors.

These experts are not regarded as case workers but as expert advisers and agents. Farmers who employ them and expect to receive their services do not regard themselves as social cases any more than the city philanthropist regards himself as a case. The farmer, therefore, thinks in terms of community organization, community work, or cooperative work rather than case work. If once this can be genuinely understood, the running quarrel between the community organizationists and the social case workers as to which should be devoured or vanquished by the other will cease to be a quarrel, or even a serious argument. Case work is quite the proper thing in the city, with its heterogeneity of people and occupations, while community work is probably quite as proper in the country, where there is a homogeneity of occupation and also of people to a large extent, except in the South where there are two races on the farm. When your neighbor in town gets sick you probably cannot take care of or look after his work, for while he is perhaps a grocer, you are perhaps a doctor, a lawyer, or a druggist. In the country when a neighbor gets sick, his neighbors can look after his work for theirs is just like it. In the country there is but one occupation, in the city there are all the other occupations and professions except the one that is in the country. The city, therefore, needs its social case experts as the country needs its community experts. At least that is the way the farmer still sees it. So when you want to examine his children, he wants his neighbor's children examined also, and perhaps will suggest that you examine the school children. He calls it community work or community organization work because it is a community enterprise. If you want to call it case work only remember to include every farmer in the community, then it becomes a social or community survey or project.

Enough has now been said to explain why, as the writer sees it, the case method has not yet been widely introduced as a tool of rural social research, at least not under that name. This tool or method of social research will, therefore, be passed over by adding that perhaps this method of research hasn't yet

got itself established in the rural districts because it is not so readily adapted to rural conditions.

Apparently case work succeeds best where there are enough cases in close proximity to each other and to other classes that are, or believe themselves to be, above the ordinary social case level, that these other classes shall continuously see these cases as a menace or danger to the whole structure of the local community and local institutions. In such environments usually enough interest can be maintained to promote continuous social case work that is both of a research and of an ameliorative and preventive type.

In the country, on the other hand, two rather different conditions prevail. In the established plains communities the serious social cases are comparatively few in areas so small that they can be regarded as communities. The result is that even though the local community should regard these cases as continuously menacing to its well being, which it usually does not do, it would still be unable to employ and to provide full time employment for an expert social worker. To induce a larger unit such as a county to provide such an expert is also difficult because those who would bear the expense of such work and the work to be done are not situated in areas small enough for the latter to impress itself upon the former with sufficient force to produce such desired and continuous action. The Iowa plan of social work, where a local social service league executive secretary is also made county overseer of the poor, is a step in the solution of this situation.

The other condition in the country is where there are plenty of social case work cases in close proximity to each other, but where the classes who become disturbed by the situation and who would ordinarily be expected to provide the services of an expert worker are missing. This situation exists in three rather distinct areas and types of rural communities. It exists in some of the older rural communities of the eastern part of our country from which the physically, mentally, and morally virile have gone and have taken with them today's better civilization and institutions. This has left behind an undue number of defective and delinquent individuals in pockets in these communities to interbreed and level down social standards and institutions to their own retrograding habits and abilities. Civilization may be said to have moved off and left these communities. The other extreme is out on what is still our near frontier. Here civilization has not yet fully arrived. Individuals and groups arrived here ahead of civilization with its up to date social machinery. Then there are the hill and mountain areas of the southern states, where civilization with its up to date social machinery has not yet penetrated, even though individuals and groups have continuously lived there for several generations. If social case work is to get itself well rooted in these areas, its means of rooting will have to be provided from the outside. In some cases it may not only have to be first provided but also long maintained from the outside. This fact has detained its arrival and perhaps made its duration less certain in these sections.

Returning now to the social survey as a tool of rural social research, it is important that we note a few other facts which pertain to the survey set-up and execution. One of the most effective, if not the most effective and important, uses to which the social survey can be put is to provide a scientific basis of local social progress. If it is to be so used, particularly in rural communities, it must have the active and sympathetic cooperation of the local people, both in the collecting of the survey data and in the use of the survey findings in a program of local social improvement. In order to secure such an active and sympathetic cooperation, both the object and the method of the survey must be sold and kept sold to the local people. They must see it and accept it as their survey, their project, their program of progress. Proper local preliminary preparation and education, the appointment of a local survey committee to serve as a buffer between the surveyor and the surveyed, or as a counselor to the former and a persuader of the latter, are very essential to the successful execution of a rural social survey. Without such local cooperation the survey is most likely to fall down in the first essential, namely, the securing of complete and reliable data. Unless such cooperation can be secured and maintained, the findings of the survey will also not be put to the most and best local use.

Before a group of this sort, one needs only to say, in regard to the survey schedule, that it should meet the following essentials: first, be so carefully planned and phrased that the questions asked of the surveyed by the surveyor will be as uniformly interpreted by all the surveyed as possible, so that the data and information secured shall be both reliable and comparable; second, keep up interest and confidence in the survey on the part of the surveyed so that he may and will give the surveyor the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; third, secure complete and accurate subjective and objective information on that part of the community—individuals, organizations, and institutions—which the survey purports to cover.

*Different emphases in rural social surveying.*—Another important phase of the social survey is the line which the major emphasis of the survey shall take. So far survey methodology has developed along two rather different lines in this respect. To some this seems unfortunate and undesirable. To the writer it seems that the line of emphasis which the particular survey should take may well depend on the primary objective or purpose of the survey, and to some extent also on the area that is covered by it.

Rural social surveys that have been made so far fall mainly into two classes, those covering large areas as entire counties, several counties, entire states or even larger areas, and those covering small areas such as communities, consolidated school districts, townships, or a few townships. The best examples of the former class of rural social surveys are those made by the Federal Children's Bureau, the National Child Labor Committee, and that begun by the late Interchurch World Movement. The chief object of such surveys, I think, may be said to be the securing of scientific data on which to base constructive

propaganda looking to constructive legislation and education in the large, and from outside of small areas. Since these surveys usually cover such large areas that it is impossible for them to make a close up study, that is, a house to house study, and since the findings are to be used primarily for constructive propaganda and educational work over large areas, the reports on these surveys usually take what the writer chooses to call the negative line of emphasis. That is, in the survey reports based on these surveys, one finds chiefly only the portrayal and enumeration of the undesirable and subnormal facts and conditions.

This portrayal of the negative facts and conditions that are operating in these surveyed areas and the saying of little or nothing about the positive forces in the same areas, seems most effective as a means to the chief end that is aimed at in these surveys, namely, constructive propaganda. Of course, it would also be impractical to include all the positive facts about such large areas, even if they had been secured, because their inclusion would make the survey report too bulky. Such a lifting of actual facts about the abnormal and undesirable social conditions seems necessary to arouse legislative and responsible distant forces for constructive action. However, when the facts presented by such surveys are used in the classroom as scientific information, the instructor should not fail to remind his class of the fact that these facts have been lifted out of their natural setting, that the positive facts about these areas have been purposely omitted in the survey report.

The positive emphasis, that is, the portrayal of all the facts, good, indifferent, and bad, as ascertained by the survey, are more generally found in the survey reports of surveys made by the rural sociologists, especially those connected with the land grant colleges and universities. These sociologists seem to have taken seriously their duty to rural communities in supplying the answer to that dual question which aroused rural communities are constantly asking, namely, what can be done to improve rural social conditions and how can it be done? These sociologists are trying to answer this question first by ascertaining what the most progressive rural communities have already done and how they did it. This has led them to make surveys of the best local communities and to list all the facts, good, bad, and indifferent, about them in their true perspective and actual relations in printed reports or bulletins. From this they are proceeding in their survey work to that of surveying less and less progressive communities and thus by comparison pointing the way to improvements, first by revealing what more advanced communities have done and how they did it, and secondly, by pointing the way to local improvements by the method that the farmer uses in improving his livestock and grain, namely, by gradually replacing scrub or inferior types with superior. And, as is the case with livestock and grain, there is space for only so much, and if the space gradually comes to be all occupied by the superior types, there will be no inferior—so with a community's people and social institutions, the superior will

replace the inferior if the local people become and remain determined that they shall do so.

Since these surveys are primarily for local consumption, that is, to serve the local community as a practical scientific basis for building programs of self development and improvement, and for the supplying of scientific data on rural social conditions rather than for the larger propaganda work, the writer believes that the positive emphasis has advantages for these purposes just as what he has chosen to speak of as the negative emphasis has in the other field of rural social surveying. In his own survey work he has followed this positive line of emphasis from the beginning of his work in 1914. In some respects he may be said to have introduced this method in the rural field. He did so because he was convinced that for local continuous improvement eradication by replacement would be more effective than attempts at direct eradication. That is, that eradicating the undesirable social conditions by replacing them with superior ones as the farmer replaces inferior animals by superior animals, would get farther and faster than spasmodic prodding of running sores when these become a bit more menacing or noticeable than normally. The present almost general use of this method in local rural social surveying and certain tangible results arising therefrom seem to indicate that this method is a valid one where the main objective of the survey is its local utilization and scientific revelation.

*Rural social survey results.*—The phrase, results of rural social surveys, has come to have a double meaning. One meaning refers to rural social survey findings and the other to the effects produced by the survey, or what follows from the survey.

The two lines of emphasis which have been developed in rural social surveying, as outlined above, suggest a very wide range of survey findings. But the very wide range of rural social conditions which prevail in the different parts of the United States suggest even as great a variety of findings within the scope of surveys of the same type but made in different areas. Lack of modern conveniences in the farm home, illiteracy, unsanitary conditions, lack of a good water supply, over-crowded farm houses, lack of medical care, child labor and rural poverty as shown by survey findings of many of the children's bureau's rural surveys stand out in contrast to findings of some of the midwest social surveys which show that in some areas over 50 per cent of the farm homes are modern, illiteracy not over 1 or 2 per cent, many high school and a goodly sprinkling of college graduates on the farm, a doctor within thirty minutes or an hour of every farm family, and where an average farm family spends for family living expenses \$1,680 per year as shown by an Iowa Farm Cost of Living Survey.<sup>2</sup>

But it must not be assumed that the midwest rural social survey does not

<sup>2</sup> *Iowa State College Bulletin No. 237.*



reveal a variety of rural social conditions. Midwest rural social surveyors have found and have reported in their published survey bulletins a wide range of conditions. For along with such findings as communities in which more than 50 per cent of the tenants are sons or sons-in-law of their landlords and so will inherit part or all of the farms they now operate as tenants, where tenants who represent a younger generation of farmers are better educated than owners, where farmers' wives are better educated than farmers, a thing which means so much in the field of child care and child welfare, where radios are found in one-third of the farm homes, where there are well booked home libraries, where over 40 per cent of the children who graduate from the eighth grade school enter high school, there will also be found the fact that farm accidents run high, that hired men families, although much younger than owner families, have, nevertheless, already had more deaths in the family than have farm owner families, that frequent movings of farm families fall most heavily on farm tenant school children, and even an occasional farm owning family is found in which a child can live for six months without being given a name, and without his parents being able to state definitely the day of his birth or even be absolutely sure whether he was the eleventh or twelfth child that had been born to them.

As to what follows from rural social surveys as effect from cause is hard to say, for no one knows what would have occurred in the same communities had they not been surveyed. It is reasonable to believe, however, that a community which voluntarily submits itself to be surveyed and genuinely cooperates in the making of such a survey or even takes the initiative in having a survey made will also not utterly fail to use the findings of such a survey for its own improvement. Changes which have taken place in Iowa communities, as shown by surveys, suggest that such is a reasonable assumption. But at least one thing is certain, this being that the survey gives the community a good up to date inventory of itself which can serve as a scientific yardstick for gauging its own progress or regression from time to time. To provide communities with such a scientific measuring rod may well be one of the chief aims of rural social research.

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### THE EFFECT OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES ON FAMILY LIFE

*Rev. George P. O'Connor, Director, Catholic Charitable Bureau, Boston*

That there is need of a great awakening on the part of the American people in order to prevent the catastrophes occurring in family life, and, as far as possible to repair and salvage some of the wreckage, is generally admitted by social workers. In family welfare work one of the really hopeful signs of our day is the effort to bring about a better spirit of cooperation from many interested and varied groups who hitherto have stood too far apart. In every

department of this great national conference, powerful forces are at hand, ready to be turned into elements of incalculable value in interpreting the solution of modern problems through proper adjustments of the individual and his surroundings. Many individual isolated efforts can be crystalized into positive and far reaching movements which, like the breath of spring, will revive every faculty of American life.

I have been asked to speak on what should be the direct effect of community activities on family life. Obviously to treat this subject within the limits of the time allowed requires drastic compression. I would urge social workers engaged in neighborhood and community effort first of all to stand fast against the disintegrating forces that strike at the very foundations of family life. Even in the artificial conditions of our modern civilization the family still remains the unit of society. The old concept of home life is disappearing, but it has not wholly disappeared. The pursuit of pleasure by the elder generation, the neglect of the old decorum and the old duties, the unsound and unnatural theories advanced by men and women some of whom hold high places in the work of molding directly or indirectly the lives of many of this generation and the present day industrial forces, have been battering at the integrity of the home for some years, but they have not yet broken it down. Family life is human society in miniature. In our crowded tenement districts the primary task of sound social policy is to keep alive respect for parents and loyalty to the home. In spite of poverty and sordid surroundings, in spite of the conditions of modern life, our first thought should be for the preservation of the home. The children of the settlements in years to come, in more pretentious surroundings, will rise to bless our memory if this has been the fundamental philosophy of our social work. Someone paraphrased a primary truth when he said: "Be it ever so modern, there's no place like home."

The best and kindest intentioned efforts instituted from the point of view of the child's welfare only, with no consideration of anything else, are apt to be disastrous in their effects upon a child's life. We may hold the soundest and most approved views on the importance of the family, and at the same time be actively engaged in breaking it up, when we fail to consider the father and mother in all problems affecting the welfare of the child. Child welfare enjoys such an appeal these days that we may be inclined to think in terms of temporary individual welfare, rather than in permanent individual responsibility when confronted with the immediate needs of children. Any activity that draws a child from his own family, and gives him a wrong sense of values so that he depreciates the strong points of his own home and his normal associates may be well meaning, but it is not helpful in strengthening the depth, the power, and the beauty of family affection and family life.

The instability of the social structure which marks our age has varied our attitude toward common human experience. The traditional idea of family life

which may be summed up in the three words, authority, obedience, and cooperation, is combatted by a new philosophy which clearly states that the modern individual is a world citizen, served by the world, and home interests can no longer be supreme. These clashing social philosophies call for clear thinking if we are to bring safely and unimpaired out of the chaos of thought and action that marks the present age an institution that has brought to our own lives most of the happiness and blessings that have been ours. May I have the privilege of taking my stand beside those who sincerely and reverently give whatever is in them to give for the preservation, the progress, and the ultimate triumph of the fundamental Christian notion of family life. We ask for loyalty, courage, justice, and piercing vision from social workers if we are to preserve the home in vigor and virtue, both for the material and spiritual welfare of the individual and for the progress and prosperity of the nation.

The havoc wrought by the World War has emphasized the social, industrial, and religious unrest and uncertainty of our day. The social gospel of individualism which joins hands with the forces that lead outward from the family circle has become more and more the basis of our civilization. Goodsell describes the modern family as not infrequently presenting the phenomenon of a group of clashing wills, and an association of highly individualized persons, each asserting his rights and maintaining his privileges. "Under modern industrial conditions," says Dr. Kerby, "we have allowed economic pressure to crush countless homes and to blight the lives of father, mother, and children with relentless compulsion." We see religious principles and practices formerly the basis of our common life openly denied and ridiculed. Is this progress? Are we to credit those who tell us that we are entering a new era of civilization and that all this is a preliminary to a recentralization of society? May it not mean rather the need of an anchor to windward to keep from drifting from our moorings?

"The decay of settled traditions embracing not only those related directly to the family, but also the religious and economic ideas by which these were supported, has thrown us back upon the unschooled impulses of human nature," writes Edwin Cooley. Society cannot guarantee human welfare when it is governed by the passions and ambitions of men. It must be obvious to social workers that if the foundations of the home are weak and insecure society cannot hope to be strong. If I call to your attention the alarming rate at which family ties are being rent asunder in our country, often for most trivial reasons, through divorce and separation, it is not in any spirit of defeat or despair. Neither am I utterly discouraged at the prevalence of those who are advancing the imprudent and harmful propaganda to pervert the whole theory of sex as a race function. There are still millions in this country who look on marriage not merely as a human contract, but also as a divine supernatural institution, sanctified by God's grace, and an invaluable factor of social integration and

social stability. Less than two weeks ago the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, in an address to his clergy said:

Beyond all warning or appeal, is the example of a happy united home. When men and women give themselves in complete surrender to Christ it becomes impossible to talk of the selfish interests of husband and wife. Christ lives in that home, and its love and joy speak of Heaven. When all members of the Church give themselves completely to Him, the unbroken loving family will be the universal rule within the Church. So shall the Church give effective emphasis to the sanctity of the marriage tie and the responsibility to the nation, to humanity and to God of those who enter it.

Genuine social progress will not cease so long as the high sanctities and sacred relationships of family life are preserved through Christian civilization.

Community activities, at least in our large cities are many and varied. In the matter of intelligent direction and advice they have accomplished much good, and what is of even greater importance, they are always available. If I have emphasized some of the serious and subtle dangers threatening the integrity of the home, it is only as one engaged in this work with you who desires to keep the superb contribution you are making to the welfare of the community from being undervalued or unacceptable. In my own city I know the patient, kindly, and intelligent efforts social workers give unsparingly in our poorest sections to preserve the finest ideals of home life.

This year will go down in the annals of scientific discovery as one of the greatest in our history. A few weeks ago we had our first public demonstration of television. New York and London are now in daily conversation over the telephone. The microphone, insignificant in appearance, has been improved until it transmits the human voice as soon as it speaks to places thousands of miles away. Deposit a quarter and a camera will give forth automatically eight pictures of the person before it. These are but some of the scientific discoveries that can be put down in the history of progress. Perhaps this age of scientific experiment accounts for the experimental attitude taken by some social workers towards the family. We come in contact with them in many fields of social work. The basic philosophy of their efforts is to sacrifice the family for the individual members who compose it. Judged by their public utterances they are deliberately trying to throw grace over sin and respectability over license. No amount of applause can justify such doctrine or save social work from disrepute in the minds of many whom it would serve. Such teaching may have a certain appeal not because of the merit of its thought, but because of its daring.

Real progress toward social justice has a great appeal to all of us today. The real pity is that the appeal is oftentimes too earthly, too materialistic. It has no soul. What we need fundamentally as the first and necessary step in establishing social justice is a conscience that recognizes and respects the sacred obligations of life. "The drift of life," says Dr. Kerby, "is always in conflict

with the direction of life. Insight, power, forethought and determined faith are given to us in order that we may perceive ideals and discipline the drift of life toward them with authority and effective sanction." Neighborhood and community activities should stand against the drift of life in the tense, nervous, jazz moving existence of today if the people whom these efforts serve are to be protected from the principles of expediency, of opportunism, and of vagarious philosophies. Otherwise, the human conscience will no longer be respectful of eternal truths, and as a consequence will hold in contempt anything less sacred. "What the world needs today," said the President of the United States recently, "is a restoration of faith in the fundamentals that are eternal." This plea on the part of the President for a return to belief in eternal truths is offered as a remedy to what he and others recognize as a sick world.

In a recent address in Boston, Dr. William Healy, of the Judge Baker Foundation, in discussing the problems of juvenile delinquency said: "What a lot of things are being done for children nowadays." He followed by asking: "How much is being accomplished?" Boy and girl problems are not new. They have engaged the attention of the social worker for the last fifty years. The evils cited with horror twenty years ago still exist, and some new possibilities for evil have been added. We have playgrounds, settlement houses, neighborhood activities, and organized groups for boys and girls. With them we also have our numerous youthful criminals. It is easy to scoff at the theory that a boy can be reformed by a playground, because no one makes that claim seriously. It may be asserted, and very definitely proved, however, that playgrounds, social centers, boys' clubs, and the like, when under the expert supervision of those who have the personality, the sympathy, the ability, and the training to enter into the lives of youth, have done a valuable service in saving boys and girls in danger. Reputable community agencies do not claim they can take the place of the home with all the saving influences that emanate from a home, nor do they claim they can take the place of religion. I have often felt, however, that many of the admirably organized community efforts have failed in many cases of problem children to achieve the success they merited because, in an honest endeavor to avoid what is sometimes termed "sectarianism," they have unconsciously adopted a policy that goes to the other extreme in eliminating almost entirely a consideration of the part religion plays in a child's life. And this policy would be actually irreligious were it not saved in practice by the devoted Christian lives of workers who are better than the avowed principles of their organization.

The finest tribute that can be paid to any community organization is that it has had a real influence in its neighborhood in helping boys and girls to avoid perils which press them too closely in present day life. The recent study of Mr. Cooley on probation and delinquency brings forth the alarming truth that youth plays an outstanding rôle in the gruesome drama of the present crime

situation. Despite all that has been done, social workers are only at the beginning of their search for what ultimately they will come to know about human behavior. Our present concern should be to find an early approach to the child from every conceivable angle. The importance of the early years cannot be overestimated. The sullen and unruly boy who neither understands discipline nor respects law has frequently become such by lack of understanding and sympathy at home. The child with low standards may be imitating the morals he has observed practiced rather than those he hears preached. Case work standards would seem to call for serious consideration of the fact that out of 3,053 delinquents investigated in the New York study, 68 per cent had either no contacts at all with religion or contacts that were purely nominal. Let the community workers everywhere continue to seek better and more promising methods and opportunities to protect our youth in environments that are morally and physically unwholesome and their service will be a high and holy one, appreciated fully by those who love the children of America, and properly value the blessing that such work will bring to the citizens of the coming generation.

No work of ours in any community, no matter how humble or insignificant it may appear to be is negligible. We deal with the modern problems of human beings, and wherever we labor there will remain something of the influence our lives have exerted. What we call civilization is nothing more than the accumulation of the deeds of men inspired by their conception of righteousness. It is given to some to have great opportunity to serve their fellow men and to accelerate the progress of humanity toward its ultimate goal. Even those whose labor for the good of others seems almost hidden in the mists of insignificance will make some mark in the minds and hearts of men. The ultimate effect of our lives none of us can foresee or determine. If our ideals are high and we aspire always toward their consummation we will give an impetus to righteousness which humanity must perpetuate if it is true to itself and faithful to its opportunities. It may not be amiss for each one of us, so greatly privileged as we are in making intimate and trustful human contacts, to rededicate ourselves to the traditions and beliefs that have made our America the greatest nation in the world today, and thus do our part to advance her highest welfare as loyal patriotic American citizens.

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#### INTERRELATION BETWEEN CITY AND RURAL LIFE

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The interrelationship of city and country is a question of vital concern to our rapidly changing modern civilization, and its full discussion would involve consideration of a wide range of issues and problems. In this paper this question is approached from the point of view of its bearing upon the organization



and administration of social work in rural districts on a more comprehensive basis than has hitherto proved practicable. During recent years those interested in the improvement of social conditions have recognized more clearly than ever before the need of extending social work programs into small town and open country communities. Thus far results have been disappointing in this field in spite of a few signal successes. It is impossible to promote any far reaching plan of social organization without encountering the traditional conflict between city and country which has wrecked many schemes of social and political reform. An understanding, therefore, of city-country interrelationships becomes essential for the development of a sound policy upon which may be based more adequate and comprehensive social work programs.

Among the first important discussions concerning the relation of city and country were those contributed by the rural sociologists and others interested in rural affairs. The concentration of public attention on urban problems and the resulting tendency to ignore the social welfare aspects of rural life strengthened the conviction of rural leaders that rural and urban interests were so diverse that a separate organization was required to deal with the rural situation. In 1917 the American Country Life Association was organized for the purpose of drawing together the various agencies and institutions interested in the country life movement and in developing rural social programs in accord with rural needs. Under the stimulus of this new organization, much attention was given to pointing out the uniqueness of the rural situation and the entire unsuitability of urban methods of work in handling rural social problems. There was a great deal of discussion of the significance of rural attitudes which, it was pointed out, varied so widely from urban ways of thinking that cooperation between city and country was out of the question. Various types of experiments were launched in rural communities in which efforts were made to develop rural centers under rural leadership. The failures which sometimes resulted when organizations like the Red Cross or departments of public welfare attempted to promote rural programs, were commonly attributed to the employment of city trained workers unable to adapt themselves to rural conditions. The idea constantly kept in mind was the conflicting interests of city and country with the consequent assumption that rural programs could not be developed successfully as a part of the work of city organizations.

This breach between city and country in the field of social welfare was widened by the feeling on the part of some rural leaders that there was no place in the country for social work of the type that has been fostered in cities. Such activities were regarded as unnecessary perhaps because there was no adequate conception either of the extent of rural social problems or of the nature of the services given by a well equipped social work agency. This misconception of the rôle of social work in the rural community was plainly apparent in the

statement of a rural sociologist at the meeting of the National Conference of Social Work at Denver two years ago. Said Professor Burr:

When a rural community is awakened by business, or politics, or education, or religion, we find the tendency for social buzzards of various kinds to swarm in to see what they can get out of it for their organization. They have their various programs to impose upon the community. The rural community does not need them. . . . Social workers are usually the worst sort of benevolent tyrants. Rural people have been especially tyrannized in this regard by their well meaning institutional friends. They are continually being offered the "benevolent end of a despotism." The rural community ideal, then, is to keep natural social forces in politics, business, education, religion, alive and active and operating within and without the community, arouse and awaken resident forces within the community, and then as far as professional social workers are concerned, give the community absent treatment.

While this extreme attitude is not of course shared by all rural community leaders, it is indicative of a widely prevailing distrust of social work programs, which has made very difficult any cooperation between city and country workers in dealing with social problems. Unfortunately the history of urban social work has furnished a strong basis for this feeling that the rural territory has little to gain through the ministrations of professional social workers. As is well known, social work was first developed to deal with the social problems of the congested city. Its technique grew out of the experience gained in handling city problems. Its workers were city trained and their professional interests were largely confined to the urban situation with which they were familiar. The country districts were for the most part ignored at first because of lack of knowledge of the extent of its social problems and later because of the difficulty of maintaining proper standards of work under rural conditions. The first beginnings of social work in the small town and rural community were looked upon in a patronizing way and with considerable disfavor by city social workers unless perchance they were presided over by leaders whose reputation had been established by city experience. Following the late war when the Red Cross proposed to take the rural territory as its field for the extension of home service, there was much protest on the ground that this would result in the lowering of professional standards. It has only been within recent years that the National Conference of Social Work has given much attention to rural social organization. The professional social workers, as a whole, have neither by their sympathetic understanding of this task nor by any sustained attention to this problem succeeded in breaking down the prejudice that exists against their activities when carried on in rural communities. On the contrary, this prejudice has too often been accentuated by their superior attitude in their contacts with rural people. The promotive work of national organizations in the small towns and open country tends to be regarded as a missionary enterprise, and is therefore strenuously resisted by the rural people because of its implications of their inferiority. The urban social workers, both by their

earlier attitude of indifference and by their more recent efforts to bring social salvation to the out of the way places have effectually joined hands with rural leaders in perpetuating the traditional conflict between city and country.

This rural-urban misunderstanding in the field of social work is of course merely a reflection of the deep seated conflict of interests in other fields of rural-urban relationships. In the past there has been ample reason for the development of these divergent interests to which so much prominence has been given by students of rural problems. Difference in occupation, in social contacts, in manner of life, and in economic interests, easily account for the barriers that tend to grow up between urban and rural people. Where these barriers have been strengthened by open economic and political conflict, the situation has become serious indeed. This is especially true in places where merchants have fought against the organization of farmers' cooperative undertakings and where the latter have retaliated by organizing into a political group to defend their occupational interests. In any plan to unite rural and urban people in support of a common undertaking, there must be full recognition of the strength and significance of the various forces that tend to keep the city and country apart. The situation as it has existed in the past seems to have given ample justification to the promotion of separate organizations in behalf of rural interests. This specialized approach to rural problems has directed public attention to this neglected field and has been a great factor in the improvement of conditions.

Nevertheless sound statesmanship in planning for the future must take into account not merely past experience but changes in the situation that make inevitable some modifications of accepted policies. Few could have predicted the vast changes that have in many ways transformed rural life during the past two decades. The coming of the automobile, improvement of roads, establishment of rural mail delivery and telephone service, the invention of the radio, are among the factors that have broken down in large measure rural isolation and are facilitating the entrance of the farmers into a larger world far removed from the local neighborhood to which they were bound in the past. These larger social contacts are overcoming the traditional conservatism and provincial attitudes of the rural people that have always been pointed out as their most striking characteristics. The farmer who formerly rode behind his tired horse to the neighboring village now drives in his car to the more distant city to transact his business and enjoy its reactional facilities. The added sense of power this gives him and his increased feeling of self respect can hardly be overestimated. His social status has been placed on a better basis and through these wider contacts he becomes more able to participate in the management of community affairs.

In other ways equally significant the city and country are coming together. The suburban movement facilitated by more rapid means of transportation is

extending the influence of the city far out beyond its borders into areas hitherto regarded as primarily rural and small town in their essential interests. The decentralizing trend in industry is carrying this movement still farther and possesses great possibilities not merely in promoting city-country relationships but in improving the economic conditions of the farmer by supplying him with employment during the slack farming season. Undreamed of changes in rural life still lie ahead with the coming of hydro electric power cheap enough for use in operating farm machinery and in supplying the farm home with modern conveniences. In so far as it is possible to predict, it seems that we are on the verge of a new era in which rural areas will hold a position of greater importance and power that will necessitate profound modifications in the traditional adjustments between the country and the city.

Nevertheless, in spite of this trend in the direction of a more satisfying rural life with closer relationships with the city, this process has not yet gone far enough to overcome the disabilities of the old order. On every hand during this period of rapid change, there are found serious social problems in the country districts to which no adequate attention is being given. Especially is this true in those rural sections where the productivity of the soil is low and isolation from the centers of population makes social contacts difficult. There are still vast areas in the open country where conservatism makes people hostile to new ideas and their social institutions are ineffective because of lack of proper support. In such places recent investigations have shown the wide prevalence of social problems practically ignored by the leaders in the community. The supervisors of field work in the School of Public Welfare in the University of North Carolina had at one time this past winter more than a hundred active cases found in the rural county in which the university is located. Among these were cases of feeble-mindedness, illegitimacy, dependent and neglected children, child labor, juvenile delinquency, truancy, children needing orthopedic care, mothers' aid, and other similar problems familiar to social workers everywhere. Out of the three year demonstration in public welfare which we are just completing, there has come the conviction that adequate attention to social problems in a rural county requires a staff of at least two or three trained workers equipped to travel wherever their services are needed. And yet at a session of one of the kindred groups meeting in connection with this Conference, one of the subjects for discussion is, "Should there be a professional social worker in every rural county?" It has been a long time since such a subject would have been seriously proposed for discussion with reference to the city, for the city's need of well equipped social agencies is accepted as a matter of course. The fact that this is not yet true of the small town and open country is indicative of the failure of rural leaders to understand the real nature and function of social work and the possibility of adapting its methods to rural situations.

A step of great significance in preparation for the closer rural-urban relationships of the future would be a thoroughgoing alliance of rural and urban forces in dealing with rural social problems. After all the fortunes of the city are so linked up with rural affairs that neither group can afford to ignore the interests of the other. In a very real sense the future of our nation is dependent upon the production of an adequate food supply, and therefore all conditions that affect agricultural development become a matter of national concern. The tendency toward folk depletion of the rural districts through city migration, the inability of many farmers under present conditions to maintain a decent standard of living, the low standards of rural education, lack of attention to problems of hygiene and sanitation, the unattractiveness of rural life because of meager social contacts and unsatisfying recreational opportunities, and the decreasing efficiency of many rural institutions, are a few of the important questions that are awaiting solution. In dealing with the economic aspects of these rural problems, the principle of state and federal responsibility has been accepted and large appropriations have been made to improve agricultural conditions and raise the financial status of the farmer. Such a policy has been justified by the needs of the rural situation, and the results thus far secured have greatly encouraged those who have sponsored this means of rural improvement.

But the social aspects of the rural problem have not been handled in such a comprehensive and farsighted manner. Some apparently have thought that the raising of the economic position of the farmer would be followed as a matter of course by the solution of his social problems. Others who have recognized the need of paying more direct attention to the farmer's social welfare interests have assumed that with reference to this matter the farmers must stand on their own feet and that outside aid and leadership would be a mistaken policy. As a result of this divided opinion nothing comparable to the Farm Bureau Movement has been devised on a nationwide basis to deal with rural social problems. For the most part, responsibility for work in this field has fallen upon some private agencies organized on a county basis and upon county departments of public welfare found in several of the states.

This county plan of organization, even though its administration thus far has not been entirely satisfactory, seems to be the most available means of uniting city and rural people in support of a social welfare program. It is a political unit with which the people are familiar and in most cases contains enough wealth to furnish the financial support. The reorganization of city social agencies on a county basis with proper provision for participation of the rural districts in its management and support would be a great step forward in the promotion of improved city-country relationships. Through such a plan rural and city leaders would have closer social contacts and would gain a better insight into their common problems. The experience of the Red Cross with its

county chapters during the past decade has shown the feasibility of such a plan of administration although in some instances there has been a neglect of the rural territory. Of course extension of jurisdiction with no increase of personnel would be a meaningless gesture. Successful development of this county wide work would perhaps involve the establishment of a bureau of rural service with its own staff of rural workers within the county organization. Careful attention would also need to be given to devising a technique suitable for rural conditions. But there are no inherent difficulties in such a joint plan of administration. At this time when changed conditions are bringing city and country together, urban social workers should be among the first to plan a reorganization of their work on a basis wide enough to include the surrounding rural territory.

It is doubtful, however, whether privately supported social agencies can ever meet the strain of a comprehensive service. This proposed extension of social work into rural communities may impose a financial burden that cannot be carried. The rural people do not have the surplus wealth that would enable them to contribute liberally to social agencies, and the experience of community chests in recent years leads to the conclusion that we are approaching the upper limits of the giving power of our cities. Perhaps financial limitations will make it necessary for this wider extension of social work to be assumed as a governmental responsibility. The recent development of the county system of public welfare points to one means of solving this problem. The county departments of public welfare in North Carolina working in cooperation with the State Department of Public Welfare seem especially well adapted to those sections of our country not yet dominated by large industrial centers. There are, however, unsolved problems in connection with division of authority between city and county governments that will require further study and experimentation. It is highly desirable that urban social workers should take a deeper interest in the public welfare movement and seek the passage of such legislation as is necessary to promote its more rapid growth on sound administrative lines. Through this means the city and country can then join hands in dealing with their common social problems and thus prepare the way for the closer interrelationships that the future will require.



## THE MOVIE: HAS IT A SOCIAL OBLIGATION?

*Hon. Carl E. Milliken, Secretary, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, formerly Governor of Maine, New York City*

The motion picture has become a profound factor in the lives of all the peoples of the earth. It is no longer a luxury; it is a necessity.

The other day when Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was asked what he thought of motion pictures, his answer was direct and significant. He said:

Picture shows are crowded nightly throughout the land and millions who frequent them gain a certain alertness of perception which is easily discernible. There never was a film, however silly, that did not reveal some common aspect of human nature. They minister to an age of jangled nerves, war-torn, constantly distracted by traffic, street noises, and the universal speed, often without direction, characteristic of modern ways. Do not forget that screen comedians have made countless people in love with life and that this in itself is a great and noble end.

Laughter, honest tears, rest, education which is at the same time an amusement—these are gifts indeed that the screen offers, making people in love with life.

Do you realize that in this country alone there are 21,000 motion picture theaters? Do you know that the attendance at those theaters is estimated at more than 60,000,000 weekly and that probably the figure is nearer 100,000,000? Do you know that more than 200,000 miles of motion picture film are manufactured annually in this country? Or that in the last four years we have shipped 15,000,000,000 feet of film by parcel post, truck, and express in this country? These figures give a fair estimate of the size of an industry that was started less than thirty-one years ago, an industry that in point of numbers involved and directly affected is the largest in the world today.

Far beyond consideration of size, far beyond consideration of investments, however, is consideration of the social influence of the screen. Social workers are interested largely in the family, in the welfare of the family, as the fundamental unit in society. You want to keep the family intact and make it in every fact the nucleus about which human society revolves. Without the family, you believe, civilization is destroyed. No other form of amusement and diversion in the world's history has appealed to the family as a whole as does the motion picture. The success of pictures is predicated upon family patronage. Fathers, mothers, and children must go to the pictures together and find pleasure there together. For the first time, an indoor amusement has been found which permits such contact. The motion picture today, frankly, is catering to the American family. That does not mean that every picture is to be made entirely suitable for the twelve year old child, but it does mean that the motion picture industry is determined that the prevalent type of book and

play about which you perhaps know too much already does not become the prevalent type of photoplay.

It was this determination—a determination to establish and maintain the highest possible moral and artistic standards of motion pictures—and to put the motion picture to as many uses for the public good as possible, that the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors came into being five years ago, with Will Hays as its president. We have been concerned for some time now in finding out exactly what the effect of pictures is on behavior, as an educator, and as a force for good.

Fortunately, the department of psychology of Columbia University was similarly minded and, on its own initiative, is now carrying on an extensive study, the first tentative findings of which I may present to you for the first time. Men of much training are engaged in the study and their findings are immensely interesting. One of the questions asked was: How many children go to the movies and how often do they go? I quote from the tentative report, signed by R. S. Woodworth for the Columbia group:

A public school in one of the poorer sections of New York City was selected for investigation. The teachers in this school were asked informally how frequently their children attended the movies, and the reply was often to the effect that "they all go every day." Then the children, about 1,750 in all, were asked how many times each had attended in the preceding two weeks. The results were astounding to the teachers of these children, for the average attendance per child was only 1.15 times per week.

In August, 1926, we made what seemed a fairly adequate sampling of motion picture audiences in New York City. Twelve theaters were selected, of varied location: two in the main theater district of Manhattan; five in more local theater districts, in Harlem, on Lexington Avenue near 42d Street, two in Brooklyn, and one in Newark; four in residential districts of Manhattan and the Bronx; and one in a suburban village (Mamaroneck). The total attendance at each of these theaters was counted on three full days, by one or two enumerators, who were allowed to sit near the entrance with slips for checking all who entered. Each person who entered the theater was checked according to sex, and as belonging (by inspection) in one of the following age groups: under 4 years, 4-7, 8-12, 13-16, above 20. The enumerators were selected and trained for accurate work, and their totals for each day, checked against the box office, indicated a high degree of accuracy. The counts were made, at each theater, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday of one week. The total attendance checked was over 150,000 persons. In each of the theaters, the majority, and usually the great majority, of persons in attendance were judged to be over 20 years of age, and the next largest age group was that from 17 to 20. A brief indication of the results can be gleaned from the following proportions obtained for children under 17: in the Manhattan theater district the proportion was 3.4%; in more local theater districts the proportion was 7.4%; in residential urban districts the proportion was 8.0%; in the suburban village the proportion was 31.8%.

The general run of urban picture houses is probably well represented by the nine remaining theaters, with a total attendance, for the three days, of 97,000, of which total about 8 per cent were under 17 years of age.

As an approach, though not a very close one at first, to the problem of the influence of motion pictures upon children's behavior, we have sought to ascertain what and how much of the material presented is perceived, understood, and remembered by children of

different ages, as well as by adults. Quite possible, for example, a sex situation which would make quite an impression upon an adult would pass over the child's head.

All that we can certainly learn from our results, at the present moment, is that children under 12 years of age certainly fail to get a large share of the events of a picture which appear essential to the story from the adult point of view. With still younger children, this fact often comes out very amusingly when inquiries are made as to what a child liked in a given picture. Often the absorbing part of the story is missed altogether.

We are glad that such a scientific investigation is being made as it will guide us in the production of our pictures. We have been mindful of children all along, and we have approached the whole situation, not only from the angle of men who have millions of dollars invested, but from the parents who have millions of children invested.

Several years ago, we undertook to select a group of pictures for special showings for children. These were called "Saturday Morning Movies." Fifty-two programs consisting of feature pictures, comedies, and short subjects were chosen, and were made available to all communities wishing to start the service on Saturday morning. Pictures were carefully selected from the angle of their appeal to children, and the "Saturday Morning Movies" served a splendid purpose. It was, however, a makeshift. Now, the Saturday Morning Movie isn't actually needed because there is plenty of material available for children to see. A number of groups, such as parent-teacher associations, better films committees, women's clubs, etc., are cooperating with the exhibitors in supplying special performances for children, selecting the pictures from current releases.

More attention is now being paid to cooperation with the exhibitor in putting on family night programs, or week end programs which are especially appealing to the family as a whole. This plan is being advocated by a large number of organizations interested in the motion picture.

The difficulty of selecting pictures is, of course, a serious one. For the past two weeks, two criticisms came to our office of two separate pictures, complaints being that they were not suitable for children. Both of these pictures were, however, recommended, in the same week, in children's magazines as especially suitable for the family group. We find that a few people disagree on all pictures. I had an occasion to see two letters about the same picture written by members of the same women's club. One said:

Frankly, the picture was, to me, a pot boiler to satisfy the cry for cleaner and higher class movies. On the whole, I call it punk. I anxiously await what the chairman of our committee will report. She is an excellent judge of film productions.

In the same mail was a report from that chairman herself, as follows:

It was an excellent film, very entertaining, very real and touching in its handling of character. Its moral was enforced by what seemed to me just the right accent on the social conditions that caused the catastrophe, making the story entirely plausible—an adult film suitable for young people and for old people.

Which opinion do you think we are justified in taking in that case?

Instead of condemning motion pictures, parents should not only use care in selecting pictures that children are to see but they should go with them in order to interpret the pictures. I heard the other day two mothers talking. One said: "I do not care what picture my children see so long as I am with them to interpret the story." The other said: "I alone am responsible if my children see anything in the movies or read any books or see any plays which are not good for them. I should be the one to direct them." Unfortunately, however, these two mothers are not typical of all mothers. I remember too well the story of the woman who went to an exhibitor and said: "Now this is Monday, an off day. Couldn't I get these children in free?" The manager finally assented and the woman went over to the door and said: "Now, Johnnie and Mary, run along and see the show. I will come back for you at 4 o'clock." Mothers who make checkrooms of movies for their children have no just cause for complaint.

We are interested, of course, in finding out exactly how pictures appeal to children; what they do get out of pictures. A certain picture that we get thrilled over because of sex complications or some such situation with which adult life is concerned, may be perfectly stupid to the ten or twelve year old girl or boy and so it is with motion pictures. The difficulty, therefore, has been that the adult has merely assumed what the child's reaction is. Now we are trying to estimate definitely what it is. I remember a story which Mr. Hays tells of his own boy, a lad of ten or twelve. He had been to the movies and it happened to be the story in which the love element was stressed. The boy got up and walked out during the picture; it didn't appeal to him at all. That, usually, I find is the reaction on them.

You are not interested alone, however, in the effect pictures have on children or adults but on the welfare of actors and workers in Hollywood and in all matters pertaining to the industry's development.

Nature has given Hollywood vast landscapes of beauty, a salubrious climate with plenty of sunshine, a variety of plant life, the sea, open spaces, every natural property necessary to the production of pictures. Within a day's journey, a natural background can be found to represent almost any country in the world. Old Mexico sits near by with its ancient chapels and its marks of Old Spain. Snow-clad mountains rise in the distance. There are deserts and rivers to be found. Thus it is that Hollywood has become the natural center of motion picture activities. Nature has made it so. Hollywood, primarily, is a business center. Its citizens are established in business and in art. They have the important task of supplying the world with its chief amusement and recreation. One hundred million people a week, in this country alone, go to the 21,000 theaters which form an unbroken chain across the continent. Millions more in every other country under the sun see pictures every day.

Practically all feature pictures are now made in Hollywood. Probably 95 per cent of the pictures are made there. There is a veritable army of workers in the community. They are—and I say this very earnestly—conscientious, hard working, home loving people, exactly like yourselves and myself. They come from the same towns that we come from. They have their homes in which they take great and justifiable pride. They have their gardens, their social events, and they live very much as we live.

Anyone who has been in the motion picture studio knows that motion picture acting, and incidentally work in motion picture making, are exacting positions. The day is long and hard. One scene may be taken fifteen times until it becomes perfect and this is trying, not only on the body, but on the mind and nerves. You can't stay up all night dissipating and look good before a camera at a quarter past eight. Artistic people are usually keen, of course, and it is surprising that, even in the bright light that beats upon the motion picture star, there are so few instances of slipping beyond the boundaries of propriety. Of course there is good and bad in Hollywood as elsewhere. Every effort to make life in Hollywood more pleasant and profitable for the employee, whether he is a star or a carpenter, is made. The motion picture actor who would succeed in his work must take care of himself. Requirements on him for health and good condition are more urgent than upon almost any other professional man. Visitors to Hollywood know that the actors lead strenuous physical lives. They run, swim, ride horseback, motor, visit the gymnasium, and keep themselves in perfect trim. They are like a group of college boys during football season.

One of the big developments of the past year so far as the motion picture industry in Hollywood is concerned was the opening of a department of Public Relations and Industrial Relations in the studios, with Colonel Jason S. Joy as director. Colonel Joy is directly in touch, day by day, with the men who actually make the picture we see. He has a studio committee working with him. On this committee is a representative of every company belonging to the Association, whose duty it is to relay to the directors, the actors, the workers all along the line, public opinion and public taste in pictures as it is related to us through the Open Door, through groups like yours. A typical example of the steps taken to make sure conditions in Hollywood are of a superior nature is the Central Casting Bureau through which extras are employed. Formerly, hundreds of extras lived a hand-to-mouth existence in Hollywood getting jobs occasionally by tramping from studio to studio. Employment bureaus naturally arose. They fattened on the extra, who was charged ten per cent of his salary for each placement. About two years ago, at the request of our Association, The Russell Sage Foundation made a survey of working conditions in the motion picture colony. One of the recommendations was that a Central Casting Bureau be established which would be operated by the producers at their

own expense without charge of any nature to the extra. A Bureau accordingly was opened through which all extras are now employed. There are 18,000 recorded, and last year, the first year of operation, 259,259 placements were made, an average of 710 a day. The average wage paid was \$8.46. Last year, 68 per cent of the placements were men, 28 were women, and the rest were children. These figures, perhaps are a blow to the pretty girls who think that Hollywood is longing for their art, and for the mothers who think their children would add to the movies. As a matter of fact, only twelve children a day were employed through the Casting Bureau last year. These children, by the way, are under the care of teachers assigned by the Los Angeles Board of Education and paid by the producers.

Every child who acts in the movies must make a formal application through his parent or guardian for permission from the Board of Education, he must then undergo a strict physical examination before a certified doctor, first having shown, of course, that he is up in his school studies. Schools have been established on each of the studio lots—teachers are in charge eight hours a day. The children must have regular study periods, school hours, recreation periods, etc. Their time before the camera, therefore, is limited to only a few hours a day, and in most cases to only a few minutes. The plan, as it is now in operation, was worked out by the Los Angeles Board of Education, Mr. Hays, and the California Producers. Of 677 children, used in pictures in the last year, only 18 were delinquent in their studies and more than 50 of the number received special recognition for their work. According to Professor Raymond Dunlap, head of the Child Welfare Department of the Los Angeles Board of Education, the moving picture children were 17 per cent more proficient in their studies than the children in the grade schools of Los Angeles.

In hundreds of institutions for shut-ins, that is, for the invalids, the imprisoned, the orphaned and the aged, motion pictures are now being used as a regular part of their social service work. In 199 hospitals and homes for aged and incurables, for instance, pictures are being shown, in 20 prisons, in 274 schools and orphanages, and in 120 other institutions. In estimating the value of such service, Dr. Kirchwey says:

Motion picture entertainment is used regularly in many prisons, hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded and orphan asylums for just the same purpose that it serves for the general public—to furnish an outlet for the craving for adventure and for allowing the mind to relax. Motion picture entertainment is a great boon to all such institutions and a real means of reducing infractions of the rules. Hospitals find that motion pictures have a tonic effect upon the inmates, stimulating them, preventing them from brooding, and putting them in a mental condition that is helpful in restoring health.

During the last year, 10,997 feature pictures were distributed to such institutions gratis through the 33 film boards of trade, 6,166 comedies were likewise distributed and 683 short subjects, making a total of 17,846 motion pictures.



You are all concerned with the immigrant. The motion picture is making a definite effort to assist you in placing him in that part of the country best suited to his talents, in promoting his understanding of America, and appreciation of its opportunities and in doing all those things which go to make him a better citizen of his adopted land. For several years past, motion pictures have been sent regularly to Ellis Island to be shown to those who were to enter. This service, however, could not reach a great majority of those who came to this country. In the last few months, however, this service has been extended to the trans-Atlantic steamers bringing immigrants to this country. A number of films have been donated to the liners and are being shown regularly in the steerage. They have a twofold purpose. First, they give a current idea of the country to which they are going and they outline ways and means by which newcomers may become good citizens and make a good living; secondly, they teach American history, backgrounds, and possibilities. At this time there is a well organized plan to have special pictures with maps showing the locations of the steel industry, for instance, the great agricultural regions, mining districts, manufacturing centers, so that the immigrant may determine where he is most likely to find a job in accordance with his abilities. This will eliminate, we hope, to a large extent, congestion in the cities where a farmer seeks to make a living in an occupation entirely foreign to his previous experience. The United States government is cooperating in this work. Secretary of Labor Davis was present during the inauguration of this service and he is deeply interested in its development.

You know as well as anybody could know the imperative need for recreation, relaxation, and rest. You know that bad nerves promote bad deeds. You know that tired men are dangerous men. You know that discouraged, unhappy people are a menace to society. And you know that the motion picture affording an hour or two of relaxation and of pleasure may offset an ill intention and turn to some good means a potential evildoer. The purpose of the motion picture primarily is to entertain, to give fun to the people. It does not stop, however, with entertainment, for it is also an instructor of tremendous importance. The motion picture just as it exists in the theaters is doing as much or more than any other agency to promote general information. It is giving us acquaintance with the world, and those of us who may not travel are allowed for a few cents to visit all parts of the world. We are learning the customs of other people, their habits and thoughts; we are becoming acquainted with the best literature and art of the world. We have reproduced for us on the screen architecture of the different nations.

In our times, a strange psychology has developed and there is a tendency on the part of many to overthrow the conventions under which this work is operated and advanced. Certain themes have been used in books and plays which formerly were discussed only in whispers if at all. The authors of these

books or plays justify themselves by saying that they are simply reflecting life as they see it. Motion picture producers might claim the same privilege, but fortunately for us they have not done so, and the reasons are apparent. The sort of unconventional, code-defying, irreligious life portrayed in so many books and plays, is after all the life of only an insignificant few. The vast majority of Americans do not live it nor do they approve of it. To make sure that this so called prevalent type of book or play should not become the prevalent type of motion picture, the producers in 1925 adopted a formula which is as follows: When any company belonging to the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America is offered the screen rights to a book or a play which it believes is of doubtful propriety, that company notifies the central organization, saying: "Frankly, we are doubtful about the wisdom of making this subject into a motion picture even though it was a best seller." If this same opinion prevails in the association of producers, then all the companies are notified that they may refuse to make the picture. Many of the outstanding books and plays, the names of which I will not mention, have failed to reach the screen through the exercise of this formula. This is not, in any sense, censorship but is far more effective than any censorship could be, because it operates in the studio itself which is the only place where all the possible good can be retained and all the objectionable eliminated. Going in the opposite direction, the producers in the last two or three years have worked out a plan of bringing in constructive groups to assist in making pictures. For instance, when *The King of Kings* was made representatives of every denomination were consulted. Some ministers even went across the continent, at the producers' request, to discuss this most important picture which is based on the life of Christ. Ministers stayed on the lots every day during the filming of the pictures. The same sort of cooperation was solicited and obtained in *The Scarlet Letter*, *Thank You, A Woman's Faith*, and *The Vanishing American*. The picture, *America*, was made at the suggestion of the president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Public taste is exerting a great influence in motion pictures, and is doing much to keep the standards high. Of the 104 pictures which were selected by the exhibitors of the country as the most popular in 1926, many were historical, several had religious backgrounds, and practically all were of high order. A simple classification shows that 17 were comedies, 26 westerns, 5 society dramas, 16 dramas, 5 college life stories, and 3 stories of the sea. Motion pictures, today, are more than an instrumentality for recreation. We have made them available to the classroom, to the church, and to the doctor's clinic. Wherever and whenever motion pictures can be of service, there we are trying to place them.

In all of this, there is direct public responsibility in each community for finding out what the best pictures are and for then supporting those pictures.

At this time there is a real organized plan under way for a national reviewing service by which major organizations, such as the Church and Drama Association, and other groups interested, will make selections of the best pictures and transmit this news to their prototypes in other cities throughout the country.

Of course, perfection hasn't been reached yet in motion pictures nor in life, but the movement is in the right direction and that is the important thing. It is not always the length of the step that counts most, but the direction. Do not therefore be too impatient. Overnight miracles do not happen.

We are engaged in giving people the opportunity to play. Play is essential in character building and in social work. We are giving people a place in which they may dream, offering them a new foothold in the realm of the imaginative. We are training men and women for active, intelligent, and efficient participation in an associated, living, and democratic society. The leaders of the motion picture industry seriously realize the public responsibility for the right use of this subtle, powerful, attitude-forming force. They stand at attention to do their utmost toward making community life happy, inspiring, and wholesome for boys and girls, the men and women of tomorrow who must provide those spiritual reserves of character which alone assure the safety of the republic. Than this, there is no more essential patriotic duty.

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#### SOME DESIRABLE GOALS FOR MOTION PICTURES

*H. Dora Stecker, Cincinnati*

For a number of us, the essential problems connected with motion pictures have revolved primarily about children and young people. From the standpoint of social workers the problem is largely that, although there is wide recognition of the need of a sound recreational program for adults, in which motion pictures play a significant part.

We shall leave this great question as it relates to family life largely in the realm of speculation and personal opinion unless we subject it searchingly and exhaustively to the scientific factual test so essential to the solution of other great controversial questions. The lack of just such an authoritative body of facts, scientifically assembled under public auspices, partly explains why we, in America, have gotten no farther than we have, after ten years or more of continuous discussion. Perhaps the industry is too new for the demand yet to have become articulate. It may be that the effects of motion pictures on an audience are intangible and hard to measure (And so pleasant!). Probably the great business of making and showing photoplays has arrived so recently in the midst of our large scale, integrated scheme of industrial development, that it has sprung full born, a young Colossus, with all the vigorous, vital characteristics of Young Giants, and as untamed! Finally, the whole question is be-

clouded with the issues of personal liberty and seeming interference with parental rights.

The majority of theater men—exhibitors so called—as yet do not recognize the need for interpreting their aims to the public at large, although the producing-distributing branch of the industry, through the so called public relations end, has developed this function astoundingly. The exhibitors as a rule consider their business like any other business; they have a commodity to sell. Naturally for many of them the "movie" public is a little more difficult than the public which purchases groceries, wearing apparel, and other tangibles. But they have been taught by the trade journals devoted to motion pictures and the exhibition of the latter to blame the attitude of what is actually an appreciable part of the thinking public largely to the ferment created by what they denominate specifically by the phrase "reformers and trouble-makers." The exhibitors and their trade organizations are underestimating the almost universal interest in this country which at present is being evinced in child welfare and its relation to movie-going by at least a minority group in almost every community.

The concept that business derives its sanctions from the community and must not hurt family life needs to be made an integral part of the business consciousness. Dr. Ernest R. Groves goes even further and says, "Industry must justify itself finally on the basis of its effect on family life. . . . If you make divorce fascinating, or you make crime adventurous, as you often do unconsciously [speaking of newspapers], you stand with the forces that hurt the family." And so with motion pictures. If the cheaper aspects of show life, if the ring and the underworld are to remain among the most popular of screen topics, family life may be affected. The screen, for example, has been accused of exploiting sex and conflict, and we are reminded that if vast industries like it and popular magazines limit their appeal to the stimulation and satisfaction of primitive needs, the temper and tone of our civilization may be simplified and standardized on primitive levels.

"Sound business," says the Antioch College Business Code, "is service which benefits all the parties concerned. To take profit without contributing to essential welfare; to take excessive profit; to cater to ignorance, credulity, or human frailty; to debase standards for profit; to use methods not inspired by good will and fair dealing; this is dishonor." And the Code exacts the following pledge: "Whenever I make or sell a product or render a business service, it must be my best possible contribution to well-being." Can an industry which recently has been adjudged the fourth largest in the world; which concerns itself with what is conceded to be the greatest instrumentality for the diffusion of ideas since the invention of printing; which is profoundly transforming, in varying degree, the ideas, ideals, habits, and customs of peoples in seventy different countries, employing thirty-seven languages; the favorite

pastime of millions of our own young people and their elders, as well as the most popular form of entertainment the modern world has known; can such a monumental undertaking continue to be operated largely by the concepts of competitive business practice?

From the practical approach, one of the pivotal questions is how to give the exhibitor of motion pictures a socialized point of view where this is needed, for he is the person with whom the individual community comes primarily in contact. He takes his attitudes largely from the industry, from the great producer-distributor end, which is constantly saying to the public in effect: "Boost the good pictures, but say nothing about the bad ones"; "The home must bear the ultimate responsibility for the movie-going habits of its children and young people"; "The school must not concern itself with motion pictures, except those devoted to visual education"; although it is recognized that what the child does and sees during the time he is away from his classes profoundly affects his school life. It says, "Regulation is un-American and unnecessary," and that the industry itself, through the channels created for meeting the public, is the proper repository for the solution of all vital questions raised regarding motion pictures.

One cannot fail to note in this connection that the producing-distributing branch is actively engaged in combating legislation affecting motion pictures and that it indoctrinates the exhibitors with similar views; whereas certain types of regulation have in some respects been helpful, especially in keeping off the screen a certain quantity of objectionable matter involving bad taste or vulgarity, although all too much of these qualities still persists. If, in no other respect, regulation on the whole has been beneficial to the exhibitors themselves in that it has forestalled a certain amount of criticism on the part of their patrons. For it should be remembered that the comment of patrons in fairly high grade neighborhoods, where people are apt to be blessedly vocal and critical, is no inconsiderable thing; neither are their support and good will. It is unsound business practice to run counter to their vital interests, not to speak of the ethical obligation to consider these. In the long run, no intelligent exhibitor can go counter to the standards of the more intelligent groups of his neighborhood or of the community at large.

In 1921, the year before Mr. Hays assumed office with the industry, the motion picture journals announced that laws pertaining to regulation were introduced into thirty-six state legislatures, but were defeated in thirty-four. A similar source for March 12 of this year reports that in more than thirty states bills were presented with regard to motion pictures, and that in practically every instance the exhibitor bodies were instrumental in having such legislation defeated. It reports:

The Hays organization, through its counsel, has been working unceasingly in an effort to block unfair legislation and in practically every instance bills to impede the progress

of motion pictures have been successfully blocked. Its counsel has worked with exhibitors and aided them in many ways to bring about fair treatment at the hands of state legislatures.

The Hays organization is in close touch with all pending legislation antagonistic to the welfare of exhibitors, and the fight will be continued until the theater owners have been freed of blue bills and burdensome taxation.

Some of the bills referred to had to do with the prohibition of children under certain ages from attending performances at night without accompanying parents or guardians. One very real benefit has come out of all these efforts at regulation and counter-regulation. There has been generated over the last few years a healthy discussion which must, eventually, lead to placing the question on a scientific basis.

Let us try to visualize the movie-going population of the country. The spokesman of the industry is authority for a recent statement to the effect that 90,000,000 persons visit the screen weekly, in 20,233 theaters throughout the country, and that 750,000 persons alone wrote essays for the Greater Movie Contest.

It is not out of place at this Conference, where the problems of the small town and rural community have been recognized so signally, to reiterate the significant fact that the largest number of our people in these United States do not live in large cities, from which we get most of our ideas of movie entertainment, with its palatial theaters, elaborate presentation, additions of stage and musical acts, and a high potential consumption of sophisticated photoplays. Our 1920 Census indicates that only a little more than one-fourth of our entire population, exclusive of outlying possessions, live in cities of 100,000 or over. Roughly speaking, a little more than one-half of the country's population, 54 out of a total of 105 millions, live in cities and towns of 2,500 or over. Out of a total of 2,787 centers in which these 54 millions of urban dwellers live, all but 68 contain less than 100,000 inhabitants. These 2,719 centers of less than 100,000 are distributed as follows: 76 between 50,000 and 100,000; 143 between 25,000 and 50,000; 459 between 10,000 and 25,000; 721 between 5,000 and 10,000; 1,320, or approximately one-half of all urban centers, between 2,500 and 5,000.

Over against these 54 millions who live in centers of 2,500 or over, there is an almost equally large body of people—51 millions—who live in what the Census pleases to call rural territory. Only a little less than 9 millions live in incorporated places of less than 2,500. The rest—42 millions, or 40 per cent of our total population—live in purely rural territory.

In 1920 only 43 per cent of the population were living in cities of 8,000 or more. There were only 25 cities in this country with 250,000 or more; 13 of these had between 250,000 and 500,000; 9 between 500,000 and a million; and only 3 a million or more. These larger cities constitute only one-fifth of our population, yet their influence on the motion picture situation seems limitless.



Allowing for additional shifting to the cities since 1920, our family ideals are still, largely, those of smaller town folk.

According to the latest figures given by the *Film Daily Year Book for 1927*, there are 20,500 movie houses in the United States.<sup>1</sup> It is estimated by William A. Johnston, editor of *Motion Picture News*, that there are about 3,300 motion picture theaters, large and small, in the cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants (calculated on a base of 15,000 total).

With a little more than one-fourth of all our people living in centers of 100,000 or over, it is fairly safe to assume from this that only a little more than one-fifth of our theaters are situated in such localities.

I have recounted these detailed facts in order to stress the necessity of recognizing the needs of the great bulk of our people with regard to type of entertainment. These smaller centers are not ready for the kind of thing that exhibits on Broadway, Broad Street, State Street, or Euclid Avenue.

According to the *World Almanac for 1925* the largest number of theaters are to be found in New York State (1,458), Pennsylvania (1,397), Illinois (1,307), and Ohio (1,040). Iowa, California, and Texas come next with over 700 each; Michigan and Missouri with over 600 each; Wisconsin, Indiana, and Minnesota with over 500 each; Massachusetts, Nebraska, Kansas, New Jersey, and Oklahoma, with over 400 each; Kentucky and Washington with over 300 each; Virginia, West Virginia, North Dakota, North Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Colorado, and Oregon with over 200 each; and then down to the sparsely supplied commonwealths like Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, South Dakota, Montana, Utah, and Idaho, with over 100 each; and the following with less than 100 respectively: Rhode Island, Delaware, New Mexico, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, and Vermont.

New York City, the "show window" of the trade, was credited with more than 600 theaters, exceeding in number that of most states; Chicago with more than 350; Philadelphia with more than 200. Of the 17,836 theaters so analyzed, only 1,720 were so called first run theaters, only approximately 3,140 were downtown theaters, and 12,700 were neighborhood theaters, according to the source quoted above. The significant fact yielded by this analysis is that nearly three-fourths of all the motion picture theaters in the United States are probably what one might call neighborhood theaters; that is, located in family districts or serving family districts.

With only approximately 1,720 first run theaters in the country, to which some additional allowance should be made for the swift building of new theaters characteristic of the consolidation which has set in in theater ownership, only 25 per cent of all rentals, approximately speaking, received by film ex-

<sup>1</sup> Please note that statistics regarding motion pictures and theaters are not hard and fast.

changes accrue from these first run houses, according to crude statistics of the industry.

Yet the rules by which our suburban movie theaters are operated are conditioned, to an appreciable extent, by the first run theaters. In one familiar city one circuit controls six of the seven downtown, first run theaters. The type of pictures which are found to be profitable on first run in this city, with a transient hotel population of 7,000 daily to influence the type of shows to some extent, do not always fit into the needs of a high grade family neighborhood. Superior films, like *The Last Laugh* and *Grass* obtained no first run in this city, hence no citywide advertising in advance of suburban showings. Often a picture highly suited for the family is either shunted to an inconsequential house, on first run, with little advance notice, or is not played.

Downtown theaters often combine wonderful travelogues with sophisticated plays which are unsuited to young people, with the consequence that a fine thing like *Alaskan Scenes* or the interesting *Gorilla Hunt*, were seen in combination with types of plays like *Ladies at Play* which was quite risqué, as is well known, and *Just Another Blonde*. Their performances were crowded with children who came downtown to see the fascinating travel numbers of the program.

At one theater with which I am acquainted the management can take any meritorious photoplay, well produced, and put it over successfully; whereas the first run theaters fear to put on many of the things which one feels they might attempt if only the right kind of publicity and appeal were made, and the worth while groups in the community were assured that continuous efforts were being made to satisfy their needs. Conversely, the experience of the theater mentioned has been that the so called sophisticated themes, of which we have had too many this season, apparently due to the European influence in Hollywood, stimulated doubtless by the motive to produce motion pictures that will satisfy two continents at least, and which the downtown houses feature heavily, do not go so well in this family theater. The demand is for wholesome, well produced and dramatically sound productions.

The whole subject of whether box office magnetism based on national values (in the future probably international values), rather than on family aspirations and ideals as expressed to the theaters in the midst of our innumerable family communities, is to continue to be the guiding principle in future production is one which merits serious consideration from disinterested groups.

Everyone is acquainted with the fact that theater men, for the most part, buy their pictures months ahead of their appearance. It has been estimated in one locality familiar to me that not more than from 10 to 25 per cent of the product of the larger companies has been made at the time contracts are signed by the exhibitor for the output. There is a great deal of uncertainty, at times, after contracting, just what the exhibitor will ultimately get, as to star, story,

director, and other details; and numerous changes are made between signing the contract and the appearance of the film. Some are never made. The whole business at present is predicated on the so called "block-booking" system, which means that the exhibitor has to contract for an appreciable number of pictures with a company, almost without exception, in advance of their making, these running, for example, at times like 20, 30, 40, or more, as the case may be, for feature plays. And he is held to these contracts, which, it is rumored, serve as collateral at the banks for helping to finance the productions which later are to appear. This fact may explain the opposition of the producing-distributing branch of the industry to any modification of this wholesale buying in advance of completion; also its active opposition to bills introduced in the various state legislatures this spring partly for the purpose of correcting this situation.

It is essential that a neighborhood theater should put on as wholesome and interesting programs as possible on week ends, but the system of block booking and the frequent inability to obtain a copy of the film at a certain desired time, due to the limited number of prints at each exchange, militate against free choice.

For instance, a certain exhibitor sat some weeks ago reserving, months in advance, play dates for thirty or more pictures just contracted from a very well known film company, many of which had not yet been made when he was called upon to reserve his play dates, and about most of which sufficiently detailed information did not exist, or was not available, to aid him in choosing the proper nights on which to exhibit these productions, having in mind his community and the younger members of the audience. The main thing, under the present system, is to get your play dates set quickly. Greater flexibility both in buying the product and choosing the play time is necessary if family life is to be served.

Now, as to the facts of attendance of our boys and girls. We lack adequate statistics for various parts of the country on this vital point. At one neighborhood theater, for the year 1926, based on daily statistics, admissions paid by children under 12 years of age comprised 22.7 per cent of the total admissions. These figures are based on tickets sold, which are only of two broad age groups: those under 12, and those 12 or over. Hence they do not give an adequate picture of the young people over 12 who for statistical purposes must be classed as adults. An average attendance of children under 12, for a very few motion picture theaters for which statistics are available, during 1926, reached 26.8 per cent of total admissions paid. Allowance should be made for very young children coming in without charge of whom no count was kept, to be counterbalanced by others over 12 who misrepresented their ages as younger than 12.

Percentages may not be dramatic, but absolute figures often are. The total yearly admissions of children under 12, for 1926, at the few theaters mentioned

above, were 241,762, or a combined weekly average of over 4,600 admissions. These small theaters each averaged nearly 1,000 weekly admissions of children under 12. Remember that out of a total of 67 motion picture theaters in the city referred to, all but 15 are situated in family neighborhoods and that the experiences of those for which figures are not at hand might tell a somewhat similar story. There were in this city during 1926 approximately 78,433 children under 12 years of age. At least 53,107 were between the ages of 5 and 11 inclusive. For the city as a whole the group under 12 comprised 19.1 per cent of the population; they paid 22.7 per cent of the total admissions to the theater instanced, approximately one admission for every three children of a similar age class in the suburb in which the theater is located.

Lehmann and Witty, of the University of Kansas, have recently published the results of a study of over 5,000 children and young people, made through the schools during 1923 and 1924 in four Kansas localities ranging from less than 1,000 population to 123,000. The ages included ranged from  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years to  $22\frac{1}{2}$ . In no case did less than 43 per cent of the number of persons in the respective age groups studied attend less than once or more a week, and the percentages increase almost invariably with the age of the groups. For instance, 43 per cent of the  $8\frac{1}{2}$  year children attended once or more a week;  $9\frac{1}{2}$  years, 46 per cent;  $10\frac{1}{2}$  years, 56 per cent;  $11\frac{1}{2}$  years, 58 per cent;  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , 63 per cent;  $13\frac{1}{2}$ , 64 per cent;  $14\frac{1}{2}$ , 66 per cent; reaching the peak at  $20\frac{1}{2}$  years with 76 per cent. Thus do youth and movies mix in Kansas!

Mr. Will Hayes, commenting recently on what he chooses to call "the patently absurd statement that 75 per cent of our motion picture audiences are made up of children," concludes that only 8 per cent are of that group, and comments that "the general run of pictures are not now, and never will be, intended especially for children." It is not clear from the foregoing statement whether he means this 8 per cent for a countrywide situation or only for New York City, where the urban districts scrutinized are reported to have yielded a percentage of 8 per cent. If as low as 8 per cent of the total admissions throughout the country are paid by children (the age ranges are not given), with admission prices all too low in general for the group under 12 years of age, a calculation based on the total weekly attendance of 90,000,000 of motion picture visitors quoted (really tickets sold, without doubt, rather than individuals), would give us 7,200,000 children's admissions per week to ponder over. In any case, a vast army! The partial evidence adduced from the statistics of the neighborhood theaters in the lesser city instanced, and the fact that the bulk of the country's population lives outside the great cities, where the New York findings would be inapplicable, lead us to believe the total may exceed those given. In any case, light is needed on the subject.

There is no denying that with this "constitutional right" of every American child to see what he wishes or is shown on the screen, and at any time, in most

localities, in the face of the whole network of protection in other fields, there will be no end of dissatisfaction in thoughtful quarters, particularly because of his free participation in the experiences of adult life, however, vicarious; because childhood should be a time of rather simple regimen, of a great deal of outdoor living, of emphasis on school, with the minimum of pulls from extraneous interests; and because there should be as little emotional drain as possible. Commercial motion pictures will always be intended primarily for adults, and their sole purpose at present is entertainment. Consequently the many things which are perfectly valid for adult audiences are not suitable for babes, boys and girls, and youth just emerging. I wish there were time to discuss these basic differences. However, everyone has at least some of these in mind.

Then there is the frequency with which an appreciable number of children of varying ages are seen at movies, frequently during the school week, often staying up late because of attendance at screen shows, and often spending much time indoors at matinees. There is to be noted the tendency of all children to stay on and on at a performance, hours in many cases; the bringing of mere infants and very young children, and at extremely inappropriate times; the content of the screen—its tenseness and emotional appeal, its maturity of theme, its attitudes toward life, and at times even its language, not to mention the character of other supplementary entertainment with which it is often surrounded; and the prevalent type of publicity which has caused as much comment as anything the screen has attempted to convey; all these matters give piquancy to discussions of motion pictures.

The public will not be satisfied to be told that much of what is shown passes over the heads of the child, a point of view in which some psychiatrists concur with the public. Those who have worked long with children—our child specialists, physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, educational leaders, exponents of parenthood education, recreational directors, visiting teachers, as well as those who work with problems of broken childhood, and possibly others, have contributions to make to this whole subject; and the gathering together of experiences already on hand, together with the making of supplementary studies, are crying needs. A consideration of the tired child (the rush of the machine age is affecting him through the home and school) involves not only the hours he keeps, but also shields him from frightening and draining experiences. Dr. Max Seham reminds us that, generally speaking, children under nine years of age have no place at motion pictures.

Europe takes a different point of view from ours with regard to children and motion pictures. There the line between adult and child life has always been sharply demarcated and discipline and regimen strictly enforced. Regulations abroad protect the young from this free participation in adult life through the screen, a great deal of it false or undesirable here; and prescribe the manner in which he may witness movies, often permitting him to go only to performances especially set up for him. These regulations often extend during the

entire adolescent period, say up to 18, as in the case of the Netherlands, Hungary, and one of the Swiss Cantons. The very young child is kept out of the theater. Hours of attendance, chaperonage, and adequate supervision at these performances are covered.

The whole matter has been studied by the League of Nations, through its Child Welfare Committee, and presents a comprehensive commentary of the efforts which even so considered backward communities of the world are taking to safeguard their young generation. The following countries and localities have some such measures: Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Belgium, Danzig, Denmark, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland; six provinces of Canada; Salvador and Uruguay; Bombay India, Burmah, Japan; New Zealand; two provinces of the Union of South Africa; and there are minor protections elsewhere. The *Film Daily Year Book for 1927* reports that regulations in general with regard to motion pictures are very strict in Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Latvia, and Switzerland.

The following phraseology, in whole or in part, taken at random, characterizes many of the acts: "Prohibiting displays of subject matter or method of presentation which are likely to affect the character of adolescents or their mental or moral or physical development, or unduly excite their imagination." In characteristic Fascist fashion, Italy excludes children and young persons from seeing movies having a crime or love interest, and prescribes the kind of scenes recommended—these being of a character which tend to develop the civic and domestic virtues.

We need to develop a technique in this country for putting over successfully a greater number of high class motion pictures, and there is an increasing number of patrons for this type, as pointed out by Dr. Frances Tyson and as noted by observant exhibitors in the business. This and other urgent community needs warrant the employment of a civically minded, understanding liaison person as an adjunct to the city movie theater, with at least equal importance with the ubiquitous "exploitation man," as the publicity worker is known; analogous, to some extent, to the welfare worker in industry; but her clients shall be both the exhibitor and the public. This is the next step for intelligent leadership from the exhibition end. The advance publicity in all branches of the industry may have to be revised eventually in this scheme of things, with the appeal to the community paramount.

Classified lists of pictures, developed entirely under public auspices and showing their suitability for various age groups and types of patrons, and inclusive of all pictures, whatever their qualities, are timely; and if put into the hands of a considerable number of families throughout the country and in a form suitable for quick service, will aid the educational process of the community. Parenthetically, such a project, an outgrowth of a small beginning, is



ready to serve the public. Eventually specialists in child welfare must be utilized in this task. Even highly intelligent and well-meaning people are so busy today that keeping up with a yearly output of over 700 feature dramas alone is too much for most of them, even with such partial resources for information as exist at present.

There is needed some centralization of superior films already played, including the fine epics of exploration and travel, or information thereon. Some of these prints are being destroyed as valueless. More productions per year suitable to family consumption are needed, of high dramatic and entertainment value. This may necessitate an agreement among the producing companies. A modification of the block system of buying for the exhibitor is essential. Constructively, the facts in the whole situation need to be gathered authoritatively, as suggested in the beginning; and I would like to propose that plans looking to the appointment of a fact finding commission, possibly by the two great women's organizations most actively concerned with motion pictures, whose combined membership includes millions of mothers, be considered. Such a commission, appointed primarily to consider the child and the young person in relation to motion pictures, naturally would avail itself of the disinterested scientific instrumentalities for research which are at hand.

The facts most needed are: first, the number of children and young people in attendance on motion picture theaters, for the various parts of the country, including what they see, where, when, and under what conditions. Second, those facts embodied in the contributions to be made by the various child experts suggested earlier in this paper, which derive validity from expert experience and knowledge. This group eventually is to outline the type of subject matter which children and youth of various ages and types may see on the screen, and under what environmental circumstances, related, of course, to their physical, mental, and spiritual development. Third, what the experiences of other countries have to offer. Fourth, a study of the business aspects of the industry.

In addition to the above: fifth, some theater or theaters to serve as an experiment station or stations in a joint enterprise between exhibitor and community, wherein experiments may be carried on, with the full cooperation of the industry if possible, and standard practice developed for the country at large; looking toward having at least one theater in each community or city ultimately which might express the aspirations of best community life. It should be a combination of good business and good ethics. Sixth, a consideration of non-theatrical motion picture exhibitions, their status in the community. Seventh, such other pertinent matters not covered above.

This Young Giant, now in the first flush of his Aladdin-like existence, has the genius to adapt himself to community life, and with added profit. May he see fit to do it!

## VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

### TREATMENT PROCEDURE

#### FORMULATING THE PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CASE WORK WITH CHILDREN

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In the world of social work there are many very dogmatic viewpoints. No two schools of social work agree on even a field work program for training workers. Some believe that hospital social service should be included in the curriculum; others do not; some hug tightly to the belief that nobody can do psychiatric social work without an apprenticeship in family case work. Such credos championed often with ascetic zeal tend toward the formation of distinct units in the field of social work each with its own regulations as to records, procedures of treatment, etc. The student entering such a unit for her field work often so focuses her attention upon the arrangement of details in a record that she is almost oblivious to the problem as a whole which she is studying for the purpose of treatment. How far is there real justification for these logic-tight compartments in social case work? It is granted, of course, that certain workers are thrown more in contact with special phases of case work than others. For example, the administering of relief, the contact with social customs and attitudes in communities of foreign born, contacts with legal machinery in the breaking up of homes and the commitment of children, are special aspects of social case work that belong to the family case work agency, the child placing organization, and the probation worker more than to the hospital social worker. In like manner, the hospital social worker and the psychiatric worker have certain special aspects of case work associated with the contacts between medicine and social science.

The following of patients discharged from a psychiatric hospital, if properly done, is one of the most difficult branches of psychiatric social service. It requires a knowledge of the basic principles of behavior and a delicacy of human touch with which only an occasional worker is equipped intellectually and temperamentally. Yet I have heard such a worker described as not doing "case work," but "merely follow-up work." Now, it seems to me that such special aspects of case work technique are analogous to specialization in the field of medicine. Great care is taken that the medical student has a thorough grounding of four years' work in the principles of medicine before he is allowed to specialize in any department. This means that the medical internist,

the orthopedist, the pediatrician, the psychiatrist have one and the same method of investigating the patient's distress, and are governed by the same principles of treatment, so that when the student learns to construct his medical record for one department he has learned to construct it for all. The addition of special inquiries and methods of technique is easily acquired when the province of specialization is entered. In other words, the medical profession as a body speaks a common language, reciprocating its specialties easily and naturally, without any feeling of aloofness and mystery because dermatologist can get results in certain conditions that laryngologist cannot. Has social case work a common language of methods of investigation and principles of treatment which are not being thoroughly utilized because technicalities of specialization are obscuring fundamental issues? I believe such a state of affairs does exist, and that it will continue to do so until social case work is able completely to emancipate itself from the viewpoints of those early social reformers who were guided in their attitudes toward the treatment of dependency and other matters by economists. The history of social science during the past century is checkered with conflict between economic theories and classifications arising from academic sources barren of first hand experience with living human material, and the insistence of an increasing group of field workers upon studying the individual and his social adjustment. The one would study the workhouse and the penitentiary as institutions; the other would study the individual inhabiting these places and the story of how he got there. This wave of individualism has spread into other academic fastnesses. Out of philosophy it has developed in progressive succession psychology, abnormal psychology, mental measurements, social psychology, and behaviorism. Entering medicine it has transformed the rôle of behavior in the field of health from a scarcely recognized concept to a vital and well established belief in medical science today.

It was logical then that when social case work sought a constructive plan for its investigation of the individual adjustment difficulty, it should turn to those branches of science which deal with the study of behavior in the concrete settings of human relationships. Now in dealing with any problem of human distress from the floundering college boy to the syphilitic, delinquent, neglected urchin, we are confronted with one and the same task, and that is reconstructing the setting of the particular difficulty in terms of the life story of the individual in all its various aspects. This should include factors of constitutional endowment; nutrition and growth; early environmental influences and habit training; the history of the school period; the sex adaptations; the vocational struggles; the social adaptability (religion, amusements, recreation, neighborhood and community affiliations). The facts of this story, as those of any other biography, must be arranged in an orderly and systematic form, with careful respect for chronology. Such topics should constitute the field of in-

quiry covered by every case worker. They should be the common language of investigation on the part of the family case worker, child-placing organization, probation worker, and hospital social service. Following such a round-up of facts, the next step is to formulate the social problem arising from the story obtained. And right here is probably to be found an explanation for the fact that social case work's weakest point seems to lie in its difficulty in formulating the problem of the individual, or family constellation. Relief, child-placing, vocational guidance present needs common to large numbers of human beings, but the need of no two members of any group presents the same setting of facts. Theoretically this is such a truism that it seems an insult to mention the fact to an audience of social case workers. To be sure we have traveled a long way from the eleemosynary point of view concerning the administration of relief toward the goal of helping the individual to help himself. We have found through the trial and error method of experience that certain principles of procedure are wise and wholesome as general plans of social treatment, such as the utilization of foster homes instead of orphanages. But sometimes in our eagerness to follow the ideals of good case work we are guilty of sacrificing individual needs in a very unintelligent manner.

For example, Mrs. B. and the five children separated from her two years ago are brought for examination with the plan that the family be reunited. Mrs. B. is an epileptic with a mental age of 10 years who had two illegitimate children before her marriage to an alcoholic dependent. At the time of his disappearance and the breaking up of the family two of the little girls were found to have gonorrhea, and one syphilis acquired from a neighborhood contact. It has taken two years to clear up these venereal infections and put all five children in a satisfactory state of mental and physical health. Under luminol treatment and relieved of the strain of household management, the mother's convulsive seizures have been reduced to a minimum. Living in a respectable home she is able to work steadily, earning \$15 a week. It would seem obvious to even a common-sense analysis of the facts of this case that thrusting increasingly heavy responsibilities upon a mother so handicapped mentally and physically would result in exactly the same chaos as that from which this family was rescued two years ago. Yet a social agency supervisor still defends the plan on the ground that it is the aim of good case work to "keep the family together."

In such failures to differentiate between individual needs and general principles of social treatment, it is the child who suffers most. Here again in theory we recognize childhood as the most constructive material with which we work in health and social science. Year by year we have gone about the care of dependent children more intelligently, as can be seen in reviewing "Work of Child-Placing Agencies" so admirably presented in a recent publication of the Children's Bureau. There is a general agreement upon the importance of rec-

ords, the sizing up of health, higher standards of foster homes and institutions. The weak spot in child placing is the tendency to talk about types of children (the delinquent, subnormal, degenerate) with entirely too little attention paid to the gathering of facts concerning actual child stories with a resultant planning of treatment for behavior problems in general instead of individual children in particular. Francis S. is brought for examination before placement with the following case summary:

The family was first known in 1920. Mr. X. appealed for a boarding home for Charles and Francis. At the time Mrs. X was ill with tuberculosis and wanted the boys placed, in order that she might go to the country for the summer. In September Mrs. X. returned home and the family was reunited. Nothing further was heard of them until June, 1926, when a report was received that the boys were mistreated by their stepmother. Mr. X. had married again, after the death of his first wife. No direct evidence of neglect could be found, and Mr. X. insisted that the children were well cared for. At the time the boys were attending school somewhat irregularly, and Francis was repeating the 4 B grade. He did not give any special trouble, though he was rather careless in his work and personal appearance. On January 5, 1927, it was reported that Francis had been taken into the juvenile court by his stepmother for stealing a penknife. Mrs. X. complained that Francis was incorrigible and she wished to have him placed in the state correctional institution. Investigation showed that Francis had stolen a wrist watch and a five dollar bill before this. Mrs. R., the maternal grandmother, believes that the boys do not receive proper care, and are often severely punished by Mrs. X. for little or no reason, and that good care and environment would improve Francis' conduct. Francis is in grade 5 B at No. 65 and his report is good in scholarship, attendance and conduct. Francis was a normal baby and has never had any serious illnesses. He gave no trouble as to his conduct until after his mother's death. The case is referred for standardization of Francis. Should he be placed through legal adoption with his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. R., who have a well-appointed suburban home, or in a correctional institution?

In reading this summary I find myself confronted with a boy thirteen years, four months, of age who is taken to the juvenile court by his stepmother for stealing a knife. The biographical story leading up to the misdemeanor is merely sketched in outline. From June, 1920, the date of the agency's first contact with the family, to June, 1926, the date of the second contact, is a period of six years. Many things have happened. The mother has died, the father has remarried. There are no dates for either event. In talking with the boy himself I learn that after the death of his mother in 1921 he was placed with relatives in the country; that he returned home when his father married again at the end of 1922; that he spends a great deal of time with his maternal grandparents. As for school, I learn that he went to the third grade at the — School, spent over a year in the third grade in a county school; spent the fourth grade in School No. 65, and is now in Grade V B, in School No. 88. (The record states that he is in Grade V B in School No. 65). In five years this lad has had three different home environments and four different school environments. Experience has shown that frequent transplantations have as damaging effect upon the roots of childhood as similar procedures upon the

roots of cabbages. What is the character of the stepmother? In June, 1926, she is "accused of mistreating the patient and his brothers." How reliable is this accusation, and whence did it come? A similar accusation comes from the patient's maternal grandparents, who wish to adopt the patient. What are they like? We know nothing except that they have a "well-appointed suburban home." Upon these two statements I find myself quite unable to base an opinion as to whether they are fit guardians for the patient. Coming to the stealing episodes of the watch, the five dollar bill, and the penknife, one must keep in mind the principle that in evaluating any delinquency it is of the utmost importance to describe each episode in detail. From whom were these articles taken? Under what circumstances? What disposal was made of them subsequently? I learned from the patient that the watch and five dollar bill were taken from the woman upstairs while he was playing with her children. One dollar was spent for candy and movies. The watch was to be carried a while and then returned. The knife was taken from the stepmother. Is the child telling me the truth? I do not know. These episodes make one curious as to where and with whom the boy spends his leisure time. Is he given spending money? Is he allowed to earn money?

Examination shows a sturdy, well-nourished looking boy whose attitude is one of self defense. His Binet-Simon Test is satisfactory, coming up to about thirteen years. The problem is formulated on his record as: "Case is referred for standardization. Should he be placed through legal adoption with his grandparents, or in a correctional institution?" Evidently standardization is expected to answer that question. Standardization is not a diagnosis of child or adult, but one of many aids to a diagnosis, just as is the blood, Wassermann, or X-ray, or urinalysis. It is impossible to formulate the social problem in this case without more facts along the lines that I have mentioned. Evidently in the mind of this worker Francis is a type known as the delinquent, and she formulates the social problem in terms of the treatment of delinquents in general (correctional institution or not?). Francis is a delinquent in the sense that his stealing satisfies the technical definition of that term, but as Healy has been pointing out for the last twenty-five years, Francis is an individual delinquent, and his antisocial behavior can only be adequately interpreted by a study of the entire setting in which it occurs. Theoretically we accept the work of Healy, and the contributions of Goddard and Fernald, but in actual case work practice we are apt to act upon the time honored belief that the record of a child doesn't have to contain much; that his age, grade in school, conduct report, and list of illnesses is plenty. I have heard the case record of a child characterized as "verbose" by a committee of case workers, because it contained some of the very facts omitted from the child's story I have just read.

In following the evolution in methods of treatment of the dependent child one is impressed with the passing of the institution in favor of the foster home,



or as someone has expressed it, "child placing is sold to the foster home." The theory of the foster home lends itself to a wealth of arguments, the chief of which is that the child grows up as part of a family group which is the social unit to which he must adapt himself through life. Excellent social theory as this is, we know as yet too little about the behavior reactions of human beings to commit the allocation of children so hastily and completely to the foster home. First there is the child as a variable human quantity to deal with. We can standardize his physical and intellectual status roughly, but we cannot standardize the emotional equipment of his personality as it arises from a background of constitutional endowment and mutilating environmental influences, and predict its capacity to make new adaptations. Just here lies the difficulty in socializing the non-dependent child whom we frequently take from his home and place in boarding school and summer camp in an effort to study and meet individual needs. The second issue in the placement of the dependent child is the environment into which we send him. In looking over the Children's Bureau publication previously mentioned (No. 171,) "The Work of the Child-Placing Agencies" one is impressed with the utter lack of unanimity of opinion as to the requirements of a foster home as expressed in the terms "high type" and "low type." The sanitation, economic status, and official moral standards constitute rough standardizing guides, but what about the inhabitants of these homes to whose personality idiosyncrasies the child has to adapt himself? Social science has done practically no research on the subject. The study of Sophie Van Senden Theis on "How Foster Children Turn Out," made in 1924 for the New York State Charities Aid Association is a good beginning. The studies now being carried on by Mrs. Edith Baylor of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston should be valuable material. The data derived from "supervising" contacts as they are carried on today is pitifully inadequate when visits to foster homes average once in two months by agencies throughout the country. Mildred, nine years, seven months of age, is brought for examination. At two and one-half years she was permanently committed by the court to a child placing agency, the father having been sent to the penitentiary for larceny, and the mother found to be chronically promiscuous. When the child was five years of age the father was released from the penitentiary, and without gaining the consent of the agency took Mildred with him to a boarding house in another state. As the boarding house was found to be "respectable," the child, although a permanent ward of the agency, was allowed to remain with the father, arrangements having been made with an agency in the other state to "supervise" the child in this boarding house. Eight months later it was discovered by both agencies that the father had brought the child back to the old home, and joined his wife. For four years Mildred was subjected to such irregular school attendance that truant officers complained, and the neighbors reported the child otherwise neglected. In November, 1926, Mildred received

a mysterious burn on her arm. In order to get medical attendance it was necessary for the police to accompany the agency and remove the child from the home. At nine years Mildred is an undernourished, unhealthy child with a mental age of not quite eight years. After a year of good hygiene and regular schooling it will be interesting to see what the mental health of this child will show.

A. B. was a girl of nine years when she was brought to us by her foster parents because of persistent lying, petty stealing of small change from home and school, aggressive indifference, bolshevistic attitude in school, and auto-erotism. The patient was an illegitimate child who was given for adoption at two years by a child placing agency to Mr. and Mrs. B., who were childless. She had a normal development, so far as neurotic and physical data were concerned. At four the foster parents began to notice the foregoing complaints and took her to various doctors without improvement. Examination of the child showed a physically satisfactory girl with an I.Q. of 125. She admitted all the accusations against her with an attitude of almost abstract indifference. The parents gave a perfectly smooth story with regard to training tactics and home influences, attributing all difficulties to bad inheritance. The child was placed for a period of study in the neutral environment of a boarding home, far enough away to cut off parental contacts, the parents agreeing not to visit the child for a month. Two months here revealed the real facts of the case. The parents insisted on coming once a week, claiming that they could not bear the separation; they sided with the child against the boarding mother, who was attempting to carry out therapeutic suggestions given by us. For example, in an effort to interest the child in active play, to offset the auto-erotic activities, she was dressed in simple clothes, such as gingham dresses and sturdy foot-gear. A. B. rebelled in favor of her former dainty dresses and light pumps. She refused to walk half a mile to school with the other children, saying she was accustomed to being carried in her father's car. Her conversation showed familiarity with beauty shops, movie stars, a popular love serial running in the local paper, etc. One day the foster mother arrived, and finding the child disheveled in a rough-and-tumble outdoor game, rebuked her for so forgetting her parents as to behave in such an unladylike manner. I had a long talk with these foster parents of A. B., frankly telling them that they must choose between the health of this child and their own standards of foolish vanity which they wished to have exemplified in her. They insisted on picking on the unattractiveness of the boarding home, and finally took A. B. to Atlantic City for a month, to make up to her for what they construed as "ridiculous punishment." Our own contact with the case closed, and since then we have heard only indirectly of the child. A high school principal telephoned me that she was on the point of expelling A. B. as a bad moral influence (she had left school one afternoon with one of the boys and stayed out all night). This teacher had

asked the parents to bring the girl to us for examination, but they refused, saying they had already consulted our clinic and received no help whatsoever. A few months later the child placing organization from whom they had adopted A. B. wrote me that these foster parents were trying to take legal measures to return her to the organization as a "degenerate." Meanwhile these same parents had been given by the same child placing organization another little girl "to try for a few years, with the view of adopting her if she proved satisfactory." She was of good parentage and as pretty as a picture, so the organization told me. Last summer they returned this child, now 8 years old, to the child placing organization, saying she had developed all the distressing behavior traits of the unlucky A. B. Examination of her revealed the same picture presented by her foster sister almost four years ago. It was hard to make this organization, or any other intelligent person or group of persons, realize that a home so satisfactory from the standpoint of hygiene, economic sufficiency, church and club affiliations, could be so absolutely demoralizing in its subtle emotional influences. It is indeed hard to put the latter into words, yet two children reflect parental attitudes and conflicts that are unmistakable. The foster father is a hard working man who has struggled to get on in life and keep up to his wife's expectations. Within the past few years their financial status has improved greatly. The foster mother is a woman who impresses one as making heroic attempts to put her best foot forward in every direction. One feels that clothes, household furnishings, and car are just a little better than she can really afford. It is she who undoubtedly evaluates the family living and social standards. To furnish material over which she could better drape her vanities, she selected two pretty, attractive little girls, whom she tried to convert into French dolls. In her simplicity she forgot that these dolls are receptive personalities, richly endowed with the power of imitation. They copy her scornful attitude toward social inferiors, her overbearing manner toward servants and tradespeople, her distaste for and revolt against the irksomeness of routine, expressed in many a subterfuge. But when these habit responses are turned in her own direction, the foster mother becomes alarmed, and rationalizes her failures by blaming bad inheritance for the unhealthy behavior trends. For example, she would have A. B. punished for lying when she herself promised in the child's presence not to visit her but once a month in the training home to which we sent her, and then went there regularly once a week.

Another important factor in formulating the problem in social case work with children is the limitations imposed by the inelastic attitudes of the judiciary, and economic straits which do not give the social agency a chance really to do a good piece of work. It is rare to find a court that sees beyond the immediate issue of an acute poverty, or episode of cruelty and neglect. The great factors of poor mental health lying behind such evidences of social distress are overlooked.

In like manner agencies are given temporary commitment for the resuscitation of little children who in three to six months are put back again under the parental influences that formerly disorganized their health. Adults with deep seated habits of alcoholism, gross irresponsibility, and mental dishonesty are expected to change the characteristics of a lifetime following a reprimand from the Bench. Adolescent boys drifting into progressively serious misdemeanors are repeatedly given "one more chance" on the maternal plea of needing their support, when inquiry into actual facts fails to reveal a single evidence of wholesome habit formation in a lad who has stolen from this parent since early childhood.

In presenting this critical review of social case work's approach to childhood, I am humbly aware of the fact that I have never done field work in social science; that I have never felt the pressure of neighborhood prejudice, or been obliged to listen patiently to the dictation of some unintelligent critic speaking from Olympus of one of the professions. Were I continually subjected to such psychic traumata, I am certain that vision of the large social problem would at times become very dim. My faith in social case work was never greater than it is today. Without it so called public welfare would be empty and meaningless. You have so much to give, not only to the educating of your clients, but to the educating of the medical, legal, and teaching professions, whose gross ignorance in practical matters of social science too often constitutes a handicap far greater than that of the maladjusted helplessness to which you are called to minister. Family case work, child placing organization, probation work, hospital social service, psychiatric work have identical goals, and deal with common human material. Your methods of individual case study and the principles underlying the formulation of your problems are the same. United on these fundamental issues, you stand as did the Thirteen Colonies, a tower of strength to those who need help in finding themselves, and a formidable unit of defense in behalf of the constructive progress to which your work contributes in the cause of civilization. With such ideals for realization, social case work cannot afford to split hairs over trivialities, or bicker over details of specialization in treatment, or hastily declare itself "sold" to some one point of view without establishing a solid body of facts upon which its theories are based. The goal of achievement in social science cannot be measured by academic credits, or standardized curricula, or the zealous espousal of any set attitude—social, educational, or psychiatric. Adolf Meyer in his address before the National Conference of Social Work in 1925, said:

The most telling measure of wisdom and balance of a program is that of simplicity, and the cultivation of sane common sense. . . . We should be able to prove ourselves well-balanced and especially thoughtful also in the great task of dealing with the accumulated wisdom concerning habits of life and habits of thought and habits of feeling—esthetic, moral and religious; capable, when called upon, of a helpful visit of spirituality, and morality and conscience.

## THE PLACE OF THE HOME IN TREATMENT

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The forces which contribute most to the development of personality and behavior are the emotional values which are created for the individual by the most important persons in his early environment, namely his parents. If parents were perfectly adjusted, at least the emotional elements in the home setting would be entirely satisfying to the child and yet lead to independence and maturity without a struggle. When parents are without serious emotional problems of their own, their conduct and attitudes create an environment which contains occasional undesirable destructive factors but so many desirable constructive ones that they produce no problem children.

In direct contrast to this we know, *a priori*, that when confronted with a problem child we have not far to look to find a problem parent. Adults are motivated in exactly the same way as the children whom we have learned to treat with an eye to the why and wherefore of their conduct difficulties. All of an adult's and therefore all of a parent's behavior is the response to his early experiences and represents the solution of his particular problems. A large part of the parent's behavior consists of the way in which he handles his marital situation and his children, and falls again into the category of motivated, purposive conduct. Motivated by what but his emotional needs? Purposive for what but to fulfil those needs? Here is a boy whose mother continually nags and never gives a word of praise. Life would be easy if she could give him a pat on the shoulder now and again, but she cannot. All her life she has met thwartings and failure; she has no pattern to follow of encouragement or attention or love. Regarded, because of her sex, as an unimportant member of her family she was isolated and forced to withdraw into herself at an early age. She received a little attention from her father, but when he deserted even that scant satisfaction was denied her. Several years later her hardworking mother died. Our boy's mother, as the oldest child, was forced to be the wage earner. She succeeded in sending her younger brothers to America but they showed no appreciation of her help. She had been a nagging old sister, overworked and unhappy, resenting the maternal rôle she had to take. She could derive no satisfaction in caring for her brothers because she was still looking for someone to take care of her. It was much more to her satisfaction to punish the world for her deprivations; the nagging was one of her punishments, and her fault finding another. The nagging mother cannot drop that pattern at once and take on the new one of praise and encouragement, but she can be given the security she has been seeking since childhood. We, as part of treatment for the boy, must supply his mother with the feeling that she is a valuable, esteemed, loved member of the community. Once we satisfy her long de-

nied craving for appreciation and attention, she can cease her punishment of the world and treat her child as kindly as we have treated her.

If the parents' conduct has not created the most desirable setting for the child's development, then treatment consists largely of reeducating the parents as well as the child who is the end product of their creation. Reeducation must, however, work along the lines of possible change. There are some changes we cannot make because the parents' emotional biases are irremediable; if, on the other hand, a situation is remediable, treatment steps still have to fit in with the parents' individual needs. In the case of one child who was being driven into submission by infrequent whippings, constant nagging and grueling argument, the father disclosed that his early training had been of the stoic, puritan pattern, and in his adjustment he had taken on many of his own father's and grandfather's mechanisms. Identification of a son with his father is a necessary step in social adaptation but there are often, as in this case, some behavior traits which were better left out of the son's make-up. If in treatment we had suggested that the father's disciplinary methods were wrong, we would have shaken the security he had in his father identification and he would have resented the worker and his child. Instead he was drawn out to talk of his relations with his mother and an older sister, who had been understanding in their treatment of him. At that point he realized that their kindness had been more constructive than his father's severity; his identification in the matter of discipline was shifted to his mother and sister, while a partial identification with his father was deliberately kept alive by enlarging upon the latter's integrity, loyalty, standards of truth and services to the community. The crux of the situation always lies in whether, while treating the child, one can keep intact the self respect and emotional security of the other members of the family. If we destroy either one of those satisfactions, treatment fails. The case just cited was one of a child deprived of love satisfactions. The same tactics must be used to wean an overindulged child from its devoted parents. The separation even when not physical at all, must be made so that substitute satisfactions are provided for the parents, to take the place of the dependent child who has become an unhealthy love object.

From this viewpoint, the kind of disciplinary methods used, the standards held up to the child, the marks of favoritism or antagonism, the amount of affection demonstrated, the anxiety and worry or indifference and unconcern, are all symptoms of the parents' problems which can in no way be modified unless we have an understanding of their backgrounds as well as of the child's. As in any personality problem, knowing only the symptoms is not enough. One mother pets and spoils her son to overcome a sense of guilt in not having wanted a child at all; another does it because he is the replica of her father to whom she is still attached. Both children will be dependent, but the process



of weaning initiated by the social worker will be quite different according to the problem the mother has to meet.

It will be a more satisfactory support to my thesis to give in rather full detail the social history of a case to show how treatment had to be planned in terms of the parental problems in order to be effective for the child. Margaret Kane was fourteen years old when her father referred her to the bureau. She was showing in marked degree the unstable behavior of an adolescent in severe conflict. She was selfish, extravagant, and had an explosive temper. She longed to be beautiful but was sloppy and careless. She had developed some food fads, and was altogether an unhappy, struggling, temporarily unpleasant young person. She was excellent intellectual material, already in the third year of high school, equipped with an I.Q. of 130. Her school record had been an unbroken line of A's until the unexpected competition at high school, complicated by her increased emotional burden, resulted in several failures. The circumstances which led to the crisis were a series of emotional experiences which had offered her much satisfaction in her early childhood but which had recently changed in nature; so that she was now completely thwarted in her demands for attention, whereas she had formerly been overindulged. For thirteen years Margaret had been spoiled by her father's devotion while her mother drew closer to Sam, the second born. The extreme jealousy between the rivals for Mr. Kane's affections took outward form in violent temper fits. The day following one of these quarrels two years ago, Mrs. Kane fell suddenly ill and died. As Mr. Kane had taken Margaret's part in the quarrel, he suffered a serious feeling of guilt for not having defended his wife. He solved the problem in the most immature fashion by accusing Margaret of hastening her mother's death. Whatever conflict the child had had in being her mother's rival was now greatly intensified, and for the first time her security with her father was shaken. Her need to gain his approval became all the stronger and for a time she attempted in an irresponsible fashion to keep house for him and her brother. Mr. Kane, who had recently sustained a heavy financial loss, could not bear the strain of extravagance, bad management, and disobedience. His wife had always borne for both of them the responsibilities of discipline and of household economy. Margaret upset his tradition, and therefore his security. She refused to buy inexpensive clothes and was ashamed to patronize cheap stores. She demanded the best college in the country; and scolded her father roundly for not continuing his former overindulgences. In desperation he declared life "in this pig-pen" impossible. He further insulted Margaret and more completely cut off her love satisfactions by marrying a young cousin of his first wife's, frankly for the purpose of making his house livable. Evelyn, thirteen years younger than he, had frequently come to him for counsel and funds in the past. She was willing to be his rescuer in order to continue the dependent relationship she had had with him since her arrival in America. Hers was scarcely an adult adjustment,

for, far from giving Mr. Kane the protection and consideration that he sought, she fell into her predecessor's pattern of jealousy. With the situation recreated, Margaret gave less than ever to her father in the way of sympathy, took far less responsibility, and gave full vent to her resentment toward Evelyn. When Evelyn, in retaliation, threatened to leave the family to shift for themselves, Mr. Kane's inability to face reality took shape this time in spells of fainting and weeping. It was at this point he came to the bureau, threatened with the loss of his health, his daughter's affection, his social prestige, and his wife's devotion. The objective in treatment was to translate Margaret's satisfying but asocial behavior on to a socially acceptable level. Her infantile patterns had to be developed into conduct manifestations which would build up her self esteem and equip her to be protective toward her father as he could not adjust without that security.

His early childhood had been one of uncertainty and many changes. His father had roamed from country to country, so that though by origin a German Jew, Mr. Kane had spent most of his boyhood as a Catholic in France. His relations with his mother had been in a precarious state, she being a religious fanatic, but Mr. Kane eventually solved the conflict by a strict adherence to his mother's faith. In fact, when as a young man he fell in love with a Christian girl, his childhood tie to his mother prevailed; he married instead of his love, Margaret's mother, a woman of his own faith for whom he never had any fondness. It was this that prevented an adult husband-wife relationship between the Kanes but which led instead to Mr. Kane's devotion to his daughter and the wife's subsequent jealousy. The only satisfactions Mrs. Kane was able to provide her husband were her care of the house, her thriftiness, and the ways in which she relieved him of responsibilities. The only satisfactions he was able to supply her were financial security over a long period of time, a pleasantly furnished home and the social prestige of wife and motherhood. Of understanding, congenial companionship and a peaceful atmosphere there were no evidences. What Mr. Kane depended on for his adjustment was not, then, fully adult marriage on a partnership basis, but protection and shielding from care and the pleasure of indulging a young daughter without thought of consequences. When the basis for his adaptation broke down, social service was called in. Before any change in Margaret could be effected, it was necessary to remove her feeling of guilt in desiring her father's attention and for her part in her mother's death. The latter, resulting from apoplexy, was easily explained on its true physical basis. Her wish to have her father's indulgence continue and her enjoyment of it in the past, were explained as steps in her emotional development. An early attachment to one's mother, a later one to one's father and the final translation of the love-object to a man outside the family circle were briefly sketched as normal stages in a girl's growth. In that way the suggestion was made indirectly at first, that her attitudes could now be

shifted to something more grown-up and detached from her earliest ties. An explanation of her father's remarriage as necessary because of the economic stress and of her inability as a school girl to assume full responsibility at home removed the ego insult and effected some identification with Evelyn. As soon as she could feel that her cheaper clothes and decreased allowance were not signs of her father's dislike she could respond by giving him the affection and consideration he needed. In direct contrast to her former attitude she now felt a pride in her small sacrifices, knowing they were of material help and a means of securing her father's approval on a highly socialized level. At the same time Evelyn was made to understand that it was not herself that Margaret resented but that thirteen years of overattachment had set the stage against any woman who might have come into the home. Her pride was restored and she was able to assume a more passive attitude toward Margaret. Thus we see Evelyn less antagonistic to Margaret and encouraged because the worker also sees the problem as a difficult one to handle. In obtaining a part time job, Margaret further satisfied both her own self esteem and her parents' who felt that she realized their difficulties and wanted to help them.

Now, as the father receives these satisfactions from Margaret he becomes less irritable and in fact thinks that Evelyn has achieved the wonders he expected of her. He will then be satisfied with Evelyn so that Margaret becomes less and less her rival. At the same time, a well behaved Margaret is no longer the embodiment of Evelyn's failure, so that on another score the two girls can have friendly relations. The more comfortable Evelyn's position in the home, the more security she can give the father. She and Margaret will be somewhat identified in their relationship to Mr. Kane, But Margaret's social adjustment will eventually take her entirely out of the dependent rôle and leave the field clear to Evelyn. Treatment is a success only to the degree in which Margaret, in the process of growing up, fulfils the needs peculiar to herself while at the same time she develops the ability to provide the security necessary to the adults who are less mature than she.

There are many points left untouched in this short space of time, but one, I hope, is outstanding. Though to all appearances solving the difficulties of a problem child, the social worker actually does a family case work job in the broadest sense of the word. No one concerned with the child is left unaffected by treatment of him; therefore each step must be planned with the child, his parents, and his siblings clearly in the foreground, the end result to be, so far as possible, an integrated family unit.

HOW CASE WORK TRAINING MAY BE ADAPTED TO MEET THE  
WORKER'S PERSONAL PROBLEMS

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In the whole field of case work no one holds a more strategic position than the case work supervisor. Yet many a competent case worker thinks of supervision as a not altogether necessary nuisance and views the supervisor herself as someone who has renounced the satisfactions of case work for a function whose chief attractions are executive dignity and an increase in salary.

Supervisors themselves remember wistfully the thrills of direct contact with clients and rest uneasy in a superiority that bristles with difficulties. The supervisor is for instance always one remove from the case work. She is supposed to guide. Between her and the case is the visitor in training. The latter may be a novice, awkwardly sensitive to her ignorance of the technique commanded by the supervisor, but she cannot help knowing that she has the advantage of immediate acquaintance with the clients whose problems the supervisor evaluates so theoretically. This in itself creates a situation productive of conflict for both the supervisor and the supervised. But there are other difficulties. The supervisor represents not only a guiding wisdom divorced from actual experience with the case, but also those agency policies which limit all of the student's activities. It is the very nature of policies that they be general, that they consider the rule first and the exception afterward and therefore in the eyes of the young worker, they may assume the ugly complexion of an authority that rigidly denies the needs of her special case. The student accordingly finds it hard always to distinguish between the supervisor who defines the rule and the exceptions to it and those policies for the observance of which the supervisor is responsible, and she is likely to think of the supervisor as a hybrid executive, half case worker and half disciplinarian.

Take a typical day from the supervisor's experience. She finds that one worker dodged an emergent issue and instead investigated a minor point in a case because she felt she lacked necessary information. Another worker has let several transferred cases drift because she dislikes dealing with clients who were not her own from the beginning. Still another reports a combat with a renegade father who charged her with stirring up trouble between him and his wife; she lost her temper and engaged in a hot dispute with a man she now regards as hopeless. But the supervisor's day is not ended. Another worker is decidedly aggrieved because an out of town inquiry is assigned to her when she has more to do than anybody else in the office. The supervisor realizes uncomfortably that her handling of all these situations may not promote her popularity. In fact she spends much of her energy trying to evade the stigma of her job. She soon learns that the distinction between the constructive criti-

cism every student is vehemently willing to accept and the destructive criticism she indignantly rejects is very delicate indeed and that the line between the two is as theoretical as the equator. Her supervisory existence becomes an unpleasant compromise between the demands of an executive and board who naturally expect certain things to be done and the innumerable, varied resistances of those whose doing of them she has to supervise. If she has tact her life between these two fires may not be unhappy but she is still apt to miss the satisfactions implicit in supervision because her own conflict blinds her to the potentialities of one of the most dynamic functions in case work, potentialities which cannot be realized until she accepts as fundamental to her job those very phases of it which she may now be trying to dismiss.

Essentially the core of her problem resides in her relationship to the student. What is this relationship to be? The wording of my topic suggests one answer, that the supervisor consider herself a case worker whose case work must embrace not only the student's cases but the student herself. This demands, of course, that the supervisor investigate and treat the personal problems of the student as the latter investigates and treats those of the client. At first blush, the proposal may seem presumptuous, but what choice is there? Is it better for the supervisor to deal with every personal issue as a matter for executive action or to broaden her concept of case work to include those personal issues and so subject her handling of them to conscious analysis and control?

Of course it all depends on your definition of case work. Is it a collection of techniques justifiably used only on those who cannot help themselves, who cannot escape exposure to it, who have to submit to it to get assistance in overwhelming difficulties? Are its philosophy and methods such that they would offend the self respect of the case worker if she were to exchange places with the client? Or is case work an art of living, experienced by the case worker, used by her to guide her own behavior, and so naturally expressed in all her relationships that to exclude any of them as beyond its province would be a violation of her personal as well as of her professional code? If case work is an art and a philosophy, and not merely a trade practiced on the handicapped and helpless, it has to be just as thoroughly a part of the case worker's attitude toward herself as toward others and therefore the necessity does not arise for dividing those others into the sheep who are her colleagues and the goats who are her clients. The supervisor who is a case worker in his sense formulates as her function something more than the full communication to the student of the techniques of investigation and treatment as these are commonly understood; she wants to develop in the student the capacity for thinking, feeling, and living a case work that she need not scruple to employ on others because she has accepted it when employed on herself. The supervisor has gone through the same case work process of learning how to live and knows that the student

must go through it if she is to guide her clients to a control of themselves and their situations. It cannot come through learning rules of procedure; it rests on understanding and personal development which furnish the real resources for that case work growth toward which we are all struggling. Without philosophy technique becomes a bundle of sterile arbitrary tricks, useful if the case worker has nothing else, but dangerously separated from those creative sources which spring from living itself.

But let us come down to brass tacks. We might follow the adventures of a hypothetical student and a hypothetical supervisor. The student was first attracted to case work by her concern for unfortunates whose misery seemed to be inflicted upon them by material circumstances. She thought of them as the poor, the sick, the widowed, orphaned, and aged. She soon learns that these pitiful externals which first enlisted her sympathy are complicated by problems of personality and behavior obscure and varied beyond her wildest imaginings. Some of them stare her in the face; others are masked. It does not matter how thorough her theoretical training may be, when it comes to field work; one of the student's first problems is to see and to see beyond her immediate sympathies. It sounds simpler than it really is for the young worker may see that a weak, lazy husband left his wife and children to starve, that a mother drinks and lets her children run the streets unwashed and unfed, and that a child of harassed, respectable parents steals everything he can lay his hands on, and yet she may be stone blind to the fact that the husband ran away from a good woman who did not allow him to call his soul his own, that the alcoholic mother finds her sober thoughts too dreary to bear, and that the thieving child steals his satisfactions because he has none that are legitimately his. The supervisor at once embarks on the task of awakening in the student an awareness to emotions and behavior, the meaning of which the clients do not recognize and the existence of which she has never had to explore in herself. Again and again the supervisor has to stimulate the student's curiosity about what lies behind the scenes; this stimulation constitutes the initial phase of her case work upon her.

For example, the father in the case may be a blustering ne'er-do-well with a record of alcoholism, wife beating, and tearful grievances against employers, family, and agency. The young worker missed him on all her calls and seems to have forgotten the necessity for interviewing him. The supervisor suspects that missing him was quite a relief and undertakes to find out why. She asks the worker what she thinks of the quiet, hard working wife whose children are all devoted to her and allied against the father in a silent union of fear, dislike, and contempt. She inquires into the beginnings of the alcoholism, the first loss of a steady job, the births of the older children in rapid succession, the wife's worry, nagging, and absorption in domestic duties, the gradual accumulation of debts and the obvious discrepancy between the father's limited wages and



the burdens of the present plus those of the past. She interests the worker in considering the effect on the husband of having lost his place in the wife's affections, of never having attained any in those of his children, of being unable to pay the butcher and grocer, of being regarded as a failure by his own family, his wife's family, and the neighbors. The supervisor discovers that the worker had been viewing him through the eyes of the wife, that she felt such a husband to be hopeless, a liability not worth further investigation. Without argument, the supervisor directs her efforts toward helping the worker to see through his eyes a world that is hostile, a wife who emotionally deserted him, and children who resent his existence. She excites in the worker an interest in what this particular man wanted from life, how circumstances denied him, how he turned his back on reality, asserted himself by beating his wife on whose love and respect he no longer had any hold, and expressed complaints that were real to him if not true to the facts as others might see them. If she interests the worker sufficiently, the latter will meet the husband not as a disgusting bully of whom she is a little afraid, but as a man vanquished by problems that must be understood if anyone in the family is to benefit by the case worker's activities. If the student realizes how he came to be what he is, she may help him as well as his wife, but if she cannot help him by adjustments that will bring into his life the satisfaction he needs for more wholesome behavior, she can at least explain him to the wife and alleviate the bitterness which is poisoning the entire household.

The supervisor repeats the process described above in case after case and in the successive situations that arise in every case. She knows however, that the student's problem is not limited to seeing, that she would see for herself if it were not that she has a more fundamental problem, that of feeling what the things she does see mean. The student has to understand that each person plays the part he does, not from conscious choice or mere perversity, but because he cannot do otherwise. She cannot really understand if she succumbs to the temptation of believing that some special accident of race, heredity, constitution, or external circumstance accounts for behavior so alien to her own private experience. This temptation is apparent to the supervisor in the student's unconscious reservations about the necessity for behavior that seems too cowardly, vicious or irresponsible for the student to think of it as quite human. The student wearies and stops with a reservation because she cannot quite give up the law and order she used to trust as governing human behavior. None of her clients has a clear case. It is only a question of going far enough to discover that the best and the worst of them are alike in being strange mixtures of love and hate, responsibility and helplessness, tyranny and submission, remorse and self righteousness; that any villain is somewhat of a victim and any martyr something of a vampire. This may sound melodramatic and exaggerated, but it is true. Many of us still deny its truth because it is upsetting. We

do not like chaos and the dislike is healthy unless we close our eyes to its existence. The supervisor knows that the student must get used to this underlying chaos, and before she dismisses her reluctant glimpses of it as irrelevant nightmares must ask herself if after all chaos is not her first and most important business. She must learn that chaos is not so chaotic after all, that only that which we do not understand seems chaotic, that this chaos of ours has its reasons, that these reasons in themselves are not bad, repulsive, morbid, and disgusting, and that there are causes and effects which operate in the mental life of the client just about as they operate in the mental life of the case worker. The supervisor, if she is to meet the demands of her rôle must have gone through and survived the student's experience; she must have viewed this underworld and have come to terms with it. She realizes that the student is disturbed and knows that the only way she can ever escape is by plunging in, that otherwise she will suffer from blind spots, be limited by her fears of what lies beyond the next corner, and never control either her own situations or those of her client sufficiently to enjoy her work.

The supervisor has learned from experience that the case worker can eventually accept any behavior without condemnation once she understands what caused it and that as soon as she can reconcile the abnormal and antisocial with the normal and social she is on the road to case work. Theoretically the student knows that each individual's development is determined by his family relationships and that his early experience with his mother and father, his sisters and brothers established the patterns which he has been applying ever since to his advantage or disadvantage. The fact that supervisor, case worker, student, and client were all born into families and grew up under the influence of the personalities they encountered in their family group furnishes a common basis of experience on which they can all meet once they break down those barriers of race, religion, social position, and personal endowment which obscure the fundamental similarity. The supervisor knows, however, that the student cannot break down her own barriers by an act of will, that she takes refuge behind them because she is afraid of these very emotions which she shares with her clients, and that her apparent acceptance of the thesis that every individual is largely governed by influences beyond his control, influences set in operation by his early experience, frightens her because it ends in her admitting that she, an aspirant to a case work guiding other people, is not guiding herself.

This situation brings the supervisor back to that vexatious problem, the personality difficulties of the student herself. The problem wears a new guise. The supervisor sees that as long as the student is afraid to believe in cause and effect because it may mean that she too is living over a chaos, she will remain this side of helping her clients to win control over the cause and effect in their own lives. The supervisor faces then the task of working out with the student those personal problems that have gradually appeared in an uneven series of

symptoms, symptoms in her case work, in her relation to the supervisor, and in her relation to her colleagues. The supervisor has been accumulating data about the student. They may be partial but they give her clues to the student's own case. The student is capable, ambitious, and in love with her job. She is always seeking suggestions but they have to be carefully worded not to throw her into the depths of a depression from which she sees all her work as intolerably poor. For most of her clients she has unlimited sympathy but her sympathy is mixed with anger against those who do not see them as she sees them, misunderstood, neglected and harshly treated. Her relationships with clients are usually excellent, but if one of them shows resentment of her good intentions, she loses confidence and begins to express judgments on the client's motives. She is very thorough and conscientious and has done some brilliant if expensive work, but although she has been generally regarded as the star student, she feels that her case work is unappreciated by the agency and argues hotly when the supervisor asks her to adjust her work to the case load and her relief plans to the budget. She wants interminable conferences with the supervisor and believes that the other visitors are allowed more time than she. She has a disturbing tendency to encourage all the little grievances of the other visitors.

The supervisor has refrained from direct criticism and argument. She finds the student likable and gifted even if she is a problem. She manages to work out the incidental difficulties that crop up in cases but as the same difficulties recur she realizes that she must go deeper. She gives the student recognition and gradually her own non-critical attitude and her apparent ability to understand the vagaries of human nature result in the student's telling her something of her own history. She learns that the student was the youngest child, the pet of a large family all much older than she, that she had everything she wanted until both indulgent parents died when she was sent to live with a frugal, repressive aunt and uncle. She could not resign herself to this exile, she rebelled against the frugality and the repression, she demanded that she be taken home to the working brothers and sisters, she told them how she was treated, but nothing happened. At first they gave her comfort, then they scolded her, and finally they told her she must not be ungrateful for generosity beyond anything any of them had received. The supervisor could see that the student felt that they had all given her up, that no one cared for her, that she would have to fight for her due. She resented the authority that denied her and took pleasure in asserting her independence of rule and regulation, in running up college bills, in leading several campus rebellions. When she was graduated, she threw over aunt, uncle, brothers, and sisters and made up her mind to prove that she could do without them, that she who had been rejected could amount to something in spite of them.

The supervisor, surveying all her data, realized that the student was still looking for the abounding, uncritical love of her early childhood, that love

which had been so painfully withdrawn, that her work was not just for the work's sake but to prove defiantly a value in herself which she felt had been denied. So long as she tried to make her work serve an unconscious purpose that had nothing to do with helping human beings to adjust she was bound to fail in her own eyes and could not be secure in her real accomplishment, accept criticism, or recognize limitations in the agency which made it necessary for her to deprive her clients as she herself was once deprived. The supervisor appreciates how the young student feels, sees that she herself may easily appear another frugal, repressive aunt, that the student finds herself in all her clients and meets all who criticize or restrain her as she met those grown ups who felt she should be grateful for mere toleration. The supervisor does not undertake to tell the student all this, but takes it bit by bit as it comes up. When the student tightens her lips because a conference must end, the supervisor asks her later if she was angry, explains that she was greatly interested, and as the student melts, encourages a discussion in which the student sees that she was jumping to conclusions on the basis of her early experience with people who had no time for her. Eventually she becomes aware of how she has allowed those old family relationships to distort her subsequent reality, of how she unconsciously thrust everyone she met into the rôle of mother, father, sisters, brothers, uncle, and aunt without seeing them as individuals in their own right. She realizes that she need not try to punish her family by succeeding, she gives up the desire to punish them, and begins to enjoy her success. It is a long slow process, but she is beginning to gain control and it is no longer necessary for her to reject all authority as hostile or as threatening her independence because she is developing independence within herself. She has had a practical demonstration of case work, she knows what her weaknesses are and can exercise a new self criticism, and though she is by no means out of the woods, she has found a safe path along which she can travel alone.

The supervisor as she guides the student knows that she may not help her entirely to solve her problems, but that all that the student learns through recognizing and handling them is going to be applied to her case work, to her job as a whole, and to her relationships outside her job, and that this personal experience will teach her to look for family relationships in her cases, to refrain from hasty judgments, to see that her clients are entangled each in his own family patterns and that she cannot deal in wholesale approvals or condemnations without having reason to suspect that her own family difficulties are again affecting her vision, that early standards of conduct and personality are still operating in her own thinking and feeling, and that she therefore needs to do two things: first, examine herself, and second, investigate the case further.

The supervisor attempts to carry the process farther even though she knows she cannot complete it for the student and that it is a progressive thing with which the student will never be done. She helps the student to see that

the staff is just another family circle with the executives and supervisors as parents and the colleagues as brothers and sisters, that it is possible to resent one's superiors because they represent an authority or lack of love the student felt in her own home, also that it is easy to seek their personal approval just as a child seeks it and to work not for the satisfactions of achievement and personal development, but for a love without which the successful job suddenly becomes dust. In the same way the student may see only brothers and sisters in her colleagues, may want the center of the stage because without it she feels she is not getting her due, and may unconsciously react to other visitors with a jealousy that first belonged to the sister who cut her out with her father, or the brother who was her mother's favorite. If the student can withdraw from her job relationships those elements of a far past which she has been injecting into them, she may find a new peace and harmony that will increase her immunity to those troublesome externals which inevitably disturb every office.

This program of supervision is ambitious and difficult, but if the supervisor sees her own relationships as case work she can achieve an objectivity that will strengthen her for those unavoidable issues which so frequently appear to run counter to the narrower concept of supervision which she has held. Real supervision is the backbone of case work. It not only determines the quality of case work new workers will achieve, but affects the satisfaction the whole staff obtains from the common job. It has no limits for we have just begun to realize what case work is and know now that salary scales and community handicaps need not mark our boundaries if we take case work out of its first small province and carry it on out into our whole reality, into life itself.

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#### THE FUNCTION OF A MENTAL HYGIENIST IN A CHILDREN'S AGENCY

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The discussion of this subject is complicated in part by the fact that the position of mental hygienist is not recognized as essential to the work of a children's agency, as is a reception department or a medical service, but is thought of as a luxury, a happy accident, or perhaps as a service better supplied in some other way, as by an outside clinic. It is further complicated by the rapid changes historically, changes which have removed old needs and perhaps created new ones, so that we are no longer sure just what the agency is wanting of a mental hygienist in its midst. Again, there is still a confusion, partly due to the accident of historical development, as to just who the mental hygienist is. What he was, what he is, and what he is going to be may all be different. If we drop the reference to the mental hygienist as a person and

think about what we mean by mental hygiene in a children's agency, perhaps we shall remove some of the complicating factors sufficiently to get a point of departure.

Most of us would agree that the words "mental hygiene" represent the contribution which modern psychiatry and the analytic psychology have made to social life and social work, particularly to case work with children. By mental hygiene in a children's agency we mean when the presence of a dynamic psychology by which the personality and behavior of each individual child may be interpreted and on the basis of which the child may be helped to make the best possible social adaptation. That such a vital understanding of children, an understanding which is capable of being expressed in the technique of placement, supervision, or other case work relationships to the child is not only desirable but actually fundamental ideally no thoughtful person would deny. Practically, we all know how far we are from the attainment of any such goal. The kind of psychology referred to is not yet an organic part of the equipment of the average case worker today, nor of the average agency, nor is that anything to be wondered at or ashamed of. As a working technique it has not been in existence very long. Those of us who can look back over the last ten or fifteen years can remember when mental hygiene was only a theory, a vision, in the minds of one or two great psychiatrists. Hoch, Meyer, Campbell, Salmon, Fernald, Southard and Healy—those were the men who fifteen years ago began to open up to social work in this country the possibility of a tool adapted to its needs as academic psychology had never been.

With the war came the realization that the psychiatrist, however willing, could not carry the entire responsibility of mental hygiene in social work. The psychiatric social worker was evolved as the solution of a real problem, and with her came the gradual acceptance of the mental hygiene viewpoint as fundamental to all case work. The more progressive training schools at once introduced courses for psychiatric social workers or recognized the new psychology as the basis for all case work training.

The greatest influence since the war in bringing together psychiatrist, psychologist, and case worker for a combined attack on the problems of personality and behavior in children has been the five year program of the Commonwealth Fund, which established child guidance clinics all over the country. It would be hard to overestimate what social case work owes to the leadership of these stations for practical research in human behavior. Especially are we indebted to the Bureau of Children's Guidance in New York, and to the teaching and thinking of Dr. Marion Kenworthy, for the rapid growth of an analytic psychology directly applied to case work processes.

The case worker in a child guidance clinic; the case worker who has been trained under this new dispensation with all the insight into personality which psychiatry can provide is equipped to understand the problems of her clients



as the psychiatrist does. In fact she cannot do her job otherwise. She must secure a history which will reveal the material on which diagnosis and interpretation rest. She must manipulate all the complicated relationships of the child's environment with perfect appreciation of the psychological subtleties with which she deals. Every individual involved must be understood and related to the situation of the child as intelligently as the child himself is handled in the clinic. The case worker holds within her guiding hand all of the threads which, with the help of her psychological insight and technical skill, are to be untangled in the interests of her client. She correlates and realizes in the environmental adjustment of the child the medical, psychological, and psychiatric findings which would otherwise be unrelated and unutilized.

With the appearance of this super case worker arises the problem of her functional relation to the psychiatrist. Aside from his specialized medical and psychiatric knowledge, which would have nothing to do with his psychological interpretations, there seems to be no difference ideally in the knowledge of human behavior which is essential to both. The case worker who undertakes to guide other human beings in every variety of social relationship needs for her task all the knowledge of human motivation which psychology and psychiatry have revealed thus far. Practically, we all know that this is an unrealized ideal. The ordinary children's agency still needs, and will continue to need for many years, a mental hygienist, in the person of a psychologist, psychiatrist, or super case worker, to be an adviser and educator, to interpret behavior which is not understood, and to make the point of view an organic part of each worker's equipment as rapidly as possible. Theoretically, however, if difference in psychological understanding is the only basis for maintaining a mental hygienist in an agency, as the workers become educated the need must gradually diminish. The mental hygienist, if successful as an educator, would destroy his own job. The issue may be confused by the fact that the children's agency has to have its children tested. One may be as skeptical regarding the infallibility of mental tests as one pleases; the fact remains that any children's agency which has once established the practice of testing every child received into care would be completely lost without that useful, though limited, tool. As well think of placing a child without a medical examination as to attempt to place it without some objective measure of its mental ability.

Therefore, if the mental hygienist happens to combine testing with his work, he does in fact have a special technique not within the equipment of the case worker and yet essential to her job. This, however, is extraneous to the argument, although practically it may be very important to a children's agency with a limited budget. We cannot admit the use of psychometric tests to be essential to the function of a mental hygienist any more than we can admit medical training as a prerequisite for psychological insight into personality and

behavior, although a combination of all three in one person might prove very convenient.

Just what is the function of a mental hygiene department in a children's agency, as different from case work, after one has discounted medical equipment and mental tests, is a question which a small group of experienced workers in the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, known as the Senior Group, has been discussing at some length recently. In this group there was considerable opposition to giving up difference in specialized knowledge as a legitimate and permanent thing. As we analyzed it, this seemed to be based partly on a realization of how inadequate the average case worker's preparation has been and how far she is from meeting such a standard, partly on a shrinking from the responsibility which such an interpretation puts on the worker, and a desire to retain someone to whom she can turn for reassurance, for moral support even more than for actual information. Consciously accepting one's self as equal to the mental hygienist in point of view seems to require more confidence in one's own ego than tacitly accepting responsibility by going ahead with the practical job, as the case worker is daily obliged to do.

However, there was no dissent logically from the conclusion that she who does case work lets herself in for understanding theoretically and facing practically all that can be known about the behavior with which she deals. Perhaps along with this assumption of superior knowledge upon which the case worker may lean is an implied superiority in personal adjustment. And indeed, in mental hygiene as in religion, nothing seems more incongruous than a theory which is constantly contradicted in practice. The conclusion that a person who sets out to understand human behavior must be able to understand and handle his own so that it will at least not interfere with or invalidate the scientific and therapeutic results of his work with other people seems difficult to escape.

The same obligation to continuous self analysis and personal adjustment resulting in what we know as grown up behavior, seems to rest upon the case worker also. Whether in our present state this means that the mental hygienist in an agency must help to bring about self understanding in the workers who lack it would be open to discussion. Surely his teaching ought to be of a kind to contribute to such an outcome. Perhaps we must look to the training schools for a new conception of preparation for social case work—a preparation which shall not be considered adequate unless a comparative objectivity and maturity of emotional attitude be attained. One might even go so far as to question whether it is possible to obtain a vital knowledge of the human emotions and their functioning except via one's own experiences. It is a knowledge which is not gained in intellectual terms. Just how this may be brought about cannot be speculated on here; but the fact remains that neither personal adjustment nor specialized psychological knowledge ought to differentiate case worker from mental hygienist.

It then became apparent, as our thinking progressed, that if the mental hygienist had a function different from the case worker's it must be defined in terms of treatment. Is there something in the office situation, in the mental hygienist's relation to the child, which provides a form of treatment not possible or desirable in the case worker's contact? We then went back over former ideas about the psychiatrist's interview with the child as having some magic potency. We found ourselves still clinging to that wish for immediate relief from our case work problems, a desire to believe that in that contact with the mental hygienist something would come to pass, vaguely, mysteriously, something which would make it possible for us to go on with our case work again. Yet we could not analyze what the psychiatrist was actually doing in the office interview.

My own recollection of what I first conceived to be the value of interviewing a problem child is a rather confused idea of gaining information and at the same time producing a therapeutic effect by catharsis. The important thing was to dig deep, to get the child to tell about his own misdeeds. Then there was a period when one searched for mental conflicts. Sex instruction, too, seemed to give the office interview a *raison d'être*. Yet underneath it all was a groping dissatisfaction, an awareness that nothing in one's report of the treatment interview showed anything which the case worker with the same insight might not equally well have obtained. No one who was using the office contact as his medium of treatment seemed to be very clear as to just what were the factors in the psychiatric interview which produced therapeutic results, and as far as I know there has never been any attempt to establish a clear cut theory of technique based on conscious knowledge of the relation of the process to therapy or case work. We all fell back on the superior insight which made the material obtained more relevant and the interpretation of it more significant; but the therapy, as far as there was any, remained unanalyzed and uncontrolled.

In my own work I have become more and more aware that the informational content of the interview matters much less than my attitude and the child's comfort in the relationship temporarily established, and I believe that in that direction lies the clue to the therapeutic function of the mental hygienist as distinct from the therapeutic function of the case worker. In the field of knowledge or information no dividing line will hold. There is no insight which the case worker might not and ought not to have. There is no information which she might not give the child or obtain from the child under favorable conditions, perhaps more easily than the person in the office.

It seemed to us as we discussed it that what happens to the child in an office interview, when it does happen, is in the nature of a releasing emotional experience which is sometimes needed in the treatment process but is often incompatible with the case worker's function, as it is with that of the parents or foster parents. The child who is thoroughly entangled in his own uncon-

sciously motivated behavior, who, in spite of his own better judgment, is bringing down upon himself the hostile or fearful reactions of the foster or own family, has to experience what we used to call a "change of heart." Change of mind does no good; talking does no good; promises do no good; only change of feeling will help. To give a child such an experience means to expose him to a situation so safe, so reassuring that none of his defenses are needed, and therefore fall away, leaving his underlying fears, loves, and jealousies free to express themselves.

The case worker is too well known to the child, ordinarily, too much a real friend, or perhaps a threat, too confused with practical issues to function easily as the symbol of security in this office situation. She has had to understand the foster parents as well as the child, to listen to accusations against him, to try to get him to be a better child, to move him from one home to another. She has perhaps failed him unintentionally in such vital matters as a new suit or a Christmas present, or she has slipped up in a clinic arrangement; she is human and fallible. The more friendly the relationship, the more difficult it may be for the child to reveal himself as he is, to run the risk of lessening the worker's esteem by the expression of feelings which he feels she could not approve. The person in the office whose contact with the child is freed from practical issues, and strictly limited and controlled by office conditions, may grant the child a freedom from morality and social obligation which is not easily possible in any other setting. Within the office no resistance need be offered to any attitude, however undesirable socially.

The office is a place apart, a place removed from the irritations of reality, from praise and blame, from success and failure. Here the child receives what every human being craves; complete attention and concentration upon himself and his problem. For the time being he has no rival; he possesses the interviewer completely. This the case worker can seldom provide, for there are her other children who come between, there are the interests of the adults concerned, the authority of the agency. Only by great effort can she give the child even temporarily the illusion which he seeks of complete security. And in so far as she is successful, she has perhaps attached the child to her in a dependent relationship which is difficult to separate from reality because of the actual services which she must render, and impossible to live up to because of her own impermanence in the child's life and the practical impossibility of continuing to concentrate upon him. This is peculiarly the case with a child who has never been successfully rooted in a foster home and looks to the worker for his sense of stability. That such intensive personal treatment of child by case worker is possible and sometimes so skilfully drained off into other relationships that no unnecessary pain of separation is forced upon the child, one would not deny, but no worker can carry many cases of this type, nor bring them to a successful issue without great skill and considerable nerve strain.

Sometimes when in a children's agency the child who becomes a problem is already an organic part of a foster home and has no personal relation to the visitor, she may then function exactly as the mental hygienist does, for the burden of the follow-up work can be carried by the parents.

The point we wish to emphasize is that what gives the office interview its therapeutic value is not a rehearsal of misdeeds or a recounting of old loves or fears; it is rather an immediate feeling experience produced by the temporary security which the relation to the mental hygienist in rôle of understanding parent affords. Our failure to make of this office contact with the child the curative agent which it might become is due, it seems to me, to a failure to analyze sufficiently, consciously, just what happens emotionally when talking with a child, and to follow up with more definite conscious plan the results of one interview as related to the next and to the environmental treatment. Therapeutic effects have always followed firm interviews at times; but we have not known why it was at one time and not another, and we have been confused as to how to utilize them. We have established no definite technique for producing the therapeutic situation and for refining the process and bringing it under more conscious deliberate control. Our psychology must not only explain the nature of the emotions experienced in the interview, but show us how to release them more easily and fruitfully for the child, and how to carry the insight which we gain over into environmental treatment, and thus make permanently valuable for the child the otherwise temporary experience of release and satisfaction. Also the fact that the child's relation to the mental hygienist is emotional calls for complete understanding and objectivity on the part of the case worker, whose own relation to the child may be temporarily affected thereby, and for a careful working together that one contact may finally flow into the other without undue conflict in the mind of the child.

In the treatment interview, analyzed, refined, and consciously controlled, may lie, it seems to me, the unique function of the mental hygienist of tomorrow. The task will be to bring about such complete understanding between case worker and mental hygienist that the office interview will occur, never as a part of formal routine, but as a particular form of treatment which is indicated by the needs of the individual case and is utilized consciously by the worker as an integral part of her plan for the child.

Practically, you are saying, Does a children's agency need a mental hygienist, and if it does, how can this be accomplished? The question of an outside clinic versus a person attached to the agency would need more discussion than this paper permits. This much may be said, however: the work of a children's agency is such that every case constitutes a mental hygiene problem, while comparatively few cases are psychiatric or neurological problems. No outside clinic, however valuable, can give all the service needed. That every children's agency should have the services of a psychiatrist is also an impossi-

bility. If the mental hygienist has to be a psychiatrist he will never be available outside of the clinic. The psychologists are a little more numerous and less expensive, but they are so often not mental hygienists. If one can be found who has had adequate preparation for understanding human behavior as well as giving mental tests, it may be a good way to combine two valuable functions. The third possibility, which has not been utilized as yet, seems to me to be the hope of the children's agency where the psychologist and psychiatrist are out of the question: that is, the case worker with mental hygiene training. She might or might not be able to contribute a testing technique, but there is no reason why, with her equipment, she could not function as the office consultant, the person who stays out of the case work and concentrates on analysis, interpretation, and the treatment interview.

If the difference between case worker and mental hygienist is only a slight difference of function, the super case worker of today, with a change of emphasis and a somewhat different technique, may easily become the mental hygienist of tomorrow. Always the children's agency will need someone who sits a little apart, someone less driven by the practical issues, someone who has time, someone who can talk over a case from the point of view of the impartial bystander, someone in whom the bewildered child may find the impersonal security he needs. Why should case work not develop that person out of its own ranks? Only in this way will the mental hygienist become a reality in every children's agency.

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#### THE PROBLEM OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIAL WORKER WHO REFERS CASES TO A PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC

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The subject is of growing importance to both the social worker who seeks the services of the psychiatric clinic and to the clinic which tries to meet her needs. It is a difficult subject to discuss, because careful consideration of the real meeting ground implied has hardly reached a point of crystallization.

A glance first at existing psychiatric resources reveals marked limitations. Many of these are limitations inherent in the nature of psychiatric services, according to their set up, to do adult or children's work, diagnostic or treatment work. One type of problem therefore is more adequately handled by one clinic than another. The social worker learns this by experience rather than through available descriptive statements of services. A large number of clinics are attempting to do undifferentiated work hampered by the stage of development of their particular structures. It would be difficult to say whether the



quality of work and insight into the needs of the social worker in a referring agency finds greater opportunities for development in differentiated or undifferentiated work in these instances.

If a particular staff group is not equipped by experience to do a comprehensive piece of social psychiatry, time and experience in working together are essential for the development of this. The personnel already experienced in strong clinical psychology, psychiatry, and psychiatric social work is as yet a small group. At the same time the clinics are attached to such a variety of organizations that the administrative problems of one are not the administrative problems of another. Discussion of common problems of this nature among psychiatric resources is amazingly difficult. The majority of psychiatric clinics are maintained by larger organizations, medical, court, social, or educational, of which they are only one department. The vision and receptivity, then, of these organizations and their policy governing bodies become factors in developmental possibilities of the clinic. Many of these clinics have little or no contact with boards or other governing bodies. There is a certain desirable protection of the professional aspect of the work in this set up. On the other hand, this protection is probably one of the important factors operating to keep the clinic from realizing some of the needs of the social worker referring cases. The experience of having constantly to interpret a technique in acceptable terms for a lay board or for professional workers in another field enriches the insight into working relations and other people's problems of seeing them.

The history of psychiatric social work is largely a picture of existing psychiatric resources, because the growth of psychiatric social work has been largely the growth of social psychiatry in terms of its value to the social worker, the teacher, the parents, and others. Being a very young field, it still exists in all stages of its history. Certain stages of development serve certain needs, so that there have been plateaus in psychiatric social work and further development in these areas as well as the general developmental line in the direction of preventive work. Obviously, there is still need for the psychiatric social worker whose technique in handling resistive patients facilitates their removal from the home to the hospital, and whose knowledge of institutional facilities lubricates the machinery for obtaining care. She is still needed in institutions to insure therapeutic and recreational outlets for patients; to investigate and prepare the home setting for the returning patient; to follow up frequently enough to recognize and avoid crises; to establish contacts that will facilitate voluntary hospital admissions and remove stigma from treatment; to minimize fear and foster preventive measures and early diagnosis.

But the psychiatric social worker must appear today, in these varied forms, confusing to the social worker in other fields. The psychiatric social worker has had to evolve her place to meet the needs and requirements of her particular psychiatric setting, at the same time preserving her case work tech-

nique and sufficient identification with the growth in this technique, to be constantly awake to transition in the general field as well as her specialty. She has at times lost sight of some of these objectives. She has had to respond to calls for which she was barely ready, and to maintain frequently an equilibrium that was greater than her maturity. The present lack of uniformity during a period of adaptation is probably a healthy status so long as it is based on standardized training background.

Because the well developed children's service necessarily treats the natural or foster family situation in toto, the emphasis is moved up to the base of active operations, the home. This forces the psychiatric social workers in such a clinic into active participation in treatment process. Her every contact is necessarily part of the treatment process. Her insight into the significance of the everyday type of situation in the home as she discusses it and observes it determines the number of opportunities she is able to embrace on the spot and the intensiveness of treatment accomplished. At this point it is not easy to differentiate her work from that of the psychiatrist. At this point also she realizes, and the psychiatrist realizes, to what extent the social worker in the referring agency is thrown into the center of the treatment process on her cases. It follows that her natural position in the family situation cannot be substituted by the psychiatric office interview, and that constructive supplementing of the treatment in the clinic and in the home depends upon mutual understanding of both objectives and process.

The psychiatric social worker is in position to make contribution in the matter of aiding the psychiatrist to see concretely the social worker's problems and limitations in handling them. To do this she must translate her own concrete experiences that may be of assistance, and she must, as far as possible, keep herself informed about the functions and policies of all the fields of social work represented among the referring agencies of her clinic. The working relations of the two social workers are thus very close, and misunderstandings are minimized. It is conceivable that any arrangement may then be made and modified as to active contact with the specific case. There are times when the referring agency likes to have the clinic worker take over the treatment of a psychiatric problem, when this can be done constructively. The supervision of a foster home placement may be so handled in the case of a difficult child without the children's agency relinquishing its contact on matters of financial arrangements. A family agency may gain ground by supervising only the economic and health problems in a case while the clinic handles a difficult parent-child situation or an acute marital problem. The psychological factors involved in several social workers going into the home are, however, important, and such plans need to be carefully worked out by the several agencies concerned.

Working relations that will accelerate rather than block the adjustment process are very important. Experience has demonstrated the pitfalls of two

or more professional workers having direct contact with the individual or family under certain emotionally difficult circumstances. It is so easy to neutralize values by one losing sight of the objectives of the other. The elements of this have been well recognized outside of the psychiatric realm. I have heard a family agency discuss an unsuccessful long time case to the conclusion that although the health and economic problems and the employment and school situations were equally pressing, the family itself could not possibly grasp the essentials of any part of the total adjustment while workers from all of the fields were actively on the scene. The family agency in this case emphasized an existing logical health contact, interpreted its objectives to the health agency, and stepped out of the scene. In cases referred to the psychiatric clinic the emotional elements are more quickly uncovered, and it should be possible very early to determine through which existing contacts treatment must be directed in order to insure best results. Conferences between agencies can do much to further treatment on this basis and to exchange valuable information.

Where there is already active on the case a social worker with a good contact, the adjustment should if possible be made through her. Cooperative work should do everything possible to strengthen her contact. It is not enough to consider that the psychiatric worker may make more rapid headway in a particular situation. If she is unable to sustain her contacts over a sufficiently long period, or if she is not equipped to handle the economic health or other aspects of the case, it becomes a serious question as to whether or not her efforts and insight should be confined to work through the referring social worker. The principle has been recognized in the past largely in terms of avoiding duplication of work or trespassing on the specialty of another field. The aspect here touched on, however, is in terms of emotional values inherent in the situation. The patient or client does not easily invest his confidence and tread the difficult steps of relinquishing old prejudices and facing difficult realities involved in emotional situations. To do this under the guidance of two workers coming into the home is fraught with increased difficulty. It has been recognized to a point of certain cases within a clinic being turned over for all direct work to the psychiatrist, the psychiatric social worker, or the psychologist, as the problem and the contact might indicate.

Personality adjustment problems, by their very nature, precipitate the question of interpretation and a meeting ground of the psychiatric clinic and the social worker referring cases. Furthermore, no clinical analysis is utilized that is not in some measure carried over into the realm of treatment. Since the psychiatric clinic cannot substitute for or work without the important social factors operating in the intellectual and emotional experience of the individual, there is constant need for the social worker referring cases to assimilate the mental hygiene values in a clinical study, if that study is to be a working tool in her hands. A large proportion of the referring agency's case load in-

volves just such fundamental problems as those referred to the clinic. It seems essential, therefore, that the cases referred serve as experience for the social worker, the principles of which she may carry over and put into use. As far as possible then, it would seem advisable for the referring agency to be depended upon to carry out the work of the psychiatric clinic in the home, and for the clinic to plan, interpret, and review, in the light of findings, the treatment through the social worker. This is being done in a number of places, with success enough to warrant improvement in the technique of conducting staff meetings, treatment conferences, and interviews in which the social worker participates.

There is an increasing direct demand from the social worker referring cases for workable interpretive material from psychiatric clinics. Social psychiatry, having been introduced into training courses, is producing groups of social workers questioning in terms of emotional problems, willing to embrace new technique in the handling of these. Those very referring agencies are absorbing psychiatric social workers on their working staffs. We are liable to a certain amount of irritation resulting from this rapid growth in appreciation of psychiatric values from the two directions, the psychiatric clinic and the referring agency. Without sufficient preparation for the job of handling this meeting ground, we risk irritation resulting from the psychiatric clinic on the one hand demanding more adequate histories and treatment facilities on cases referred for study, and on the other hand from well informed referring agencies demanding better clinical services. In the forward looking group, each welcomes the problem as an opportunity for more mature work.

Study of the nature of the problems referred by the social worker who carries her own case into the clinic and back again into her own field is absorbingly interesting. The able-bodied father who has failed to support his family and has responded spasmodically or not at all to the social worker's planning and replanning with him may with great difficulty be persuaded to see a psychiatrist. The social worker is sensitive to the resistance of the man who knows he has failed to "make good" according to the standards of his struggling wife and relatives and the outside sources that have had to attempt rehabilitation. Her experience leads her to hope for new ammunition from the personality study by which she may make a new approach and may ascertain the limitations inherent in the man. Her experience does not lead her to have much conviction as to the immediate satisfaction the man will obtain from the examination. Thus her sense of a risk involved in persuading him is at times her liability. Occasionally she expects immediate solution and later suffers a lost contact with the man who was promised too much.

The average social worker prepares a history to meet the requirements of the clinic under considerable pressure, being called on to reorganize the material in her perhaps voluminous record and to construct personality pictures

which have for the most part been considered only in her verbal conferences with supervisors. To put them in writing as criteria for a psychiatric clinic arouses mental reservations and consciousness of contradictory findings difficult for her to evaluate. It is not strange that she sometimes fails to find any expression for the material on which she is so anxious to get assistance, or that she sometimes protects herself from her own harassing questions by preparing a definite and convenient, but less true, picture of personalities. Especially if she has regarded the clinic as a last resort the young worker has great difficulty in sustaining as tentative the steps in her case work as she reviews it at this time. In the face of a big case load and the emergencies inherent for instance, in the case of a mother and baby for whom a shelter must be found within eight hours, or the child who must be placed in a foster home within a few hours, the writing of a good history for the psychiatric clinic is a real task. It removes pressure when the social worker and the clinic realizes that the history involves difference in emphasis rather than content. It is little wonder that for the most part only those cases that indicate commitment, or other special care that may relieve the social worker of a discouraging job, are carried to the psychiatric clinic, or that only at a point of exhaustion does the early adjustment problem reach the clinic.

Under these prevailing conditions it is quite usual for the social worker to omit from her history a statement of the problem that does justice to herself or her organization. Too often she states the problem in terms which she probably feels are necessary to its admission for clinic study. In a sense she feels called upon to submit her diagnosis of the personality problem. The clinics have perhaps unwittingly brought this about. It may be quite unrepresentative of the steps in her thinking, the experience she has already met with, or the real need she now has for psychiatric interpretation. The result is too frequently this. The clinic, on the basis of this history, passes back to the social worker verdicts and recommendations that sound to her trite and very like an echo. When, however, the social worker is able to portray what measures were actually tried and under what conditions, and also just what she is up against at this point, she forces the clinic to interpret her experience and add to her insight into the problems. Many of the clinics in the present stage of development would be at a loss to give her what she really needs. This kind of interpretation implies a much more profound piece of work on the part of the clinic.

The actual reading of the social worker's record by the clinic staff, in addition to the social worker's interpretation, would afford greater possibilities of interpreting the case. This would mean further evaluation of the case's experiences with the agency, and gauge of treatment potentialities in the situation at this point. Psychiatric interpretation of record material without examination of the client is being worked out by a number of social agencies on their



own staff. Where this is developed and the insight from it diffused throughout the case working group, one can feel the increased appreciation of emotional factors throughout the work. When cases then come to a psychiatric clinic there is indeed need of dynamic psychiatric interpretation beyond the diagnostic stage.

The cooperative service carried on by psychiatric clinics in many cities has led to modifications to meet particular staff needs. It has usually been conceded that a more adequate service could be effected by a few of the most mature social workers in an agency referring cases frequently to the clinic. However, the practical situation generally makes it seem advisable for as many of the agency's staff as possible to carry at least one case through the clinic. This obviously minimizes the opportunity for building a social worker's mental hygiene point of view upon successive experiences with different types of cases. Also it does not carry her beyond the arduous task of the first psychiatric history—to a point where she is more conscious of content than form. On the other hand it serves as general orientation on working with the clinic. The social worker may have one or many conferences with the clinic supervisor before and during study and treatment of the case. The clinic supervisor's ability to anticipate the social worker's difficulties and to give her ammunition in keeping with her background determines largely the value of the cooperative work. The preliminary discussion of a case referred often results in the rejection of this case as one on which the clinic can make a less valuable contribution than some other case being handled by the worker. It is important that the social worker put her time on a case in which she can feel the value rather than on one which may give her a sense of futility; and the clinic can guide her in this.

In Cleveland, Philadelphia, and other cities various types of service have been worked out between the child guidance clinics and the case working agencies in the community, in addition to the regular cooperative handling of cases with continuing service through periodic treatment conferences with the clinic staff. The agencies have felt considerable value in the consultation service, which may consist of a psychiatrist and a clinic social worker discussing an agency's case as presented by the worker on the case. In this way the mental hygiene aspect of the case may throw light on the agency's treatment plan, may suggest new steps, modify old plans, and change the point of emphasis. A larger number of difficult situations can be ironed out by this method in cases that might not warrant complete clinic study. It seems to meet one of the agency's needs in handling a large case load. Discussion of principles involved is more important and more feasible than specific recommendations on this cursory basis. Several of the best equipped workers in an agency have been assigned to a child guidance clinic for periods varying from three to six months as another means of carrying over mental hygiene principles for the use of the agency. These social workers carry a cross-section of clinic cases



under supervision and participate in all clinic activity with the objective of later making application of the values in this for their own particular fields. Some of these social workers upon return to their organizations have continued in their former rôles. Some have been given more specialized jobs, such as sorting cases for reference to the clinic through discussion with their own staff.

There has been in general a paucity of discussion and working out of the elements of common ground of general case work and of social psychiatry in this sense implied in such services. Both fields set the highest value upon the family relationships as basic in the environmental experiences which shape the social adjustment of the individual. They are two approaches to the same thing. It might be said that social work mobilizes the elements for understanding and adjusting family problems by evaluating each individual's accomplishments in the light of family rehabilitation standards and resources at hand. It might be said that dynamic psychiatry mobilizes the individual more particularly in terms of his emotional equipment to adjust to the resources at hand. Obviously each field has a contribution to make to the other.

There are unexploited avenues of understanding of the two fields that might be worked out in further exchange of concrete services. The clinic's own case load could frequently profit greatly by advisory service from the social agency that has developed special services such as the home economics department. Without the benefit of this on the clinic's comparatively small number of problems of the aspect it is very difficult for the clinic to keep up to date on the important by-products of, for instance, the work of a relief giving organization. It is so easy to lose sight of the value of mobilizing natural resources in the economic situation of a family by directing matters of insurance policy, citizenship as basis for mother's pension, and so on, of which the family are unaware. The guidance of a family in use of these resources requires constant usage on the part of the social worker.

In the fusion of the fields, new phraseology, so irritating at times, may be of great assistance. If new phraseology carries important new concepts for old words, it is important to the interpretation of one field to the other because it can stimulate fresh vivid thinking. Yet a great many terms are used even within the psychiatric field with varying shades of understanding. It is helpful to recognize this, for instance, when the clinic discusses with the social worker referring a case the insecurity felt by a child whose parents made him feel very early certain limitations or certain unloved qualities, and yet who is self-assertive. His self-assertiveness is certain to belie the diagnosis if further explanation is not made of this child's particular personality patterns and reactions. A plan based on this point may be discarded if there is not a mutual understanding of the underlying concept that the child at an early age cannot but accept elements of the statements of the all-wise parent, no matter what injustice he may sense, and that the emotional experiences at this helpless age

may leave a scar regardless of subsequent opportunities for success in the same field.

Psychiatric interpretation most constructively made can give the social worker a sense of relief rather than that of a very difficult job to be done. Presentation of the suggestions as prospective tools in her hands adds to her sense of adequacy. Indication of points in her own material that have interested the psychiatrist as to what her further findings in this area might reveal, stimulates the social worker's intellectual curiosity. Psychiatric values become her values as she sees she has already laid groundwork for them and sees something of the practical value to herself. Considerable unexpected ammunition may be given her, for instance, by interpreting the mental hygiene values of certain contacts she evidently sustained in her relationship with the client. The social worker's evident appreciation of a client's feelings, apart from her insight into the facts in the client's situation, if pointed out for its treatment value, can give her a basis on which to build a real grasp of emotional problems. The clinic often overlooks the mental hygiene values indicated in the work already done, and so loses opportunity to evaluate an important part of the social worker's technique for her. Yet this is apt to serve as her greatest strength in grasping new values or correcting erroneous approaches.

Adequate explanation of the situations in which the social worker is justified in being a "good mother" to the client in whom she is trying to foster independence and a sense of adequacy is one of the guides that the psychiatric clinic can give. The necessary several steps toward the goal appear contradictory if not adequately discussed. Clues that will help her to see for herself the treatment value in plans that will constructively preserve the client's ego have real value for the worker. Success in the manipulation of these factors are essential to her continued utilization of this understanding of human behavior. It therefore is important that the clinic present such values in as dynamic a way as possible and under conditions where they are most pertinent.

Frequent criticism of psychiatric recommendations comes from the fact that they appear too lenient toward some one individual. The constant emphasis is on relieving pressure on the individual. It is true that psychiatry has been guilty of too much individualization and too little cognizance of involved family groupings as permanent factors in the situation to be treated relatively. It is, however, more often true that the clinic, under the limitations of a formalized report or under pressure for time, gives only the high lights of its analysis and recommendations and fails to see that the social worker needs to plan in terms of the next step and the chess board situation in the family, as well as the ultimate goal to be accomplished. Much of the seeming overemphasis is a result of the clinic's effort to interpret the patient vividly as an immature individual whose need is to grow up to his adult responsibilities step by step in accordance with his emotional readiness for it. Here the clinic may

not be in position to say how far this process of guiding the individual may have to be determined by future developments in the whole family picture. That may have to be largely the job of the social worker. In fact, the clinic frequently in brief types of service has to outline the needs of the individual examined and suggestions for meeting these, frankly leaving the application of the principles to the organization actively carrying treatment. In the last analysis the clinic can go only thus far without making recommendations that are the functional responsibility of the original agency. Formalization of such lines of responsibility would be destructive to progress in this whole field of cooperative work. It frequently happens that desirable mental hygiene needs cannot be met by another agency without conflicts of various types. When this situation is made, the common problem of the two fields—greater understanding of treatment—is evolved.

Without recapitulating, there are in process a number of interesting experiments in working relations that are suggestive of ways and means of meeting this problem of the needs of the social worker who refers cases to the psychiatric clinic. The indications are that development along these lines will further the whole treatment technique, through constant interpretation of each other's field.

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#### THE PLACE OF THE MOBILE CLINIC IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

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The extension of various types of psychiatric service into the small towns and rural districts of the country has not lagged as far behind the development of psychopathic and child guidance clinics in the larger cities as might be expected from the known difficulties in establishing health work or social service in communities where the population is widely scattered and funds are difficult to secure. A number of states, usually with the assistance of some outside group, such as the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, have undertaken mental hygiene surveys as a basis for a legislative or building program for the adequate care of their insane, epileptic, and feeble-minded. State societies for mental hygiene have carried on educational work in many smaller communities and have established clinics to be taken over later by local agencies. Private foundations have supported countywide demonstrations in mental hygiene in connection with general health programs for children. Some state universities have made available a limited psychological service.

Three statewide undertakings of especial interest are being carried on in Massachusetts, Colorado, and Illinois. The Massachusetts law provides for the mental examination of all children retarded three or more years in school and

the organization of special classes in the public schools to meet their needs. These examinations are conducted by members of the staffs of the state hospitals, and behavior problems and other types of children's cases are also referred to their clinics. In Colorado, the Psychopathic Hospital is cooperating with other state health organizations in holding clinics for the physical and mental examination of children in remote districts, some of which have not even a physician resident in their territory. The Institute of Juvenile Research at Chicago has made mental hygiene surveys and has held psychiatric clinics in several smaller cities in Illinois. Mention should also be made of the visiting clinics of a number of the state hospitals, such as the clinic of the Cherokee State Hospital held weekly in Sioux City, which were organized primarily for the examination of patients on parole, but which are extending their service to include a wide range of mental health problems.

The Iowa experiment with a mobile mental hygiene clinic differs from these others in several respects. It was undertaken by the state psychopathic hospital in January, 1926, for a period of two years with a twofold aim: first, to determine the need and the feasibility of providing such a psychiatric service for the state in addition to the hospital and out-patient services offered at Iowa City; and second, to supplement the research program of the hospital through field studies of problem material, particularly as encountered in the schools. In support of the latter project funds were secured from the Division of Studies of the Rockefeller Foundation which enabled the hospital to organize a special research unit of workers and also a field unit, the latter consisting of a full time psychiatrist, a psychologist, two psychiatric social workers, and a secretary. Assistance has also been given by graduate students in psychology and in social work. The extension division of the State University of Iowa has paid the traveling expenses and has provided the supplies for the field unit, and the communities visited have contributed toward the maintenance of the staff in the field. The director of the psychopathic hospital and an executive assistant have supervised the administration of the program.

It was decided at the outset that the field unit would visit only those communities in which invitations were forthcoming from enough representative groups to insure a wide selection of cases and adequate cooperation in carrying out recommendations. During the past year and a half, six such invitations have been accepted and inquiries have been received from a dozen or more other centers. Four of the clinics have taken place in counties in which the largest towns had populations of from 3,600 to 9,000 and two in cities of 36,000 each. One clinic was also held in connection with the ungraded classes in a larger city, and two at the state orphanages at Toledo and Davenport. In the six community clinics the initiative in securing the clinic was taken by the local social worker in four instances, by the school nurse in one, and by the school director of child study in the other.

Preliminary organization for the clinic usually proceeds about as follows. After correspondence and conferences with the hospital executives, the local worker presents the project to such groups as the board of the social service league, the council of the parent-teacher association, the board of county supervisors, and the county medical society, and to the superintendent of schools and the mayor, judge, county attorney, and other leaders in the community. After several of these agencies have become sufficiently interested to make definite requests for the clinic and to offer their cooperation, the field organizer visits the community to determine the real extent of the local interest and the availability of its resources. If conditions are found favorable for a clinic the organization of a representative local mental hygiene committee to complete the arrangements is suggested. Such a committee then takes steps to secure a fund of several hundred dollars for the local expenses of the clinic and assists in finding suitable headquarters and living accommodations for the staff. Contributions to these local funds have been received from the social service leagues, the school boards, the county supervisors, the county medical associations, public health councils, the Christmas seal committees and the parent-teacher associations. Headquarters have been established in city halls, courthouses, school buildings and offices of social agencies, and rooming and boarding places for the staff have been secured in private homes.

Publicity has been limited to that necessary to insure the wisest selection of cases and to maintain the cooperation of the community as a whole. Before the opening of the clinic the field organizer explains the project in detail to the contributing groups and the director of the hospital meets with the local physicians and the teachers and presents the clinic program to the community in a general meeting. The clinic has not attempted to enter the field of mental hygiene propaganda, but has emphasized the application of psychiatry to individual problems and has developed the educational side of the work entirely through its contacts with the referring agencies, teachers, and parents in the individual case rather than through formal study groups. In three communities visited, classes in child study for parents and teachers were being carried on by parent education workers from the child welfare research station of the state university and from the state teachers' college. Such a combined program of parent education by extension teachers especially trained in that field, and a visiting psychiatric service, under medical direction, for the diagnosis of individual problems seems well adapted to meet the mental hygiene needs of the smaller community, and in our experience is more effective than attempts by either staff to cover both types of mental hygiene activities, since they involve a different preparation and each constitutes a full time job.

One of the chief problems that has confronted the clinic is the best method for selecting cases. Before the arrival of the clinic staff, refer blanks are distributed to the schools, as it has been found that most of the cases will be re-

ferred from that source. In each clinic the number of requests for examinations has so far exceeded the number that could possibly be accepted that now a rough apportionment of refers between the various towns of the county and the various schools in each town is made out in advance. A full explanation is given the principals as to the type of service which the clinic is prepared to offer, but no attempt is made to influence their selection of cases except by pointing out the variety of problems which are suitable for reference to the clinic. The teachers are asked to secure the consent of the child's parents for the examination and to hand in a complete statement of the problem and their reason for requesting the study. Refers from other sources are handled in the same way during the clinic's visit.

The examinations of the school cases are conducted at the schools, as far as possible; other cases are seen by appointment at clinic headquarters. In the school cases the social worker usually first interviews the teacher and then visits the home and neighborhood to secure a full social-psychiatric history. The psychologist begins his study with a Stanford-Binet test which he supplements with performance material, educational tests, and tests for special abilities and disabilities. The psychiatrist examines the child from the physical and psychiatric standpoint. All of these findings are discussed by the staff and an analysis of the problem and recommendations are worked out by them jointly. In certain cases further examinations are arranged for in the field by members of the research unit of the hospital, or the patient may be sent to Iowa City for a complete hospital study. The psychiatrist prepares a written report on each case for the referring agency and confers with parents and teachers in regard to the recommendations in special problems. The assistance of the local social workers is often requested in preparing the histories in the cases they refer, and strictly medical consultations are offered by the psychiatrist to other physicians.

The clinic has maintained the hospital's policy of intensive study of the individual case from as many angles as possible and has not attempted any surveys or group studies for statistical purposes. The staff has remained from five to ten weeks in each county visited and has been able to examine about twenty cases a week. A period of six weeks in the field followed by two weeks at the hospital to write reports has proved a satisfactory distribution of time, with an extra month during the summer at headquarters for work with the research unit on methods of examination and retraining, and one month for vacations.

Up to the beginning of the present clinic, 1,106 cases had been examined by the mobile unit, including those seen during the initial experiment in Greene County. Of these, approximately one-third were girls or women and two-thirds were boys or men. In age, they ranged from one and a half to seventy-six years, but almost 95 per cent were of school age, i.e., between five and



eighteen years. The sources from which these cases were referred were as follows: schools, 707; state orphanages, 198; relatives, 74; social agencies, 57; doctors, 26; courts, 10; school nurse, 6; self, 11; at the clinic's request, 17. Excluding the institutional cases, over three-fourths of the refers were received directly from the schools. The problems for which the school cases were referred fell chiefly into five groups: first, poor school work in all subjects; second, poor school work in one particular subject; third, undesirable behavior; fourth, undesirable personality traits, and fifth, very superior ability. Relatives referring cases were concerned with medical behavior, and child guidance problems. The courts were interested in questions of responsibility, of mental disease or feeble-mindedness, and of the advisability of institutional care. The social agencies referred problems of vocational guidance, unemployment, nervous and mental disease, and asocial behavior. In the clinic's examinations, however, social, educational, intellectual, physical, and psychiatric problems were found indiscriminately in each group of cases, and the primary factors in the situation appeared to lie sometimes in one and sometimes in several fields.

The environmental conditions in most of the cases from the small towns and rural districts were quite satisfactory. By far the great majority of the children were of white American stock, were living with their own parents in comfortable homes, and had several brothers and sisters. Organized recreational facilities were sometimes lacking, but this seemed to be more than compensated by the comparative freedom from vicious neighborhood influences and the greater opportunities for constructive play that the non-urban district affords. The schools of the small towns and the consolidated districts were of the standard American type, and although they afforded little in the way of special classes for the exceptional child, the teachers were found to be personally interested in the problems of their pupils and usually very willing to arrange to give extra time and individual help to the cases in which this was indicated. In some communities superintendents were encountered who were in the closest touch with the problems of both their pupils and their teachers, and the smaller school systems often made provisions for adjustments of curriculum and transfers that would have been difficult to bring about in the larger city schools. All of the communities visited had school nurses, and in all but one there was an organized social service league with a trained secretary. Splendid cooperation was received from these workers in the preliminary community organization, but their own case loads were so heavy that they seldom proved available for carrying out social treatment in any of the clinic cases except those already known to them. Medical resources were not lacking except for some cases needing a free hospital or dispensary service, and this could generally be met by the state's provisions for such care at the University Hospital at Iowa City. In several communities physicians who had no

special training in psychiatry but possessed excellent insight in mental hygiene problems volunteered their assistance to the clinic, and everywhere the younger men, notably the pediatricians, were especially cooperative.

The problems of adjustment in which the environmental factors appeared significant did not seem to arise from conditions peculiar to a small community, but resulted from situations which might be paralleled by cases encountered in child guidance clinics in any part of the country. Sometimes the difficulty was clearly of an economic nature, in which an organization of family or community resources was needed in order to solve the school problem. One seventh-grade boy of fourteen who was referred for vocational guidance was found to be entirely dependent upon an aged grandmother who was sorely worried because she would soon be unable to do the washings by which she kept the boy in school. The lad proved to have superior intelligence, a good physique, and an acceptable personality, and had definite ambitions for a college education. His situation was called to the attention of the Committee on Underprivileged Children of the local Kiwanis Club and they readily undertook to sponsor him until his education was completed.

More difficult situations to adjust were those in which the behavior of the child was the reflection of poor standards in the home and improper training. One school was at a complete loss to cope with the persistent stealing of a little girl who came from a family which was engaged in bootlegging and openly encouraged their children to bring home the neighbors' chickens or anything else they could forage. There is no social worker in this town, and after a year's further trial the principal reports that she feels that the only course now is institutional training. Other instances of undesirable conduct or attitudes in school were found to be intimately bound up with conflicts in the child's emotional life arising in his home situation. One little first-grade boy, for example, had suddenly lost all interest in school, seemed to have forgotten what he had previously learned, and appeared disoriented and confused. A home visit disclosed the fact that he had been living contentedly for several years with his grandparents, and that the onset of his peculiar behavior was coincident with a visit from his mother who had previously deserted the child and now threatened to take him away with her. Oversolicitous and overexacting parents, so often found in the background of the complaining and the "nervous" child, have also appeared in a number of the clinic pictures. Many thoughtful parents with excellent common sense have also been encountered who have been eager for suggestions for the better training of their children.

The uncovering and interpretation of the environmental or social factors by the psychiatric social worker has proved to be an invaluable part of the case study, especially in school problems. This angle is usually a new one to the teacher, and the social findings often throw considerable light upon the educational problem. The clinic staff is also usually in a better position than

the school to work out a plan for social treatment and to present the matter to the parents from the point of view of impartial specialists. The communities visited have testified that with the clinic working as an intermediary between the schools and the homes, a better understanding and a more cordial relationship between the two has generally been effected which has persisted after the clinic's departure.

The clinic's psychological approach to the analysis of educational problems has centered in the study of the child's school performance in relation to his native capacity and his individual experience, and an attempt has been made not only to obtain a quantitative estimate of intellectual and educational development, but to determine individual differences on a quantitative basis also. It has been found necessary to know a great deal about the individual school system before deciding upon such questions as the degree of educational retardation of a given child or the best grade placement for him, and any available records of group intelligence or educational tests previously given by the schools have been of assistance in this respect. Good systems of child accounting have similarly been found of great help. It has also proved important to know in detail the methods of teaching certain subjects, as an apparent disability in a child sometimes proves to be the result of a method that does not make use of his most facile paths of learning. The personality of the teachers and the composition of the class itself must also be reckoned with.

The educational problems of the children of defective or subnormal intelligence included questions of exclusion from school and institutional care, placement in an ungraded room, repetition of a grade, promotion to a group where adequate social, physical, and occupational training might be given with lessened emphasis on accomplishment in the academic work, curricular adjustments to make manual training and domestic arts available to children in the grade schools, vocational training, and advice to discontinue school and go to work. The school problems of the children with a superior mental endowment were similarly ones of proper grade placement, enriched curriculum, and vocational guidance. In both groups social, physical, and personality problems were also frequently encountered, and individual cases brought out special recommendations. In the purer cases of intellectual deviations the reports to the school consisted chiefly in an estimate of the child's capacity with rather general recommendations as to his special needs, the working out of which was left to the school authorities. For the most part there seems to have been a conscientious attempt on the part of the schools to carry out these recommendations, and many shifts and adjustments have been made. The schools report moreover that these cases represent types that occur frequently, and that a complete individual study by the clinic of one case helps them with others. Indeed, several of the superintendents have introduced rather widespread changes in their school systems after studying certain problems brought

out in relief in the clinic cases, and have arranged for kindergartens, have made use of standardized group tests, have sectioned classes according to ability, have changed the availability of certain subjects in the curriculum, have encouraged the teachers to continue individual studies of other problem cases along the lines suggested by the clinic, and have even made changes in personnel.

As with the factors brought out by the social and psychological investigations of the clinic, its medical findings have likewise proved of importance in a number of cases. Several children referred as "nervous" have been discovered to be suffering from an acute chorea for which medical care and rest in bed were indicated. Adenoids and enlarged tonsils have been found associated with defective speech in some cases as well as with poor general physical development in others. A number of cases of malnutrition have been called to the attention of the school nurse for advice as to the giving of extra milk in school and help in establishing better dietary habits at home. The clinic has not attempted extensive physical examinations in every case, but has as far as possible made use of the findings of the family physician for this part of the study, referring to specialists any significant deviations. Where indicated, however, complete neurological examinations have been made, and several cases with symptoms of definite organic lesions have been found. Spastic paralysis, for example, is not infrequently encountered, with limitations in the child's motor and speech output which obscure estimates of his mental capacity and make special training necessary.

The psychiatric study of the case is of course the chief offering of the clinic service, and covers not only a mental examination to determine evidences of any true mental or nervous disease or mental defect, but also an evaluation of the emotional responses, the personality, and the general behavior of the individual in terms of his constitutional make up, his own life experiences, and the standards of the community. The psychiatrist's diagnosis consists usually in an analysis of the patient's characteristic mental and emotional reactions and an explanation of his behavior from the point of view of his mental mechanisms rather than a formal psychiatric classification. Among the adults examined, diagnosis of paresis, cerebral arteriosclerosis, senile dementia, toxic exhaustive psychosis, chronic alcoholism, manic-depressive psychosis, dementia praecox, feeble-mindedness, psychoneurosis, psychopathic personality, epilepsy, etc., have been made. Among the school children, cases with epilepsy, congenital syphilis, post encephalitic syndromes, and neurological disease have been seen, and in a few instances an early dementia praecox has been suspected. Milder psychiatric deviations, such as inadequate or overcompensations for special disabilities, paranoid trends, and psychoneurotic episodes have been encountered many times, and a large group has presented problems in cerebral physiology. A diagnosis of definite feeble-mindedness has been made

in 184 cases. The proportion of feeble-minded among the cases examined in community clinics has been about 12 per cent.

The value of the triple approach in clinic studies and the possibility of correlating a service program and a research program in field work when it is directed from a permanent base such as the psychopathic hospital has been brought out most strikingly perhaps in connection with the large group of children referred from the schools for various reasons who were found to be of average intelligence and who displayed no evidence of gross physical or mental disease. This apparently normal group who nevertheless present problems in behavior or difficulty in learning are particularly in need of special study both because the basis of their maladjustment is usually not detectable by ordinary observation and because they are children of real promise if their difficulty can be straightened out before its effects produce permanent handicaps. In this group have been found the children with the so-called "special disabilities," that is, marked retardation in one particular field which is out of harmony with their general capacity as demonstrated by successful achievement in other lines. It was during the first experimental clinic held by the hospital in Greene County, Iowa, in 1925, that the problems of the special disabilities in reading came to the attention of the director, Dr. Samuel T. Orton; and it was his personal study of an outstanding case from that series which suggested the two years' research program in cerebral physiology which the hospital is carrying out under the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Certain problems in speech disturbances have since been included and the research unit now comprises six to eight full time workers in the fields of cerebral anatomy, neuropathology, neurophysiology and psychology. Four hundred special examinations in reading and in speech have been made in the field under the direction of the research unit, and last summer a school was organized at the hospital for the experimental retraining of a group of children with reading disabilities who had been encountered by the mobile clinic. The research unit has also furnished the field unit with new types of examinations and has given instruction to teachers in methods of remedial training for the special disabilities in three of the communities visited by the clinic. The hospital itself has also strengthened the work of the field unit by furnishing headquarters and carrying the organization and administrative details and by providing more intensive examinations in special cases referred to it by the clinic.

From this experiment with a mobile clinic in Iowa we are ready to say that there is already sufficient interest in the subject matter of a mental hygiene program in the rural districts and small communities of the state, and more than enough interesting material readily available for examination by a clinic, to justify the permanent organization of some type of traveling psychiatric service, and that the orthodox mental hygiene unit of psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker, with the possible addition of an

educational specialist, is well equipped to handle psychiatric problems in the field, provided it has available the resources and direction of some stable medical organization and that it carries into its service an experimental and research point of view.

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### ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR MENTAL HYGIENE

*George S. Stevenson, M.D., Field Consultant, Division on Prevention of Delinquency, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City*

*What is mental hygiene?*—The sciences dealing with our bodies, our behavior, and the things in the world about us, all provide information which helps make our world more livable, which helps us deal happily and efficiently with our environment, and which shows us the effects of disease in hindering this happy, efficient, companionable existence. The aggregation of this information is the science of mental hygiene. The application of these fundamental sciences is the art of mental hygiene. Mental hygiene not only aims to reduce gross mental disorder (insanity) and gross antisocial behavior (delinquency), but the less serious peculiarities of character that produce unhappy, ineffective, and uncongenial lives.

*Underlying principles of mental hygiene organization.*—In putting these scientific facts to work we find conditions under which their application is now easier and now more difficult. We all like to work under the most favorable conditions, and we have at times surrounded mental hygiene with specifications which limit its scope and eliminate the disagreeable features, even if in doing this a great deal of the whole job is left undone. We ought therefore to look at mental hygiene stripped of these defenses, and examine into some of the principles of its application and some of the fallacies which have hampered its fuller realization.

Let us start out on the assumption that any concept of mental hygiene which fails to consider the whole of mental hygiene or the whole of the population is an inadequate concept. Work in the city is not always conducive to clear thinking in this regard. The attractions, greater facilities, opulence, and better organization of the city have made social effort there more productive, have made social work easier, have allowed us to do some fancy picking and to evade some of the crucial issues of the job as a whole. In facing the smaller community these issues must be formulated and faced. The stringencies of rural work force us to seize our opportunities and rely on salvaging facilities which in city work we are apt to scorn.

It is sometimes believed that we should not attempt mental hygiene work unless we have an elaborate program, a big amount of money—perhaps \$20,000 a year—a full corps of highly trained professional people, and a com-



munity with a highly developed social service system. I do not know of anything which has been done more to simplify our problems than this dictum. It has reduced the population we must work with from 110 to some 15 millions; it has lifted from our minds the burden of many nasty problems of organization, especially of personnel. But if we are to consider the whole population we must not be so easily satisfied. The rural district has its own peculiarities. Its needs cannot be doubted, and it requires its own ways of meetings its needs. It is quite evident that it is impossible to carry on mental hygiene work in the country according to the pattern used in large centers. There are difficulties of personnel, cooperating agencies, distances, and facilities. On the other hand, there are factors which make the rural job easier. The environment is less complicated, its parts more discrete, numerically fewer, and in a way easier to untangle. We must look on the country, not as a sad skeleton of the city, but as a type of human activity which has its own characteristics and its own optimum ways of doing things. We will then not try to cram a city program into an illadapted rural container, or whittle some plan with which we are familiar into a makeshift for rural work; we shall instead derive the optimum plan from the needs and facilities at hand. Rural work requires many new solidly worked out adaptations if it is to be appreciated as a steady, continuing, permanent thing. According to the 1920 census, 48.6 per cent of the population of the United States was rural; one-fifth of these came from towns of 2,500 or less, the remainder purely rural; communities of several times 2,500 must, however, be considered rural when we deal in mental hygiene. The incidence of mental disorder in the smaller community is not sufficiently different to alter the need for preventive or reconstructive mental hygiene work. We may consider ourselves safe in assuming that this major part of the job will continue to exist very much as it is; we might as well count on the need as permanent and very unlikely to change much.

On account of the standards to which we have been trained we may have to change our viewpoint somewhat to avoid being demoralized by working under what may seem to be reduced standards. We may have to look with a little more perspective on the question of ideals and standards. After all, standards are relative and never ideal, and the standards for rural work must be accepted in relation to the job at hand, and not in relation to standards somewhere else. Likewise, this change should not be looked on as a makeshift or emergency adaptation, but as a thing which fits in a practical way the situation as it is in a certain place. We have to accept our standardized training for what it is intended, a foundation, and plan our programs according to the tools and needs, working toward an ideal but not being disturbed by deviations from it. If one cannot treat ideals and standards from this standpoint they become impediments rather than aids. This is particularly so in rural work, since most of the training ideals and standards are built on more complex urban condi-

tions. One of my initial experiences in rural mental hygiene work was the warning: "I don't see how you can hope to do much, there is no possibility of follow up." Perhaps there wasn't, according to city standards, but I could find standards that would make follow up equally impossible on any case. Sufficient flexibility to make the most out of what exists is the keynote to this. More than 50 per cent of the population of this country never will have the possibility of certain kinds of follow up. It may be helpful to our morale in this regard to direct our attention to the fact that for us 90 per cent of the job is educational rather than reconstructive treatment, and the cases we deal with are chiefly pathfinders for our educational efforts. We shall then find as big a constructive enterprise rurally as we shall anywhere. The whole process will be one of slow building, but the product will be healthier than the untimely transplanting of an elaborate program.

It is sometimes felt that a clinic or a small group can of itself take care of the whole mental hygiene needs of a community while the rest sit back, enjoy the show, and do nothing. A few clinics have tried this and have become so buried in the attempt that they think the whole job is being done. The number of cases to be considered far outweighs the capacity of any one organization outside of the organization of the whole community. The professional worker consequently must make every case first reveal the community defect that caused its problems; second, carry a lesson to those interested in it; third, stimulate the prevention of that particular problem; and fourth, provide new scientific facts in human behavior. Otherwise, the surface of the community will not even be scratched. For a community of one million, a clinic consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and two psychiatric social workers would have no less than ninety years' work before it to clear up the job that faces it today if it tried to be responsible for each case. Our work individually, and the work of a clinic, is a scientific educational work in the community. The aim is to make practical mental hygiene the daily function of everybody in the community. It is a development in which we are seeing that the job gets done, reconstructing the wrecks and more serious accidents, providing new facts, and acting as vigilants to see that nobody runs amuck and that everybody works up to, but within, his capacity. It is mental hygiene as a science serving mental hygiene as a practical art. Of this art the physician handles the greater distortions; the social worker, teacher, etc. handle the lesser individual problems and the distortions of the community; and everybody is accountable for enough common mental hygiene sense to do his utmost to prevent problems. To that extent mental hygiene is everybody's job.

While mental hygiene is everybody's job, every phase of it is not just anybody's job. Too often leadership is assumed by someone who likes to talk and organize, but who perhaps a year or so later is wanting help to get her own son out of jail for forging. Lay interest and enthusiasm are valuable when they

see their own limitations, but it must be kept in mind that there are mental hygiene tasks that only a physician of special training in one instance or a social worker with special background in another should assume. It is paramount that mental hygiene should preserve its scientific, its medical, its public health, its biological anchorage. The furtherance of mental health, efficient, happy, companionable living is everybody's job. Our particular job is that of activating, of organizing, of helping these millions of case workers, whether they be parents, teachers, other social workers—in fact, anyone handling children and adults—to see the problems, to know what to do to prevent problems, and to know what to do with problems after they arise. Mental hygiene as a basis of normal human relationships and child training, as well as of human correction, can never be attained unless we make enough of the scientific background, common knowledge, and common sense to allow everybody to use it. To accomplish this we must use the natural resources of the community.

One cannot emphasize too strongly the need to include the state hospital in any community mental hygiene plan. It is the prime agent for reconstructive mental hygiene work, and carries a definite responsibility for the preventive work represented in aftercare as well as in early diagnosis and treatment. Some, in their overenthusiasm for work with children, forget this. They are likewise apt to be blind to the mental hygiene opportunities of the rural community because it also is more difficult. Mental hygiene must be seen as a whole, including all its parts and including its relationship to the part of public health and other social work.

Mental hygiene work must develop in its proper relationship to social work and education. In making plans these relationships must be kept clear. We have to see mental hygiene dovetailing with the schools, the courts, the children's and family agencies. Where all of these fields have not yet been organized in our community, we may be uncertain as to how to proceed. We then have to use our experience and imaginations to make the plan compatible with probable future developments in these fields. The national organizations such as are represented in this conference can do much to help make our formulations more practical and to check up on fallacies in our planning. In Minnesota a plan was put in operation of having quarterly meetings of representatives from a number of statewide agencies: the children's bureau of the state board of control, the state board of health, state school of agriculture, medical social service, department of education, psychopathic department of the Minnesota General Hospital. This seemed to me a valuable way of avoiding duplication and conflict, and of being mutually helpful. Such meetings are apt to become uninteresting unless they are considered a practical part of the job.

The taking on of mental hygiene is thought of by some social workers as a prelude to a reduced case load, Saturday afternoons for tennis and evenings without interruption. Mental hygiene is hardly a labor-saving device. It

should, instead, give the satisfaction that comes from increased efficiency, from doing one's work better, and particularly from escaping some of the bafflement that so many of the unrecognized mental hygiene problems force on the social worker.

*What are the steps toward local organization for mental hygiene?*—It usually happens that the interest in mental hygiene in a community begins with one person who eventually brings together a group of those having similar interests. It is as a rule a person who has not only advanced somewhat beyond his fellows, but one who has the prestige and drive to make his advancement contagious. If he is efficient he realizes that others have been through the mill before him elsewhere, and he tries to benefit by their experience, borrowing, perhaps improving, on their successful methods, avoiding the pitfalls. He seeks the advice of those acquainted with the field. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene is organized to render him just that particular service, to provide consultation, assist in organization to stimulate research and education, and to criticize constructively. It is the function of that organization to keep in touch with what is going on and to direct those interested to representative work in the field. Certain other institutions have attained such a national position as to be called on frequently for similar assistance. Our psychopathic hospitals and the pioneer clinics of Healy and of Adler are such.

Where a state is fortunate enough to have a mental hygiene institution of its own it has the ideal anchor for the mental hygiene work of the whole state. Rural community activities have a much closer dependence on general state activities than do those of the more self-reliant city. There is an advantage in having rural mental hygiene associated with some statewide bureau such as a psychopathic hospital. The work cannot efficiently be separated from state hospital plans and institutions and programs for the feeble-minded. It must connect with medical organizations, colleges, especially schools of medicine, social work, and educational and correctional institutions. It must be a constituent of the organizations for social work. It must go hand in hand with the public health work, courts, and local agencies of other national activities. Facilities vary so from state to state that one is apt to be impractical by being too dogmatic in formulating rules for heading up any work. Probably the ideal plan would be to have mental hygiene the extramural activity of a state psychopathic hospital connected with the university and at the same time closely working with the state hospital system. Other possibilities would be state departments of health or welfare, the state university, or a committee for mental hygiene. Where the community is small or scattered a connection of this sort is the first thing to establish. The function of this state leadership is mainly to offer advice, to organize and coordinate the work, to educate to the needs of mental hygiene, and to maintain standards. It can at times pro-

vide some clinical service. However, the more of these functions that can be handled locally, the better.

Let us now suppose that our community pioneer has obtained advice from some authority and has secured the interest of the staff of the state psychopathic hospital. He still needs companionship in his enterprise. A one-man affair is too variable, too ephemeral. He must gather together others having similar vision (he probably has done this already) and develop a unit of greater power, greater breadth and resource, and greater stability. This group must be the local trustees for mental hygiene; they must evaluate their community, roughly estimate its needs, liabilities, and resources, and determine its financial limitations. This will decide how far the community can go in planning leadership for its mental hygiene work, whether it can afford to import permanent expert direction, whether it can get occasional assistance from the state, or whether it must be content to look forward to these, meanwhile building up by working out through local volunteers the special things indicated by a survey of their needs and resources. The quality of this local leadership and the resources at hand determine how far the community can go, how elaborate the program can be.

*What is to be done by the local leader?*—Detailed evaluation of the undeveloped natural resources of the community is the first job of the local group. This is relatively simple for a trained worker; where this leadership is less trained, outside assistance is needed. Medical, pedagogical, social, and institutional facilities must be found and their possibilities evaluated and developed. Here is a physician with a special interest in children, or neurology, or psychiatry; there we find a visiting teacher who has a social work contribution to make, or a special class, or other teacher; or perhaps a married woman who has had sufficient experience in mental testing to make her tests and interpretation reliable; here is a state hospital nearby whose cooperation can be secured, or a public health nurse or community social worker who is in a strategic position.

There are certain basic needs which should be cared for first, no matter what the status of the community. Even the poorest can muster its resources to work for adequate state hospital care for its mentally sick in the state or in its particular district. Similar effort may be directed toward the provision for the feeble-minded. Special training is not necessary to carry this on. Suffice it to know that these deviations of behavior exist and that many communities are caring for them. A further step is to plan the best possible approach to mental hygiene with children. Can aid be obtained from the state, can the schools do a part? Perhaps a visiting teacher can be obtained in the schools; perhaps the county children's agency can send its worker away for special training, or assign one worker to this phase. The school nurse and her possibilities for recognizing problems and assisting in their treatment should be recognized.

Where the basic needs in caring for adult insane and feeble-minded have not been met, where emergency social work organization has not yet been attended to, but where the future offers promise of these and promise of stability for child guidance clinic work, the steps toward building up a clinic may be taken. The mental testing can be developed as an adjunct of the special class; the social work can be started on a visiting teacher basis or as a function of some local agencies. The pediatric work can be carried by school physicians, and the psychiatric may be produced by traveling aid from the state or by a local volunteer.

I have previously stated that a major portion of mental hygiene work must be educational. No case should be closed unless the defects of the community, the home, the institution, and the school have been made evident to those who can remedy these defects. The case, hand in hand with lectures, literature, and demonstrations, must be the foundation of the educational approach. The program must see the community not only as it is, but as it will be in the future. On the one hand, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, child study groups, churches, fraternal and other organizations must be used as a medium of lay education; on the other, it is necessary, as a part of local mental hygiene, to go far from the community and see that their future leaders are trained to some appreciation of the needs for healthy mental development. The curriculum of the embryo doctor, teacher, social worker, and nurse must include mental hygiene. Again, looking to the future, some public schools have included mental hygiene in their health courses in preparation for adult life and parenthood. The normal school as a site for practical mental hygiene case work which will reach even the smallest community deserves special mention and becomes a logical focus of interest of every mental hygiene program. It not only as a rule can provide professional assistance, but the cases form a basis for lectures, case conferences, and, what is even better, a practical field for acquainting the teachers with the meaning of mental hygiene. If the normal school serves as a mental hygiene center for the district otherwise served by the school, almost invariably students can be found who can give valuable assistance with cases, being acquainted with the locality, the people, or the problem itself in a particular case. This practical contact makes mental hygiene real to the student and is an immense stimulus.

Aside from its educational value, the case is the entrée to a big organizing or reorganizing job and reveals the need for this or that type of social work, health provision, and recreational development. It may be that a playground is needed to run in competition with a railroad yard or a sand pit. The Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions clubs are unusually valuable in supporting this phase of the work, since it is in direct line with their interests. The securing of foster homes, Big Brothers and Sisters, and assistance for follow up work are nice problems which can be solved even in a rural organization as long as we are



content to strive toward, rather than for, ideals. I have not touched on the administrative side of the organization at all. There are courts, schools, clinics, libraries, social service headquarters which can be turned into quarters for examination where visiting assistance is secured.

It is impossible, in a presentation of this kind, to point to all the possibilities. The ones I have presented are chiefly part of my own experience in Minnesota. Individual ingenuity will develop many right on the job. I need only refer to the work being done in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois to show the practicability of mental hygiene work conducted in any community according to its needs and resources. My remarks today have been intended to give an indication of where and how to work.

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### SUMMARY OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

#### ROUND TABLE I—MENTAL HYGIENE AND RELIGION

"The Place of Mental Hygiene in Religious Education" was the subject of a paper read by Harrison Elliott, professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York. This paper was built upon the conviction that religion and mental hygiene are both concerned with the motives operating behind symptomatic behavior. The adult parishioner carries over into the type of religion he experiences, and the child into his Sunday school setting, the attitudes they have already created in the family group, school, or wider community life. No two individuals reach the church with precisely similar needs; religion must be offered to suit now a dependent, now an independent, person; to develop further maturity or satisfy the requirements of the already well-integrated personality. The wise minister will know how to promote independence gradually without frightening the insecure parishioner and driving him off to a more satisfying church; nor will he attempt to help dependent parishioners at that immature level to satisfy his own needs or in a mistaken idea that such dependence increases the power of the church. The Sunday school instructor must be able to evaluate conduct in the classroom in the light of the child's emotional needs. In no other way can he be sure of building up healthy, desirable motives. The same point of view must prevail when the adult parishioner comes to the minister with his doubts and fears. With almost no exceptions, religious doubts are but the reflection of insecurity and disappointments in the personal life; rare indeed are the true philosophical questionings. Readjustment in religious life means primarily a readjustment in the personal, for the latter is the well-spring of all other symptomatic behavior.

A paper on "Mental Hygiene in the Moral and Spiritual Development of the Child" was given by Rev. Pryor Grant, of General Seminary, New York,

and was a most satisfactory synthesis of the two aspects of human life. Whereas mental hygiene analyzes the material out of which we develop, the growth experienced itself, and the ways in which we direct our growth, religion explains the source of our being and experience while it determines as well the highest type which we set ourselves as a goal. The subject matter of religion is the potential ethical value of those same life experiences which mental hygiene interprets and evaluates for both society and the individual. Moral and spiritual values are concepts in philosophy and religion, but only the mental hygienist's understanding of human conduct can explain why an individual does or does not possess and believe in those concepts. The individual must be seen as an organism which develops from a complete dependence upon the worker to an independent adulthood, provided the life experiences are constructive and satisfying. The growth is a series of decisions, judgments, and movements onward, which in turn depend upon the motivating forces which mental hygiene interprets for us. There must be in infancy a satisfaction for the self, but one's satisfaction should, in the healthiest growth process, embrace wider and higher circles outside the self until one achieves a conscious relationship with God. This is not a dependent, immature religion, but a true religion in that it is the highest form of life. Religion can and often does satisfy the need for dependence and security which is merely a continuance of our babyish state. Then religion takes on very concrete aspects and becomes authoritative in order to allow the believer a comfortable dependence and lack of responsibility. In order to leave the dependent state for one of maturity, the love and ego drives of the individual must be integrated, properly developed, and properly used. Both drives, in socialized form, are absolutely necessary to the development of an emotionally healthy and industrially efficient individual, and therefore necessary before the highest level of religious experience can be attained. Religion places the ethical and moral values on human behavior, but it is through a knowledge and practice of mental hygiene that undesirable behavior is prevented or shifted and desirable behavior created as the response to life experience.

#### ROUND TABLE 2—MENTAL HYGIENE AND THE SCHOOL

Eleanor Hope Johnson, M.D., of Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, contributed a paper on "the Relation of School Maladjustment to Behavior." It was concerned with bringing out the effect of conduct on scholarship achievement. There are innumerable combinations of the dynamic factors which operate in creating problems of retardation or cases of conduct difficulty. In some instances the behavior problem is primary, resulting secondarily in the retarded school record of the normal child. In such cases investigation of the home relationships reveals destructive forces which must be dealt with by some kind of social service. In other cases the fundamental issue is one of

innately inferior endowment, causing inability to do the school work required and resulting secondarily in a behavior difficulty which is actually an overcompensation for painful inadequacy. Especially for this second group Dr. Johnson raised the question: How far is the school responsible for creating its own problems? Elasticity of routine and flexible curriculums would eliminate much of the unhappiness and inefficiency which we see crystalized in asocial behavior. The first mentioned group has up to now been given too little consideration, and Dr. Johnson's statistical findings showed some interesting facts. Her paper contained many proofs of the relation of conduct to school adjustment, but only one or two can be brought into this summary. The more native ability, the lower the scholarship mark, provided a behavior problem enters in. In a group of well-behaved children who were failing in school the median I.Q. was 79 and the median scholarship mark was 73. But in a second group whose members were behavior problems who were failing school, the median I.Q. was 87 with a median scholarship mark of only 69. Plainly, the criterion of failure in this study was behavior. In a special class may be found all kinds of problems, with no special training on the part of the teacher nor equipment in the classroom to meet the different needs. In it there may be behavior problems who are dull and behavior problems who are normal; there may be average pupils who are not dull but whose difficulty is social and emotional and who are unsuited for the special class in which they have been placed. Contrariwise, there are many average children defective but *not* in the special class because they are well-behaved and pleasant to manage. We are now beginning to recognize the part which behavior plays in the school environment. Dr. Johnson ended her paper with a plea for cooperation between the mental hygienist and the teaching staff, and for the introduction, into the training schools, of the study of human conduct as a dynamic motivated force.

Miss Frances Dummer, psychiatric worker, Public Schools, Winnetka, Illinois, read a paper on "What Can Be Done with the Teacher's Point of View." She started by pointing out the logical differences in viewpoint between the teacher and the psychiatric social worker who enters the school as a visiting teacher. The former must of necessity be concerned chiefly with a group and with imparting to it certain informational material. When an individual child looms up as a problem, interfering with the progress of the group, it is the job of the visiting teacher to sell to the classroom teacher the idea of individual adjustment, although the teacher must always see her class as the important unit. The kinds of psychology expounded to teachers in their training period differ widely, and most significantly they differ from the dynamic interpretation of human behavior which is taught to the psychiatric social worker. This constitutes both an intellectual and an emotional stumbling-block; the visiting teacher and the classroom teacher must make identifications with each other and work out a common ground before treatment plans can be laid down.

Another important but less difficult barrier to overcome is the administrative routine which interferes with the relation between social worker and teacher. Questions of time and energy, of interviews in and out of hours, of removing the teacher from the classroom for the sake of one problem youngster, of selecting one out of thirty pupils for special treatment, of winning over a whole staff of teachers, principals, and superintendents are some of the many problems confronting the visiting teacher. A large element in the success or failure of a visiting teacher experiment lies in the teacher's personal problems as reflected in her pupil relationships; these the visiting teacher must understand as she does the problems of the parent-child relationships or, for that matter, as she must understand her own behavior patterns in relation to both her social setting and her work environment.

#### ROUND TABLE 3—THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

"Motor Stunts and Mental Stability" was the subject of a paper by Mrs. Katharine Dummer Fisher, leader of a preschool group, Winnetka, Illinois. This was a vivid, very practical account of the directed play activities of small children, in which they are encouraged to acquire muscular coordination, self confidence, familiarity with a simple, external environment, and ability to be harmonious members of a group. This is accomplished by means of very simple, inexpensive apparatus, such as crude ladders and nursery-child play equipment, and by exercise in ordinary activities, such as walking, jumping, and climbing. The child acquires an interest in purposeful activity, uses his initiative, exercises judgment as he learns cause and effect, and loses his fears and timidity as he acquires skill.

Discussion of Mrs. Fisher's paper showed great appreciation of the spirit in which she directs her small group in an ordinary back yard, utilizing all available resources in a most imaginative, constructive manner. Questions concerning equipment were numerous. Many in the audience felt that the same kind of training should be incorporated into the more advanced school curriculum, but that even if that be impossible, these results justify the experiment. Mrs. Fisher made the practical suggestion that even in a small apartment the same training can be experienced with kitchen chairs, small ladders, and a table. Naturally this makes for some disorder in the home, but it is worth it in the light of the physical and personality developments. Exposure to Mrs. Fisher's teaching experiment occasionally brings to light fear reactions which are handled by her in the group and which are casually explained to parents when they accompany their children to school.

Miss Ethel Kawin, of the preschool branch, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, explained the cooperative unit, set up at Hull House and composed of all the community agencies, which discusses in conference individual problems arising at the Mary Crane Nursery School. Responsibility for treat-

ment is delegated to the most suitable agency. When personality and behavior problems arise, the Institute for Juvenile Research provides the psychological and psychiatric services. It is with these cases that Miss Kawin has close contact, and she enlarged upon her experiences in a discussion of symptomatic behavior and its significance in the preschool child.

ROUND TABLE 4—PROBLEMS OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

"The Organization of Parent-School Cooperation" was discussed by Miss Elizabeth Dexter, Department of Child Guidance, Newark, N. J. The parent and the school have as their common interest the education of the child. The child must be taught, not only the three R's, but also the utilization of his intellectual capacities, a skill which depends primarily on his social relationships. Since the unadjustment the child shows at school is frequently a reflection of emotional difficulties in the home, obviously the home is as vitally concerned as the school in releasing his intellectual energies so that they may flow into channels that are useful to himself and others. This cooperation between home and school can best be developed on a case work basis, according to individual needs, the visiting teacher furnishing the most useful means of communication between the two groups. To her is assigned the task of studying the child's behavior at home and at school, ferreting out cause-and-effect relationships, and thus giving the family insight into the child's problems and helping them to handle the family situation more expediently, thus seeking to remedy or modify the causes of unadjustment. At school the teacher needs the knowledge of the personal life of the child which the visiting teacher brings her in order to work out her relationship with him in the light of his individual problem. In exchange for the excessive love found in the child's home, or for the love deprivation, both of which operate to make the child hungrily seek attention from his teacher, he has to learn the pleasure of doing things for himself, the satisfaction of success in school work, the fun of active play and of acceptance as an equal by the children whom at present he considers his enemies. If he can get some of these satisfactions his need for the teacher's whole attention will be so diminished that he won't regard the other children as threatening his security, and will not have to turn all his energy from his school work into a striving for affection. While the early conflict with the school seems to arise largely from the child's demand for love, later flare-ups in the upper grades seem to be more directly related to difficulties of adjustment to authority. To help straighten out such distorted attitudes is not simple. Often deep resentment has accrued from very early experiences, and the child enters school with great antagonism toward authoritative control. The teacher, in maintaining the discipline expected of her, often appears to the child as an extension of parental handling, and serves to reinforce his unhealthy attitude. If the teacher can deal successfully with this problem, recognizing that it is one

requiring as much skill as any of academic instruction, the child can be helped in one fundamental aspect in the process of developing emotional maturity.

A paper on "The Evaluation of Homes in Preparation for Child Placement" was read by Miss Charlotte Towle, of the Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia. It is only within the last few years that progressive organizations have begun to refine their technique to include careful evaluation of homes in preparation for child placements. By utilizing modern medical, psychiatric, psychological, and social case study techniques, such a thorough understanding of a child is now obtainable that his physical, mental, and emotional needs may be pretty accurately measured. However, in very few organizations is a correspondingly thorough and intensive procedure followed in the inspection and selection of homes, even at the present time. At present the general tendency in home finding is to inquire into the financial condition and moral status of the prospective parents, as well as to investigate the physical aspects of the home. The importance of these considerations is obvious, as well as the more infrequent attempt to make a fairly accurate evaluation of the mental factors of the foster parents. As for the evaluation of emotional factors, the study of human behavior from the psychiatric viewpoint has revealed the great significance of this in any adequate program for dealing with such delicate and involved human problems as those concerned in child placement. A normal family, in which the parental relationship as well as the interdependent relations of the children are wholesome, will provide an emotional background which will condition a child who fits into their scheme of life to a constructive reaction to his experiences. If, however, there are emotional maladjustments in any of the family relationships, the adoptive or boarding child will be conditioned to react on a destructive level to certain experiences, while the degree, nature, and extent of the emotional maladjustment will determine the child's destructive reactions. An institution, therefore, can be preferable to a home when that home is heavily fraught with emotional maladjustments. In general, it has been found that in homes where there are adopted children there are two conflicting sets of emotional problems. First, the child who is available for adoption has generally been deprived in infancy and has had his life routine upset to the extent that he has become insecure. This insecurity has generally produced an emotional instability which makes him a problem to handle. Second, the parents who adopt a child frequently have been deprived of children, or have had certain inadequacies in their lives for which they hope to compensate by this new interest. This solving of parental emotional problems in children is fraught with danger, particularly in view of the fact that the children who come to them have usually had insecure lives, which have rendered them less able to withstand mishandling.

It is not possible to generalize about emotional factors in relation to child placing, for even though a large number of cases were studied, the unique



factors would preclude fixed generalizations. Certain observations, however, drawn from the case stories presented in this paper, are as follows: first, it is essential to ascertain the emotional determinants which prompt the parents to adopt a child, for it is these emotional elements which will condition their reaction to the child; second, in homes where there are marked emotional difficulties, the deep seated emotional problems which cause the maladjustment should be adjusted before the child is placed, unless careful study should reveal that in specific cases the child would facilitate the solution of the problems by causing a shift in the emotional set up from a destructive to a constructive plane; third, a home which is unsuitable for a certain child because of emotional bias may be suitable for another child of different age, sex, or personality, or a home which is unsuited for a number of children may be better suited to one child; fourth, a home which has emotional problems which make it unsuitable for any placements at the present time might be re-evaluated later and found to be suitable for certain supervised placements, time and circumstances having caused a shift in the emotional "set up."

#### ROUND TABLE 5—EXPERIMENTS IN ADJUSTMENT

In considering "The Boarding School as a Treatment Possibility," Miss Jeanette Davis, of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, New York, laid down some excellent work principles. The first question to be answered is: Why is the home situation not the proper setting for this child? When the worker is sure that certain irremediable conditions are bound to be destructive to the problem child, the decision is reached to remove him from the home. The next point raised is: Why not a foster home? And, in the light of the individual case, the reasons against recreating a family set up must prevail. There is left, then, the choice of a boarding school which will fill the needs of the child better than either his own home or a foster home. One can generalize very little about the selection of a boarding school, as it depends entirely on what the child's problem is, and on what the school has to offer. Each problem child comes with different emotional determinants according to his early background and the behavior patterns he has created in response. So far as the boarding school is concerned, the social worker will not use those lacking ability to appraise conduct in dynamic terms; she will hope to find a head mistress emotionally mature enough to deal objectively with her pupils' difficulties and who gains her chief satisfaction out of making happy, independent youngsters rather than through a deep seated need to have her pupils dependent upon her. Beyond this, then, are no general rules. The size of the school, the educational, recreational, and vocational opportunities, the age of the pupils, their social status, and so on are specific details which must be discussed in the light of the individual problem.

Many children who have been greatly deprived of satisfaction need the

security found in a good foster home which can offer them the constructive mother and father relationship they have never had. Many children who have been oversatisfied by one or both loving parents and need to be weaned away from these early attachments respond well to a boarding school where the family set up is less clear cut, but where a staff member can take the rôle of the "good parent" until the child is ready to stand on his own. From the parents' point of view, a boarding school always offers less insult to their ego than a foster home does, and usually deprives them less on the libidinal side as well. To a smaller degree the ego factor operates also in the child's adjustment to the boarding school experience. The boarding school offers more outlets for constructive satisfaction on the ego side of the child's development than most own or foster home settings because of the organized and unorganized recreations, school and club offices, opportunities for handcraft, training in special talents, and so on. Another significant factor in fostering the child's maturity is that the people who establish this good type of boarding school are deriving their satisfaction in a mature, constructive fashion and therefore provide excellent patterns of behavior for their pupils to follow. Two cases which Miss Davis used as illustrations brought out clearly all the mental hygiene issues involved, first, in removing the children from their homes, and then in selecting the proper boarding school for long term treatment.

Dr. Emily T. Burr, of the Vocational Adjustment Bureau, New York, stated that her experimental workshop has in the past year and a half been a refuge for many social workers seeking to rehabilitate mentally and emotionally disabled clients. In her paper, "Reconditioning the Human Machine for Industry," Dr. Burr quoted the significant statistics that the productivity of 150,000 persons in New York City alone is lowered each year because of mental and nervous illness. In mere point of numbers alone, then, a curative workshop becomes an actual necessity. The one established by the Vocational Adjustment Bureau for Girls, in undertaking to recondition the emotionally disturbed woman, has a special technique, although ordinary industrial conditions are retained so far as possible. Since in practically each instance the client comes with a strong sense of valuelessness and inadequacy, the general scheme is to give at first very simple tasks which are well within the range of the patient's ability. When success with these encourages her self confidence, she usually will ask for more difficult jobs, and so the development of her personality and the increase in her work capacity go hand in hand until the most desirable goal is reached—a return to the industrial world under ordinary working conditions. Each instructor at the workshop recognizes that reconstructing personality is a slow process, demanding special understanding and treatment of human material: patience, kindness, insight, imagination, vision. A patient competes with no one but herself; she breaks her own previous records of speed and output; but there is no other competition in the regular

sense until she wants it. As earning money is a therapeutic measure, the patients are from the beginning paid wages, which, though small at first, increase with the capacity to produce. The gain in economic productivity has, of course, considerable value for both the individual and society, but the parallel gain in happiness and self esteem is of inestimably greater value. Dr. Burr gave her audience the benefit of two cases which worked through to remarkable success in competitive industry, though each client arrived at the workshop heavy with fears and feelings of inadequacy. This paper sounded one of the most hopeful notes for the future: self sufficiency and happiness for many whom we have considered destined to permanent unproductivity and wretchedness.

Wilbur I. Newstetter, director, University Neighborhood Center, Cleveland, spoke on "An Experiment in Treatment by Means of the Long Term Camp." Wawokiye Camp was first operated in the summer of 1926 to offer treatment for thirty problem boys who had previously been studied at the Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic. Eventually the venture should lead to an isolation of the underlying scientific principles of group work. The experiment, carried on by a staff of graduate student counselors with some training in mental hygiene, and with psychiatric consultant service available, will help to emphasize, among other things, the importance of trained group workers. Wawokiye Camp is also highly interested—as it aims for all-round development of the individual—in defining the place of religious education in methods of personality and social adjustments. As the camp was attended by non-behavior cases also, the environment more nearly approximated the normal community setting. Naturally, boys who have conduct difficulties are exhibiting highly individualistic tendencies. For the camp counselor, therefore, the problem was to adjust conduct by means of group regulation—self government in terms of the group and finally in terms of the individual himself, while the boy's fundamental tendency on reaching the camp was to carry over his old behavior patterns which were socially unacceptable. Treatment procedure necessarily included some work with the individual, but so far as possible the group did the re-educating, and asocial conduct was permitted to punish itself.

In order to evaluate the summer's work, as well as to be of assistance to the clinic and other agencies in the fall, reports, behavior records, rating scales, and tests were used during the experiment. Later in the fall of 1926, the clinic, utilizing its original case studies, the camp reports, and the records of follow up visits after camp, further evaluated the summer's experience. Because of the intensive period of observation, hitherto unknown difficulties had been discovered, and these were subjected to treatment during and after the camp experience. Insight into emotional disturbances was gained through the informal friendliness of the counselor-relationships as opposed to the unaccustomed clinic experience, which prevents some children from giving their confidences.

Many cases showed marked improvement in behavior, and all showed some. As an added result the change in the child's conduct often caused a change in parental attitudes, hereby facilitating the continuance of the good behavior. Throughout the summer small group discussions were conducted, at which the boys criticized and evaluated themselves and their tent mates and asked questions about their unsolved personal problems. Much good can come out of such a group activity if the leader is able to maintain, in himself and his group members, a high degree of objectivity. The airing of problems and faults as common human frailties affords a salutary security and a less severe ego humiliation. The method of treatment which was used most frequently and with greatest success was the influence which the group itself brought to bear upon the asocial individual. In two interesting studies Mr. Newstetter followed through the social case work which resulted in a successful camp adjustment. It is not surprising that mental hygiene concepts should now be applied in this type of group organization which offers tremendous opportunities for all those interested in the fundamental re-education of the problem child.

## VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

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### SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES OF NOONDAY AND FRATERNAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, AS VIEWED BY A SOCIAL WORKER

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Fraternal orders and service clubs are becoming increasingly conscious of organized social work. From the fact that I am asked to speak on the significance of the social service activities of these groups of men it would seem that social workers reciprocate that interest.

Welfare projects are not new to the fraternal orders. As long ago as 1850 the Masons founded an orphanage in California. Other orders followed their example with increasing impetus during the latter part of the nineteenth century, during which period many other good people and communities were busy with the orphan asylum and the old folks' home. In fact the impetus in the orders along once popular lines became such that they are not even yet fully alive to some of the changes in social work methods that have taken place in the last quarter century. But they are becoming aware, and some of them are acting accordingly.

The experience of the country during and immediately following the war greatly stimulated many welfare developments, among them the community chest method of financing social work and the welfare programs of the noon-day, or service, or civic clubs as they are variously called. Social workers the country over are more or less acquainted with Rotary Boys' Week, the interest of Kiwanis in the underprivileged child, the International Society for Crippled Children, the interest of the Lions Clubs in blindness, and many other programs of similar nature. Added to these more or less formal and official projects are to be found a multitude of local projects of every sort with which these organizations concern themselves, ranging all the way from free milk to children, through support of scouting programs, circus treats to "orphans," on to at least one detention home for a juvenile court. In fact the very diversity of these manifestations of interest tends to produce an impression of activity for activity's sake without much rhyme or reason. No one, so far as I am aware, has ever summed up the total activities of the fraternal orders and the service clubs, or the number of persons included in the support of such undertakings. The editor of the *Survey* captioned an article of mine on this subject, "Four-

teen Million Philanthropists," and that is probably as good a figure as any other. There are over eleven million fraternalists, a half million in service clubs, the American Legion has half a million, and so on. So many men are significant when organized.

Certain generalizations can be made in interpreting the meaning of these organizations. Most fundamental of all are the different conceptions with which these two groups approach a welfare project. Roughly speaking, and not without possible exceptions, the fraternal orders undertake welfare projects for their own members or the families of their members; Masonic aid is for Masons and their families, and so with other orders. The service clubs as a rule undertake welfare programs for the general public, or at least for some group in the community not connected with them by membership. Rotary Boys' Week may include sons of Rotarians, but it is not restricted to them. Fraternal orders are social and benefit organizations, offering, among other things, insurance, death benefits, aid to widows of members, old age care, care of children of deceased members, and, latterly, the beginnings of regular health service. Service club members apparently associate together less for mutual benefit to themselves than for the promotion of aims that are expressed in a variety of slogans all more or less denoting a desire to promote civic, business, and other welfare in their respective communities. It does not, however, follow that the fraternal orders may be said to be selfish, and the service clubs less self-regarding. The fraternal orders base their welfare features solidly on enlightened self interest, but the service clubs stress this motive in working for the betterment of their respective communities. The social significance of the activities of either group lies in the contributions each may make through different methods to community well being, as well as in their different approaches.

Generalizations are difficult to make and may easily be attacked. Yet certain typical characteristics do emerge in the two groups. The fraternal orders, for example, tend to adopt long time welfare programs when they adopt any such programs at all. Some of the orders, particularly the benefit or insurance orders, have never adopted welfare programs for the orders as a whole, in which case they sometimes function in their respective communities much as do the service clubs. But the fraternal order social service projects which one thinks of most readily are those that are the concern of an entire order, or of an entire order within state boundaries. It is natural that welfare plans for their members should lead to long time projects designed to fit in with the general scheme of the order, which is itself concerned with benefits over the span of life. Thus we actually find that the undertakings of the fraternal orders in children's work, or in old age care of members, or their restoration to health are relatively solid, sizable, and expensive pieces of work. Examples come freely to mind, and I will not stop to illustrate. Large sums of money



gradually accumulate in equipment; the managers of the projects come to have positions of importance in the orders; and a type of vested interest may develop on which the welfare experience of the rest of the country often makes small impression. In many cases the very seriousness of the undertakings to the orders creates a sense of possession which can easily lead to the isolation of those responsible for them from other welfare forces of the community. "Our" children's home or "our" relief for the aged must then depend on the chance welfare enlightenment which the managers may accidentally have acquired but do not think it necessary deliberately to seek. Another factor in their point of view which tends to isolate them from organized social work is their conception of it as "charity," with which their work has nothing in common. Theirs is fraternal assistance, they believe, radically different from that which is financed by appeals to the general public for alms to be dispensed through organizations whose workers receive salaries for putting applicants through processes often denominated "red tape." How much justification there may be for this feeling I prefer to leave to others to say. We cannot discuss here how far social work has advanced from the salvage stage, and social workers toward a professional status.

All of these factors combine to keep the average fraternalist whose order maintains a welfare program, other than insurance, from a realization that the processes of dealing with men and women, boys and girls, which may be used by social agencies are also processes which might greatly benefit the men and women of his order and their children when they receive special help by virtue of that membership. He feels that his order is doing a different thing entirely, though he may call it welfare work, and so is content to stand outside the general group of welfare interests. Is it not significant to find these groups uninfluenced by the experience of our fields, which are theirs also? Their preconceptions may be difficult to get past, yet experience shows that they can be. The consequence is that the fraternal orders handicap themselves by learning of improved policies and methods of social work only with the general dissemination of such knowledge among the public, and long after it might have been available to them. Thus they have never assumed a position of leadership in social service, with the exception of mutual insurance, although it is fairly clear that they do in time adopt the improvements which regular social work may develop after these have come into general use.

With the service clubs the matter is somewhat different, and even more difficult to consider in general terms. One is aware of many judgments from many sources. Some of these clubs have rules or policies which either prohibit or at least discourage them from adopting any welfare program for a period longer than a year. Presumably this is for the purpose of avoiding long commitments hastily entered into, or to enable the clubs to take up projects that are of pressing importance while they are before the public. Furthermore, the

membership of these clubs is on a less ambitious plan and does not contemplate the extensive provision for the members' life which characterizes the fraternal orders. The character of their meetings also makes for a touch and go approach to social welfare projects. Sentiment and persuasive speakers play their parts. A different speaker each week on a different topic inevitably scatters rather than concentrates interest. Naturally, too, they face a succession of persons who have special undertakings to which they would like to commit the clubs, and caution is necessary in self defense. For all of these reasons and others that might be adduced the short term project is generally favored among them, again with exceptions. With the growth in their number comes the additional factor of competition for commendable undertakings, sometimes for undertakings that will reflect credit easily and directly on the club. The cynical are sometimes inclined to think that "credit" is one of the chief motives. For myself I am unable to mark the limits of pure altruism either in these clubs, the fraternal orders, or the more regular social work organizations. Certainly the agency that is jealous of its credit is not unknown among us, while one has a distinct impression that this is a potent factor with boards of directors. Is it not a manifestation of the same sense of possession which characterizes the attitude of fraternal orders which have orphanages, for example, or that is met among the supporters of the agencies and institutions we are more accustomed to? When this sense seems to us to be making for a broad and acceptable program we are apt to call it loyalty, but to label it proprietary interest (with derogatory implications) when it stands in the way of solid progress. One chief difference lies perhaps in the vocal pleasure the clubs extract from their self satisfaction.

To support my opening statement that these bodies are becoming increasingly conscious of social work, which implies a possible strengthening of all welfare work, no matter by whom performed, I would like to present certain concrete illustrations. They are for the most part exceptions to the conventional trends, but progress in human affairs is generally made by exceptions. Perhaps the most outstanding example is the International Society for Crippled Children, made up of state societies whose membership is drawn largely from the service clubs, especially Rotary. This began with the interest of certain Rotary clubs in Ohio. The crippled child appeals to the imagination. It would not have been hard to have erected hospitals after the manner of the Shriners. But with the help of certain social workers a broader plan was conceived, embracing improved legislation, the knitting together of county health services and the educational system in the interest of the crippled children of the state. When the time came for the legislature to make the necessary modifications in the law, Rotary's support insured the passage of the acts prepared. Rotarians personally assisted in searching out hidden children to bring them to treatment centers; they made contacts for the social workers and nurses with families

deeply apprehensive of these services; they visited the children in hospitals and helped the families to understand why the follow up treatment had to be carried out. Ohio Rotary was convinced that the work was so worth while that International Rotary was asked to make it a Rotary activity, but this was refused since boys' work had already been adopted. Whether in consequence of this or not I am not informed, but within a few years all sorts and kinds of service clubs and some fraternal organizations were cooperating in the International Society for Crippled Children. Doubtless you know of its work, uneven as yet, but well directed and frequently in the hands of trained personnel. It is a striking alliance of business groups, the medical profession, and social work brought about by open minded leadership in each of the three. Some of the achievement undoubtedly comes from the technical character of the service which lay enthusiasts could support, but in which they could have no part. Thus it escapes dilution of quality.

Probably everyone in the United States knows something about Mooseheart, how it was conceived by the present Secretary of Labor as an objective for the then small and struggling Loyal Order of Moose and advertised to the world as the unique and only thing of the kind. This group was never entirely isolated from occasional contacts with social work, though the plan on which they embarked could hardly be commended as good social planning. In some quarters it came to be looked on as a grotesque idea better adapted to the securing of new members for the order than to providing for the widows and children of deceased members of the order, which does not insure its members. Mooseheart is intended to provide for them during their years of dependence, concentrating the benefits of the order in that period. A very large institution houses children from all parts of the country; some mothers are employed. But within recent years a most significant development has been taking place. Local committees are being organized to assist Mooseheart to aid such families without bringing them to the institution at all. Such committees are often made up of the judge of the juvenile court, which frequently administers mothers' aid, the secretary of the local family welfare society, representatives of the local Moose lodge, and perhaps two or three other citizens. Such committees undertake to work out local plans for families eligible for Mooseheart assistance who for various reasons should not be sent to the institution. Families thus provided for locally receive aid from Mooseheart to complete a living budget which usually includes mothers' aid grants and similar local assistance. In time these committees will doubtless assume still larger responsibilities for the investigation of all cases from the local lodges, as the local agent of Mooseheart. That this is a serious undertaking is evidenced by a list of over 600 family welfare agencies, children's agencies, juvenile courts, Red Cross chapters, and other organizations that had within a year or so rendered service in this connection in the United States and Canada. Over 700 children are being

provided for in their own homes and communities through this service, and a family welfare executive is now on the Mooseheart staff devoting full time to it. The significance of this for the fraternal orders and for social work is that of the example of a powerful convert.

In Minneapolis the service clubs are closely in touch with social work. At an opportune moment, when several clubs were casting about for programs, a conference was arranged which led to a decision to fit the club programs in with the organized social work of the community. This has been adhered to with general satisfaction: to the clubs, which are thus assured that their efforts are really counting, and to the agencies, which are no longer harassed by fly-by-night eruptions into their programs, but are actively assisted when assistance is needed. For example, Big Brother work, which so often and disappointingly allures these clubs, is, in Minneapolis, directed by the principal children's case work agency of the city, which supplies several trained supervisors for the 150 picked men who are Big Brothers.

The American Legion, young and often clumsy in its self consciousness, stands out in the field of fraternal welfare because of the character of its program for the children of veterans of the World War. It is also the one fraternal group that does not limit its service only to members. Its program is conceived in terms of cooperation with local social agencies wherever there are such, and is nationally in the hands of a staff of trained social workers. It is the most significant break with the long tradition of isolation that has handicapped such bodies. Progress has been steady in the development of a careful service, though the membership is by no means evenly educated in all parts of the country as yet, and in many places the sentimentalist and the popularity seeker are active. Yet on the whole it is actively working to repair and hold together families of veterans; it is calling on local resources and teaching the local legionnaires to turn to their social agencies for service. Most important of all, it is educating a great body of young men to think and act in welfare matters with open minds and modern methods. The children it aids are for the most part kept with their own mothers; some are in boarding homes, some in foster homes for adoption (a very few), some are in institutions near their homes, and a few are in two small Legion billets whose populations are decreasing. Need one enlarge on the significance of this practical education in community social work?

Kiwanis in the states of Colorado and Wyoming engaged the Child Welfare League of America to study the welfare situation and recommend lines of action along which to make effective its interest in the underprivileged child. In Colorado it is acting in concert with twelve similar clubs and fraternal organizations as well as social work organizations which it brought together in a league the purpose of which is the advancement of the welfare of children. In

Wyoming it was active in organizing the first state conference of social work, and is working for juvenile laws and courts. A correspondent writes:

Kiwanis has contributed liberally to the expenses of the league, and other donations have been received from member luncheon clubs and fraternal organizations. The work we have done has been accomplished not so much by the donations of money received but the extraordinary generosity the representatives of these organizations have displayed in common with men from the educational institutions, social service work, and so on, in giving their time to service on numerous committees. The list of legal, business, social, educational, and philanthropic services rendered by busy men and women at their own expense is so great that I do not feel warranted in mentioning any names.

The Government Agencies Committee prepared an exhaustive report of the institutions, both public and private, that were operating under Colorado statutes.

The Research Committee confined itself largely to the statutes in Colorado affecting children, and made a notable comparison of them with those of over twenty states, with recommendations to the legislative committee.

I stated that these illustrations are from outstanding exceptions to the usual programs. They are, of course, not the only ones. One order, at least, has health clinics for its members in connection with its local units; many lunch clubs are solidly back of scouting, recreation, vocational education, and a multitude of projects in a serious way year after year. Nevertheless, I would not care to seem to give the impression that these are more than indications of the way in which such bodies are moving. For every program carefully conceived and conscious of its community function one could cite many untouched by present day conceptions.

In general, it is apparent that the leaders of these groups are reacting to organized social work as they understand it, either by approval or disapproval. They are not, as a rule, ignorant that there is such a thing in existence, though they may be profoundly ignorant of the very first principles of the organizations whose names they know. They tend to do what they have seen social agencies doing. In Pennsylvania there are more children's institutions than in any other state; there, too, the Odd Fellows and the Masons each have more of their institutions than in any other state. Or the effect of their glimpse of social work may lead them to do as nearly the opposite as possible. The point is that the influence is there.

These groups differ from others only by virtue of their special characteristics. Some of these I have attempted to outline. They are ordinary human nature acting in certain patterns. There are all sorts of men and motives in their make up. There are leaders of various sorts, vociferous, quiet, out in front, behind the scenes. They are, like other groups, best reached through the leaders who know them and whom they know. Sometimes they will play and sometimes they won't. But they are idealists in a degree, who are volunteering to do something for welfare. As we said before, they may be jealous of credit for their organizations. Because they are new in the field, they may be naïvely

outsoken about it. It would be a mistake to react to their enthusiasm alone. They are evolving genuine consciousness of community welfare, and, where fairly met, are as ready as any other groups to lend their strength.

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## THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SERVICE INSTRUMENT

### LIMITATIONS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SERVICE INSTRUMENT

*Charles M. Perry, Professor of Philosophy, University of Oklahoma, Norman*

Centralization of power and function is the drift of the times. We see it in business, in journalism, in government, and in a wide range of social institutions. Though it receives an occasional setback at the hands of the Supreme Court or the state legislatures, it is accepted by us almost universally as being a good in itself. We go ahead blithely and uncritically.

This tendency has two types of origins: the social and the philosophical. The social origins may be classified as general and specific. The general origin is that set of conditions which is responsible for the industrial revolution. Of these we need to note very little here. Suffice it to say that they embrace writing, invention of power machinery, communication, transportation, and the like. Of the specific social origins some of the most significant are the following: first, a prevalent reaction from the individualism with which we as a people started out; second, the taking of government not merely as a negative, repressive factor in social reform, but as a source of initiative; and, finally, during the great war, the necessity in nearly all fields of group activity. Among the philosophical origins may be cited the theory of the monistic, organic state coming down to us from Rousseau through Hegel and Bosanquet, or possibly reaching us through the Prussian state or the English liberal doctrine of the kind that fought the legal side of the Oxford movement.

This tendency to integrate society, to make all institutions but parts of one great social whole, shows itself preeminently in the public schools. It appears, first, in the numerous interferences with the school program by the community or by its self appointed sponsors; secondly, it comes up in the expansion of the functions of the school to provide better conditions under which to teach the children; and third, it crops out in the assumption on the part of the schools of a responsibility for training future citizens.

Now, it must be admitted that there are certain advantages in these extensions of the functions of the schools. It is much easier, for instance, to raise money for such purposes by taxation than by private subscription. Furthermore, the schools provide easy means of administration, since the over-



head is in a measure often already taken care of, the children are actually present, and the homes are accessible through the children. It must also be admitted that the extensions of school functions to secure better conditions for teaching the children, such as the employment of visiting teachers, school nurses, school physicians, the maintaining of departments for the correction of speech defects, and the establishing of attendance departments with trained social workers in charge, are so obviously justified by their concrete results as to put them beyond the pale of theoretical criticism. There are dangers, however, in certain types of extension of school activities which it is the purpose of this address to consider.

Among the new departures which may run counter to sound public policy are the following: the effort to train children in character and citizenship; the pretension in some states to a monopoly of the wider educational situation; the expanding of school activities to include the whole life of the community; the attempt in some states to direct opinion through legislative control of the curriculum; and the rather sickly yielding on the part of school authorities to the interference of civic and supposedly patriotic bodies.

The proposal that the public schools become the sponsors of the future through citizenship courses and character training seems obviously right. The schools reach the vast majority of the children of the country, and it is consequently relatively easy to put the job over. Furthermore, the population is becoming secularized; the churches are supposed to be failing to perform their ancient function of training the conscience. Why should not this new, virile arm of the state assume the task? On the face of it the proposition looks good, and undoubtedly, however critical of it we become, it will be adopted in large measure. But let us see what disadvantages it involves.

Citizenship and character training appears in at least three forms: as socialization, as formal teaching, and as military training. These I shall take up in order. The movement for the socialization of schools has its beginnings in the instrumentalist psychology and logic which began to be applied to teaching thirty or thirty-five years ago. Since that time numerous books and magazine articles have appeared taking socialization as an ultimate end, until it has become one of the cornerstones of educational principles. It seems like a revelation from heaven. There are to be no more solitary and isolated pupils; there is to be no lack of adaptation to social environment. There are to be, we fear, if it is carried to its logical conclusion, no complexes and no inhibitions. We thus hear of socialized arithmetic in which the teacher gets together as the basis of his course a great number of practical applications of arithmetic in the banks and groceries and lumberyards of his community. To teach geography we go out into the community to find out just what geography is being used by the baker and the candlestick maker and then come back and teach it to the pupils. To teach history we go out and find how much and what kind of his-

tory is currently being used by Henry Ford and other captains of industry. Evidently educational authorities have been so impressed with the freakishness and uselessness of the subjective life that they have decided to be done with it once and for all and go over completely to the obvious and objective. One writer who is thoroughly sympathetic with these undertakings says, "In an ideally socialized educational program, the interests of the home, the church, the community, the press, the club, the library, the movie, and any and all agencies that influence the growth of boys and girls should be brought together and centered upon the pupil for the best continuity and evolution of the traditional heritage of American socialized democracy." And he goes on to say that it should be the aim of the social program, as it comes to its fuller realization, "to cultivate a public sentiment for social progress, to develop consciousness of unity and purpose, to develop community consciousness, to develop a consciousness of solidarity." This is socialization with a vengeance. We accordingly find that the first attack on the citizenship problem is through socialization. Pupils are to learn citizenship, not by analyzing the civic life of past generations or by reasoning upon abstract principles, but by actually going out into the community and doing what needs to be done. Thus we learn that in the Chicago schools in 1923, 619,279 children participated in cleaning up the city, and 3,293,462 in 1925. We also find schools organizing themselves as make-believe cities with mayors and other officials to look after playgrounds and other spheres of activity of the pupils. We find, further, a wide range of social clubs, boys' councils, girls' councils, scholarship societies, and the like in the schools, having for their end the control and balance of character. The movement to organize school banks may be said to have as one of its purposes the training of citizens.

The first objection to this plan of teaching civics is that it fosters objective activity at the expense of privacy. We are in danger of creating a generation of busybodies who keep busy but cannot tell why they are busy. The Boy Scouts are used, for instance, to hang cards on the voters' doors just before an election, urging them to go to the polls; and possibly they turn out as a result of it. But neither the Boy Scouts nor their leaders nor the voters know why they should go to the polls. The only thing accomplished is that the Boy Scouts and their leaders and the voters have kept busy. We are creating a boosting type of citizens—theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die. They may make good committeemen, but when it comes to a pinch they will lack originality and sympathy. They may be good Romans, ready to die in the cinders of Pompeii, but they would cut a sorry figure in the coterie of Socrates. They will make good tools in the hands of designing leaders or factions. A second objection to this policy of socializing is that it puts all of our eggs in one basket. We are discouraging private conviction and integrating the individual so completely in the social whole that there will be no resources of op-

position when undesirable measures are started by the majority. This is the severest penalty of emphasizing activity at the expense of principles.

Direct teaching of morals and citizenship has its advantages. So far as it covers facts and principles of government and politics it is to be encouraged. New schools of citizenship are growing up in the higher institutions which will give students information regarding different types of political and governmental activities, and there is no reason why the public schools should not likewise convey to their pupils a knowledge of the facts and principles of such activities. Imparting information is well within the proper functions of the schools. Where the rub comes is when the schools take advantage of their practical monopoly of the educational situation to teach political attitudes.

This they have done in imparting an exaggerated nationalism. In 1916 Morse Stephens wrote:

Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history, and not only the descendants of the men who made the Revolution, but every newly arrived immigrant child imbibes hatred of the Great Britain of today from the patriotic ceremonies of the public school.

Scott, in his *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, says, "There is one great force militating against that enlightened public opinion which constitutes the most effective guaranty of peace. That force is education. While statesmen and jurists at Geneva are exercising the highest intelligence and the most careful diplomacy in smoothing the path to a new world order, writers of textbooks and teachers of reading, history, geography, and civics are training the world's children to nationalistic narrowness, to nationalistic prejudices.

The effort at teaching morals in the public schools does not seem more reassuring. I ran across a code the other day from which I quote the following: "Boys and girls who are good Americans try to become strong and useful, worthy of their nation, that our country may become ever greater and better. Therefore, they obey the laws of right living which the best Americans have always obeyed." This code places the spirit of nationality above everything else. It paves the way for a secular nationalism that might well compare with the supreme nationalism of the German Empire before the war.

Military training is but another effort to exalt bodily activity over thinking. It places privacy at a discount. Its spirit is exemplified in the attitude of military officers regarding foreign relations, labor problems, and principles of ethics. Its principle is, Do what you are told and ask no questions. Do not speculate regarding the general ground of ethics, go ahead and act. Make no fine distinctions about the other fellow's rights. To think is to be a molly-coddle, a slacker, and a bolshevik. It is needless to say that this is but another instance of putting the stress on the objective, active life at the expense of privacy and conscience.

Of a piece with this effort to control the whole social process of the future goes an effort to monopolize the existing educational situation. The Oregon law, which was fortunately declared unconstitutional, was, as all know, intend-

ed to wipe out private schools and use the power of the state to force all pupils to attend the public schools. That the law was set aside was no fault of the state of Oregon, and, as we all know, Oregon was not the only state to contemplate such action. And though the plan will never be tried again, it denotes an ambition, or possibly only an inner dialectic, which might be carried out sometime in other ways. More pertinent perhaps is the tendency of some schools to monopolize the social and cultural activities of their immediate communities. This is seen in many of the arguments for consolidated rural schools, in movements like the Hesperia movement, and in the policy of making school buildings social centers. Though certain great advantages may be gained thereby, it is to be noted that other institutions would thereby be potentially allowed to atrophy. And when these others shall have atrophied, when church and grange shall have withered, what institutions will provide an adequate opposition in a crisis?

There is still another factor that needs to be taken into account in considering the extension of public school functions. The condition in question is the likelihood of legislative interference in fixing the curriculum to carry out the purposes of interested parties. For this, of course, the schools are not to be blamed; it is a danger inherent in their position as public agencies. In 1903 there were 564 cases of the prescription of studies by legislatures; in 1923 there were 926 such efforts to determine the character and content of teaching. It is well known that the teaching of German was legislated out during the great war, and the attempts to rule the teaching of evolution out of the schools is a matter of recent history. Of a similar trend is the enactment of free textbook laws, with their endless possibilities of manipulating public opinion through non-professional textbook commissions and through riders upon the bills. Though the schools play the rôle of victim here, the existence of such facts indicates that in increasing the activities of the public schools we are trusting our interests to a vast machine which may be easily manipulated.

We come now to that extension of the functions of the school for which civic clubs, patriotic organizations, and the like are responsible. I do not suppose that there is anyone present who has not known civic clubs to give themselves a hilarious time by entertaining the local high school football team at a luncheon, or allowing the school children the privilege of selling tickets to a home talent vaudeville show at which members of the club perform. At the instance of civic clubs the children are often allowed to run the town for a day or two, under the mistaken impression that such performances constitute training in citizenship. In judging such things we must remember that clever mechanical toys are never made for the benefit of the children, but to amuse the grown-ups. We also note in this connection the tendency of so-called "patriotic organizations" to give gratuitous talks to the schools and to set essay contests. We notice that the American Legion Essay Contest for 1924 had the

subject "Why Communism Is a Menace to Americanism." Communism may be antithetical to American institutions, but the proposal of any question in such partisan form illustrates how schools may be made the instruments of propaganda. These encroachments on the school program show the school not so much a menace as a victim. But the movement toward tying school and community together by glad-hand bonds has its danger. It, too, is putting all of our eggs in one basket, so that when mob consciousness becomes rampant, we shall have no reserves of opposition.

Although these criticisms may seem to be somewhat theoretical, I think that they are significant. Our democratic theory has tended to introduce the completely organic society. A completely socialized society seems to people to be an end in itself. The church comes out of its aloofness and hobnobs with the people until the best minister is the best jollier. Competitive businesses find common interests, and are all good fellows together. Social agencies with different scopes try to devise community programs. If it happens that someone holds out from the general jollification, advertisers and propagandists try to seduce him. Primary reform has so nearly destroyed the representative system that candidate and electorate can slap each other on the back and modify their views until they become harmonious. Our whole social order is tending to become one intercommunicating system wherein everything affects everything else. In the midst of this situation, schools, moved by the craze for socialization, bring their vast organization, their support in popular opinion, and their hold upon taxation to make the system still more interconnected and organic. If the schools were always right this might not be so bad; but what if they are occasionally wrong, and what if they are likely to get into the control of dangerous parties? Then if we have made the schools responsible for the initiation of all social reform we shall certainly be in a bad way. We shall need outside sources of vision which we may have destroyed or allowed to perish. Through the instrumentality of the schools we may be building up an absolute mob consciousness.

The move to use the schools as social service agencies should be subject to definite limitations. As we have admitted, there are certain functions so close to the work of teaching, like correction of speech defects, etc., that they fall naturally within the scope of the schools; but even these should be backed up by strong professional associations that shall hold them to their proper scope and save them from political manipulation. And when it comes to extensions of social service functions of the schools beyond the field before conceded, each proposition should be judged on its own merits in the light of social policy. That a movement is in the direction of socialization or that the work can be done by the schools efficiently is not enough.

But it may well be asked, What sort of general policy shall we follow? It may be that the tendency toward centralization cannot be checked. In that

case it may be that we shall have to embrace the historical fatalism of Spengler and get what satisfaction we can as we go. But few of us are ever for long in a mood to surrender. What then shall we do? Would not this be wise? Be in no great haste to transfer social service functions to the public schools. Do not be too anxious to get rid of the burden of raising money by subscription. Keep private agencies alive and active. Keep private national associations as conservators of professional standards and as sources of able technical criticism. Retain church schools even at the expense of lower technical efficiency. Support the home missionary organizations of the churches and try to see to it that they are staffed by able men and women. Rejoice that there are still fundamentalists in all their fundamental cussedness. Refrain from accepting centralizing and secularizing measures at their face value. Try to live in the strung-together universe of William James, where there is a finer sense of privacy, a freer play of individuality, less back-slapping, and more conscience.

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#### RESPONSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SERVICE INSTRUMENT

*William F. Kennedy, Director of Platoon Schools, Pittsburgh*

In an endeavor to prove that the public school is an effective instrument for training children for social service, we will present our discussion under the following propositions: first, the public school was conceived and established for the purpose of advancing social interests and safeguarding desirable citizenship; second, the traditional school organization and program failed to realize the purpose of the proponents of free schools; third, the changing conditions of American life require a changed school organization and program in order to solve the problems imposed; fourth, the platoon type of school organization recognizes the responsibility, and provides opportunities for efficient training in social service; fifth, the public school is the only organization that can effectively train for social service.

*The vision of the fathers of the public school.*—The framers of the Massachusetts school laws of 1642 and 1647 based all school legislation on the principle that the child is to be educated, not to advance his personal interests, but because the state will suffer if he is not educated. Even in that early period of our country's history there was a definite recognition of the responsibility resting upon the school for community, state, and national welfare.

With the later development of manufacturing centers, with the rapid growth of towns and cities, with an accompanying increase of vice, vagrancy, and pauperism, with a growing conviction of the inadequacy of the rate and pauper schools to meet the situation, and with an awakened consciousness of the need of more definite and extended educational provisions, governors of



states, national statesmen, philanthropists, and men of vision, through the public press and personal letters, on public platforms, in state assemblies, in no uncertain tones, began to recommend and plead for the establishment of tax supported schools free to all the children of the commonwealths. The chief argument of these men was that a system of public schools was essential to the practice of moral, civic, and domestic duties. Thus spoke Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, John Jay, Rush, DeWitt Clinton, Webster, and many other men of national repute. These men prepared the ground for the fertile seed planted by Thaddeus Stevens, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, who were instrumental largely in the organization of free schools in their respective commonwealths. In the year 1832, Abraham Lincoln, a candidate for the office of representative in the general assembly of the state of Illinois said, "For my part, I desire to see the time when education, and by its means morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry, shall become more general than at present."

Without question the pioneer builders of our educational system recognized the need of training the children of the nation in those social and civic virtues and duties so essential to a happy, prosperous, and worthy people. They considered that the proper instrument for this training would be a system of free and tax supported schools. That the common school failed to recognize its responsibility, and provided but little effective education in social service is our next consideration, and we therefore bring to your attention our second proposition, namely, the traditional school organization and program failed to realize the purpose of the proponents of free schools.

*Failure of traditional schools.*—The champions of the public school system were not schoolmasters. They were not concerned with the details of subjects, methods of teaching, or school procedure. They visioned what a school system should do for children, but the means of attaining that purpose were not evident to them. They realized that the tools for attaining their aim were the subjects of the curriculum, but they were unable to show how these tool subjects should be used in developing those attitudes and habits so essential in training for social service, so necessary in preparation for good citizenship, and so important in worthy character development.

The task of carrying out the school program devolved on the schoolmasters, who, in their own educational processes and in their preparation for the business of teaching, were compelled to wrestle with an attempted mastery of the three R's, and, in order to prove their fitness, had to undergo an examination in these fundamentals. These experiences overemphasized the drill processes and gave a setting for school procedure. Hence the ends of education were lost in an effort to develop the tools of education. The ultimate purpose of the school was forgotten. School teachers became drillmasters. The mind was made a storehouse for dry, unimportant, and unrelated facts. Emphasis was placed on the educational fodder, not on the children. The girls and boys,

the future citizens, were little considered. Conformity to pattern was the rule. Individual differences in children were given no consideration.

Nor did the organization and program of the traditional school make provision for social preparation and service. In a one-teacher, one-unit, one-room type of organization the teacher had neither the ability, preparation, time, nor energy to administer her program so as to provide for social behavior and service. Given some forty pupils to instruct in some twelve to sixteen subjects, with the added responsibility of providing for varying degrees of mental ability, for covering the assigned subject matter, and for maintaining a grade achievement that would promote at least 90 per cent of her pupils, what opportunity had this teacher for the consideration of social problems and for providing experiences and practices that would furnish desirable social behavior and social character?

The inability of the traditional school program to provide measures for meeting the problem of social adjustment depended on certain conditions peculiar to American life centering around the closing years of the past century. This brings us to a consideration of our third proposition, which is that the changing conditions of American life require a changed school program in order to meet the problems imposed.

*A changed school program necessary.*—Our America at the close of the nineteenth century was not the America of Lincoln's day. During the two score years that intervened great changes in manner of living, in character of population, in business methods, and along every line of thought and activity had come. A large proportion of the people was enjoying advantages coming from industry, science, and invention of which the Great Emancipator had no conception. During these years the farms and villages of the commonwealths were occupied by American families, each of generous size. Much of the educational development and preparatory life experience of the children were received, not in school, but through the varied activities in home and community. The necessity of doing chores, of being engaged in the manifold activities of the farm, garden, home—caring for animals, helping neighbors—gave them constant practice in initiative, self control, a sense of responsibility, and an ability to adapt themselves to the many varied conditions and problems that arose. The social atmosphere of church, Sabbath school, literary societies, and spelling and singing schools—all contributed to an ability for meeting, mingling, and working with others. As a result of the changed conditions brought about through the industrial revolution, through advantages and comforts offered by living in towns, and on account of the many disadvantages experienced in the country, a great exodus from farms and villages began. Farms were abandoned, villages were deserted, and cities grew rapidly in population. This condition imposed an added responsibility on the school. The experiences and training formerly gained in the home and community must be attempted by

town and city schools. The head in terms of intellect must continue to be trained; the heart in terms of an appreciation of our social inheritances and a consideration of the well being of others must be nourished; the hands in terms of a necessity for sense training and an appreciation of the labor of others must be trained to some useful employment; and the health fundamental to an economic management of school, home, and community must be guarded. In an endeavor to meet the educational needs imposed by the changing conditions of American society, educators came to a realization of the great principle that the head, heart, hand, and health of children cannot be well developed separately, but that there is a correlation and a coordination of all which demands that a sane educational program should provide a fine interrelation and balance in a consideration of each and all.

In attempting to find a solution for these problems, leaders in educational philosophy began to realize the inadequacy of the traditional organization. Every effort to enrich its program imposed an added burden on the teacher and overloaded the curriculum. A solution however, came through the genius and vision of one man, who, during the first decade of the present century, worked out an organization and a program that is revolutionizing educational procedure throughout America. All honor to William Wirt, of Gary, Indiana, for his great contribution to the cause of education! We are now prepared to consider our fourth proposition, namely, that the platoon type of school organization recognizes the responsibility and provides the opportunities for effective training in social service.

*The platoon organization gives opportunities for social training.*—A graduate student asked John Dewey the reason for the failure of our schools to train in and for effective citizenship. The answer came with no hesitation: "How can schools working under an autocratic type of organization train for participation in a democratic form of government?"

Let us then consider how the platoon, or work—study—play, plan provides for social practice and behavior. The platoon organization determines that one-half of a child's school day, week, and year is spent in special activities conducted by teachers possessing the necessary talent and preparation for doing a particular work in rooms whose equipment, arrangement, and atmosphere are charged with the message of the activity involved. Let us particularize in terms of the enrichment of child life coming from the three contributors involved, namely, the activity, the teacher, and the room environment and atmosphere.

A group of sixth-grade pupils comes to the nature study or science room. Immediately on entering a nature message is impressed on the children's minds through the nature material on every hand: growing plants, living birds and animals, specimens of insects, and products of every country. Here the pupils are taught conservation of soil and forests, the value and care of trees, what

animals and insects to avoid and destroy, and what to protect. Here also is taught by a teacher, in tune with her subject, the dependence of one nation upon other nations, what we owe to other countries in terms of our necessities, comforts, and luxuries. Had the children of past generations been provided with such instruction, the people of the Lower Mississippi Valley might have been spared the destructive floods that have been laying waste the plantations and towns of seven states, bringing destitution and death to hundreds of thousands of people. At the same time our hills and mountains would be yielding valuable revenue and still be covered with a garment of beauty.

This same group of pupils passes to an art room in which equipment, art decorations, and teaching power all radiate an art atmosphere. Here the eye and hand are trained in appreciation and representation. Here are discussed periods and types of architecture, room arrangement, and adornment. In an art room recently visited the Persian rug, together with the labor and history involved, was the subject for class discussion before any attempt was made to picture a rug on art paper. An art teacher in a platoon school located in a midwestern city said that fully seven-eighths of the time and work of her classes was spent in making posters, book covers, stencil designs, and equipment for other activities of the school. What a fine illustration of social participation and service. This condition is representative of what is the case in all platoon schools in which there is proper organization and supervision.

Let us pass with our class group to the music room. Here we find a musical atmosphere, teaching power, and musical interests and culture. Here is developed not only skill in reading and the interpretation of music, but also a definite program for instruction in the violin, piano, and other instruments necessary to a well organized orchestra. Chorus participation involving the union of contiguous groups, glee clubs, orchestra practice, and music appreciation have a definite place in the music program of the school. A chief objective of this department is that the appreciation of what is worth while in music will be carried into the community, will function in a desire for better music records, in a want for better radio productions, a more general participation in the musical activities of the community, and a distaste for the present popular jazz and dance music that offend the cultured ear.

The oral expression department makes a distinct appeal to the pupils of every group. Here, under the guise of dramatics, the children enact episodes from historical and literary sources that have a moving power on the imagination. Here poise and personality are developed. Here self is forgotten in the impersonation of other characters, and it is here that the strong and weak elements in the personalities of the men and women portrayed are brought out most definitely by the pupils themselves, and in their approval of the good, and in their condemnation of the bad, their decision strengthens the resolution to follow the one and avoid the other. This makes for fine character development.

An added contribution, most worth while and useful in their social relations, comes from a constant need of speech. This generates an ability in good English, an easy approach to people, and an ability for taking an effective part in all social gatherings.

The community room to which the children of the primary grades go gives a definite training in social service. Here the children work in groups of three or more. The boys build houses, make furniture, automobiles, aeroplanes and all sorts of games and toys; the girls make dolls, doll clothes, quilts, pillows, and aprons, knit scarves and sweaters, and supply the beds, bureaus, and cradles made by the boys with the necessary furnishings. Here we find groups playing at checkers, working with saw, hammer, plane, and other tools, and, at times, a group is seen sitting around a library table made by the boys, reading books illustrative of the activity involved. In this room, freed from traditional furniture and equipped with small tables, chairs, work benches, and other necessary furniture, pupils are engaged in a score of self chosen activities under the guidance of a teacher. In this activity children plan together, work together, and acquire a habit of social behavior most valuable in their relations with others, both in school and community.

The health program of a platoon school provides valuable training for social service. Under specially qualified teachers who meet their groups every day are developed those physical qualities of speed, strength, skill, and endurance that spell health efficiency. In pleasureable games and activities are fostered the social and moral qualities of obedience, sportsmanship, loyalty, cooperation, and respect for law. In a physical education environment are developed the personal qualities of courage, perseverance, self control, initiative, and joyousness that foster fine leadership. Here in contests with interschool and other school groups is a department that contributes every minute of its operation to fine and definite training in those social values so essential to home, municipal, state, and national life.

It would be unwise to pass by the platoon school library without pointing out its contribution to the social training of children. Here is a specially equipped room possessing the furnishings and atmosphere of a public library; here children are trained in the proper care and use of books; here are found reference and source materials that enrich every other activity of the school; here is developed a habit for a careful and an intelligent discrimination in book values. From the school library go interesting books into the homes of those not able to purchase them. They contribute pleasure and profit to the adult members of the family, and provide for a better use of leisure time. The school library is an activity that cements together the interests of all school departments and helps close the gap, once so wide, between school and home.

It is almost unnecessary to recite the social contributions of the platoon auditorium. This department is the social center of the school. Its socializing

influences are rich, pleasurable, and definite. Here we have a life situation in which two or more groups come together either as contributors to the program or as auditors. The activities must possess both the element of pleasure and the element of intellectual and social profit. To the auditorium are brought the worth while achievements of both home room and special activities for demonstration, thus making the department a clearing house for all other departments. In order that there be an invitation to contribute to a program, every group will strive to make the desired contribution as fine as possible. This generates a friendly rivalry between the two sections of the auditorium, the one works for achievement and appreciation, the other gives appreciation but accepts the implied challenge to do as well or better. The auditorium offers opportunities for fine social training: first, to the individual child. For the sake of his class a boy is often moved to render a service he would not perform for himself. Second, to his school. On account of frequent intergroup activities a pupil's interests extend beyond his class group and center on school interests. For the welfare and good name of his school he is willing to render any service within his power. Third, to the community. Because the pupils of the school receive the contributions coming from the community in terms of talks by bankers, practical business men, health and welfare workers, physicians, etc., there comes into a boy's or girl's consciousness a vision of what he may be able to do for community welfare.

We would like to present the opportunities of the home room activities for training in social service, but time forbids. It is sufficient to say that since these activities are limited in number, through motivation, project, and socialized instruction, a teacher may use the drill subjects as tools for exploration in the fields of history, geography, and language in such manner that the tools of education may be kept bright and keen and the field of social science may be investigated with pleasure and profit to her pupils.

The general movement and extra-curricular activities make a rich contribution to social training. The movement of pupils from room to room without a controlled supervision of teachers generates a self control, a self respect, and a feeling of responsibility on the part of pupils. The use of pupils as traffic officers during the congested passing time, before the opening of school, and on the streets near the building relieves the teachers, trains pupils to obey the rules and signals made by their fellows, and provides fine social practice for those serving. The school banking, with all the details of individual deposits, records, checking, and computing percentages, is under the management of the pupils of the highest grade, and this service contributes valuable social training for the pupils thus engaged. In the inspection of halls, toilets, and grounds and the care of rooms by rotating squads, in ways too numerous to mention, pupils have a voice in the affairs and management of the school, and because they share in its operation they strive to maintain its fine reputation. Thus the



ends of education—appreciation of what is good, self control, self respect, self reliance, responsibility for a duty performed, loyalty, reverence, poise, personality—all are woven into the warp and woof of character formation.

We are compelled to hasten on to a consideration of our fifth proposition which is that the public school is the only organization that can effectively train for social service. Other organizations are contributing fine service in social training, but their interests are too varied, their period of contact with pupils is too limited, and their scope of operations too narrow.

*The public school is the proper instrument for social service training.*—The public school system of education is not only the most important business in America, it is also the biggest business in our country. With almost nine billion dollars invested in school buildings, grounds, equipment and new undertakings, with a force of one million teachers employed for the educational growth of approximately forty million children and with one million other employees working for children's interests, and with a yearly budget of over two billion dollars to pay for the services of these employees, an enterprise of such scope and magnitude surely should be able to accomplish the highest purpose of public education. Dr. Cubberley, of Leland Stanford University, well defines this purpose in the following words:

Child welfare and social welfare were perceived to be closely intertwined. To train children for and to introduce them into membership in the little community of which they form a part, and from this to extend their sense of membership outward to the life of the state, the nation, and to world civilization, to awaken guiding moral impulses; to fill them with the spirit of service; and to train them for effective self-direction—these become the great tasks of the modern school.

That the public school fulfils its mission, a reorganization of traditional programs, a new type and procedure of supervision, an added preparation for teachers, and a distinct knowledge of the high aim of public education must be realized in every school and by every person engaged in the field of educational endeavor.

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## THE STATISTICAL SIDE OF SOCIAL WORK

### THE NECESSITY OF FACTUAL BASES IN PLANNING COMMUNITY WORK

*Rowland Haynes, Secretary of the University of Chicago, Chicago*

*Definition of the question.*—To say that we need factual bases in planning community work is a platitude. The real questions are: What facts do we need? and What is community work?

There are several different types of community work, that is, social work with a communitywide outlook. First, there is the type consisting of citywide

programs on a single problem. Illustrations of this type are citywide programs to combat tuberculosis, or to prevent cancer, or to find homes for children, or to develop Boy or Girl Scout activities. A second type are programs on a citywide basis for a single group of problems. Illustrations of this type are citywide health programs, citywide child care programs involving not only home finding but also institutional care and specialized services for backward or sickly children, citywide recreation programs, involving activities for groups of different ages. Finally, we have community work in the sense of a social work program for an entire city. Such a program involves social service supported not only by philanthropy, but also by taxes or by methods of self support, as in the case of fraternal organizations. It is in the last sense of community work that we are considering the subject of this paper. The question then becomes: What facts are needed in planning a communitywide social service program?

The demand for an answer to this question is growing more acute. Councils of social agencies for joint planning of social work, community funds for the joint financing of community programs have been born in the last fifteen years. They have led to seeing more clearly community plans or lack of community plans. This has developed the demand to know what facts are required for real planning of communitywide programs of social service.

*Statistical or accounting facts.*—If we come to examine facts which we obviously lack and need we shall find that the first type of these facts might be called accounting or statistical facts. They may be cost accounting facts or they may be service accounting facts. Thus we need to know the quantity of work which is now actually being done by agencies of different kinds. We need to know what we do not know in most communities, namely, the number of cases handled in relief and family service fields, the number of cases in which a child care problem is involved. We also need to know the number of cases actually handled by hospitals and dispensaries under various auspices. We need to know the amount of service which is rendered by recreation agencies of various kinds. We need to know the extent of cases in the delinquency field.

Paralleling the facts on quantity of work, we need, of course, the related facts as to the cost of each of these types of work, and eventually, for complete and accurate accounting, we need to know the unit cost of each kind of work. Real progress has been made in getting these accounting or statistical facts. The collection has been confined to a very restricted number of communities, but an encouraging beginning has been made.

More fundamental and much more difficult to obtain are accounting or statistical facts relative to the real need for this type of work, since the amount of work done is not always identical to the amount of work needed. How many families in our communities are hovering around the subsistence line? What is the amount of sickness in the community requiring hospital or dispensary care? In how many homes is provision for normal play activities impossible because

of lack of space? In only a few communities are we beginning to get an idea of the extent of these needs.

These statistical and accounting facts on work now done and now needed are first things. But no community program based only on present conditions is a real program. We must look also to the future and predict or at least surmise future needs and discover if possible preventive measures. This leads us to require not merely statistical facts but also causal facts.

*Causal facts.*—Causal facts required in community planning are of two kinds: first, facts based on the characteristics of population in the community; second, facts based on the environmental conditions influencing the population characteristics. The first may be called immediate causes; the second may be called deeper lying or more nearly ultimate causes. Let us illustrate each kind.

First, then, to illustrate causes which are based on the characteristics of population in a given community, we need to know the age distribution of the population. Thus, a community with a large number of unmarried men employed in its industrial plants will have much fewer problems of child care and old age destitution than a city where the proportion of older family groups is larger. The need of venereal clinics and athletic fields will be correspondingly larger. Again, we need to know the distribution of different sized individual incomes as related to the cost of living in that particular community. These facts determine largely the amount of need of relief work and the type of hospital care which can be given on a self support basis. Yet again we need to know the number of mentally subnormal persons in the population, because this type affects to an unusual degree the requirements for social service of various kinds. These are not all the factors which we need to know, but they are illustrations of the type of causal facts, based on population characteristics which are required.

But what makes communities different? What produces these different population characteristics? We need to know, then, causal facts based not only on population characteristics, but on environmental conditions producing these population characteristics. There are many factors producing these population characteristics. Let us take one illustration in the field of the causes of community income and its distribution. Some cities are rich and other cities are poor because of economic conditions inherent in their location. For instance, Chicago is a wealthy city and probably always will be a wealthy city, for three reasons. The first reason goes back hundreds of thousands of years to the time when the frost and the sun and the rain and the snow were breaking up the mineral cliffs of Middle Canada and carrying the iron ore into the deposit now known as the Mesaba Range. This, with the fact that the glaciers gouged out the Great Lakes, making a water route for the iron to meet the coal of southern Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, is a fundamental cause of Chicago's com-

munity income. The second factor is what the modern geographer likes to call the influence of the *hinterland* on the city. Thus the products of great fertile plains of the Middle West have to find their way through Chicago to the densely populated industrial centers in the east. The third factor comes from the condition which places Chicago at the western gateway of the only water level route to the seaboard, so that through it flows the stream of agricultural products going east and the manufactured products coming west. These are illustrations of causal facts influencing the sources and size of community income in a single city. But because Chicago is wealthy it of course does not mean that everyone in Chicago is well to do. Distribution of community income to individuals is also based on causal facts. Thus we need to know the types of industries in the community, because this influences the kind of laborers demanded. We need to know the amount of the labor supply and the influence of labor unions. We need to know the political factors controlling tax legislation. Behind population characteristics, then, are causes in the fields of geography, economics, sociology, and politics. In order to plan communitywide social work we need to know both the accounting and statistical facts indicated in earlier paragraphs of this paper, as well as the facts of characteristics of population, and we also need to know the facts contributed by the social sciences. The need to know causal relations has led us to the need of science.

*What can the social sciences give?*—The practical question now comes, whether the social sciences can really give us help in the practical problems of planning community work. Because we need help from the social sciences is not necessarily a reason for believing that we shall get it. Have we any reason for believing that the social sciences can help us in the practical task of community planning as the natural sciences are helping us in the practical problems of life?

Let us take an illustration from medicine. We know that in the last hundred years medical science has extended the normal expectancy of life for a person at birth from thirty-five years to over fifty-eight years. This is what people mean when they say that science has added over twenty years to human life. If we parallel this curve of the upward expectancy of human life with the history of scientific discovery in the last hundred years, we shall find that each step up has been preceded by some scientific discovery. Pasteur's work in germ propagation of disease is, of course, epoch-making in causing improvement in the chance of living. In this practical task we find, then, that the natural sciences, through medicine, have helped us. We also find that the natural sciences, through medicine, are helping us plan the larger strategy of attack on diseases of mature life. While the expectancy of life at birth has gone up tremendously in the last century, expectancy of life at the age of fifty is little greater now than it was in the time of the Egyptians. Medical science is now turning its attention to the degenerative diseases which cause death after fifty.

Science, then, in the practical business of keeping alive has been of great service. Can we expect that social science can help us equally in social problems of planning community work? Frankly, I think that we cannot now expect any such degree of help from the social sciences, for the simple reason that the social sciences have not yet really developed fully into the true scientific stage.

If we study the history of medicine or of any natural science we will find that its development has gone through four periods: first has been the period of magic, second has been the period of authority, third has been the period of empiricism, that is, the period of facts not yet related in scientific laws; lastly, we have had the period of true science with laws formulated exactly, which can be tested and verified.

Social science has gone through three stages very much like the first three stages in the history of medicine. First, we have had the philosophical period, corresponding to the period of magic in medicine. This was the time when a philosophical theory like that in Plato's *Republic* determined what was alleged to be science. Second, we have had a pseudo-scientific period. Herbert Spencer was an illustration of this period in social science. He took a fact of natural science, namely, that simple forms have evolved into more complex forms, and applied it to human society. Some of the results of this comparison of the development of society to the development of physical organisms are extremely illuminating, but basically they depended on an assumption that the analogy of society to an organism is correct. The social sciences have now come with varying degrees of progress into the empirical stage of assembling facts. Economics and psychology are perhaps farthest along, and politics and sociology making hopeful progress. These studies are approaching the dawn of the real scientific method.

We cannot, then, expect from the social sciences what the art of living can expect from medicine, nor what medicine can expect from physics in, for instance, applications of the principle of the electrical nature of matter, and from biochemistry in the field of blood composition and nutrition. While we frankly cannot yet expect in practical community planning as much help from the social sciences as medicine is receiving from the preclinical sciences, yet we can be sure that for the causal facts needed in our community planning we must depend on the social sciences when they become really scientific. The youngster of social science may not yet be strong enough to carry our burden, but of one thing we can be certain: that when it is carried, that youngster will help.

Because of the fact that social sciences are in the adolescent or empirical stage of development, it is then important that our community studies be allied to social science, so that the facts which we need in the conduct of practical community planning may be obtained in the forms which are useful both by social workers and by those who are trying to build up the social sciences.

While it is time to get over fooling ourselves that we can expect more from the social sciences than they can now give, that we are getting backgrounds from the social sciences when these backgrounds are not yet painted, it is also time that we realize the true promise of the alliance of social work and social science. It is rather a reason for social workers and students of the social sciences to get together patiently and intelligently so that they may both pool their facts. Social workers will get practical help in checking social investigation by the development of social science, and will contribute to social science the facts of our practical investigations.

Summarizing, we find that the planning of social work for a community requires accounting or statistical facts and also causal facts; that the demand for causal facts leads to the need of the social sciences; that the social sciences, backward on account of the extreme complexity of their subject matter, can contribute only partially to the immediate solution by the assembling of causal facts. Hence the practical solution is for social workers interested in community planning to analyze definitely what they need to know, and for students of social science to give us a clear and understandable analysis of what they are seeking and why. We must, by companionship of patient joint conferences of social workers and students of social science, secure facts now needed and build up the social sciences which will be a tool of our future success. This gives us promise "for the time that now is and hope for that which is to come."

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### NON-STATISTICAL STUDIES OF SOCIAL WORK

*Stuart A. Queen, Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence*

A pretty young German woman sat on the floor playing with two small children. It was her afternoon "off" and every precious minute of the time was for her two babies in the Life Line Orphans Home.

The two-year-old boy was investigating the mechanism of a new ten cent toy; the three-year-old girl was licking the inside of a paper sack which had contained the weekly treat of cookies and candy. Mrs. Coe, the matron, paused at the door with a visitor. The young woman stood up and smiled shyly.

"How do you think the babies are looking?" asked the matron.

"Oh, Mrs. Coe," and the shyness was all gone now, "They look wonderful, I think they've grown a pound since Sunday. And here's this week's money. Is it all right?" She handed Mrs. Coe a dollar and three dimes.

"It's all right if you've kept something for yourself."

"Yes ma'am, I have. I paid \$2 on my shoes, paid my board, and put away the dollar like you said to. I spent 40 cents for the children's toys and candy and 15 cents for Pettie."

Mrs. Coe and the visitor passed on down the hall. "She was a war bride," the matron said, "married an American soldier while our boys were in the Rhine country. He abandoned her after she had been in America about six months. She couldn't go back to Ger-



many; she had no friends in the United States. I really don't know what might have become of her if someone hadn't been able to take care of the babies and give her a chance to go to work."<sup>1</sup>

This moving little tale undoubtedly helped attract attention to a certain community chest campaign three years ago. But its educational value is limited by the things it takes for granted rather than by the curiosity it arouses. It is a mere anecdote, not an interpretation.

In days gone by social work has been presented to the public chiefly by means of such sob stories. But more recently there has been an effort to utilize the statistical method of study and interpretation. Fortunately it is possible even now to reduce certain aspects of social problems and social work to quantitative measurement and presentation, as has been ably set forth by Dr. Haynes. But there are many phases of social work which must, for the present at least, be examined by techniques other than statistical. Moreover, it is unlikely that the time will ever come when statistics alone, including graphs, will be effective in molding public opinion. The fundamental limitation of statistical method in this field has been well stated by W. I. Thomas.

. . . Taken in themselves statistics are nothing more than symptoms of unknown causal processes. A social institution can be understood and modified only if we do not limit ourselves to the study of its formal organization but analyze the way in which it appears in the personal experience of various members of the group and follow the influence which it has on their lives. And an individual can be understood only if we do not limit ourselves to a cross-section of his life as revealed by a given act, a court record or a confession, or to the determination of what type of life organization *exists*, but determine the means by which a certain life-organization is *developed*.<sup>2</sup>

Let us illustrate this by reference to a rather good statistical study of *Aged Clients of Boston Social Agencies*. In the chapter on "Personal Characteristics" we are told that in this group of aged clients women appeared three times as often as men; that half of all these old folks were widowed; that most of them were of North-European descent; that three-fourths were in poor health, a third suffering from nervous diseases, etc. In the chapter on "Causes of Old Age Dependency" it is stated that those who were economically independent "differed but slightly from those in the larger dependent group in external characteristics such as age, former economic status, occupations, and present physical condition." Attention was called to "(1) the small proportion of poverty in old age tracable to personal shortcomings; (2) the larger proportion due to insufficient wages; and (3) the still larger proportion of poverty which can be traced to universal risks."

Now there is not the slightest question about the usefulness of these statistical data in calling attention to factors likely to be of significance in under-

<sup>1</sup> *Kansas City Kansan*, November 9, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, p. 244.

standing the maladjustments of the aged. But the thing which statistics cannot do is to show how such factors as sex, race, physical and mental health, wage scales, and economic catastrophes enter into the process through which old persons are cut off from the usual and acceptable relations to other people. To get at the situation as a whole and the process of which it is a cross-section requires a very different technique. Statistics may indeed demonstrate that among the aged whose scheme of life has broken down there is a disproportionate number with malignant tumors, or alcoholic psychoses, or blindness, or broken arches, or ingrown toe nails. But statistics can hardly explain why it is that some persons with these specific physical or mental characteristics find themselves in unusual difficulties while others with the same handicaps appear to be very well adjusted.

Thomas has given us a clue, not only to the answer to this particular problem, but also to a method of study that is needed as a supplement to statistics. In his study of the Polish peasants he found old people with given personal characteristics having a great deal of trouble in America, while others very much like them were getting along quite well in Poland. He interprets this apparent anomaly in terms of cultural differences, especially those pertaining to primary group life. In Poland he found the old man or old woman of whatever physical or mental condition, short of extreme decrepitude, still participating in the economic and social activities of home and village. He had a place in the family and in the community; he was still of some use and thereby retained his self respect. Even though he could no longer carry his full share of the load, he was not regarded as a dependent; he was a member of the group, on the whole contributing according to his ability and receiving according to his need. This was not a matter of charity nor an unexpected burden upon the younger folk. It was simply taken for granted; it was part of the folkways. Now in America these primary groups are often broken up. The immigrant is forced to participate in two divergent and conflicting cultural worlds. The old rules of the game no longer have their hold on the individual, and no new rules may yet have taken their place. It is more nearly a case of every fellow for himself, with no little uncertainty as to just what is to the individual's advantage. Hence when he comes down to old age he is likely to be stranded, isolated, forced to meet his problems alone, yet unable to meet them alone. The same old man who might have lived very happily in a Polish village may fret through a very wretched existence in an American city.

The point to all this is not to initiate a debate concerning the aged, but to demonstrate the necessity of supplementing statistical data with certain other materials derived from culture analysis and human ecology. Neither is this meant to imply that cultural and ecological studies may be made without any use of statistical technique. It is simply an illustration of the fact that, in the present stage of social science, at least, statistics cannot tell the whole

story. With the hope of making the point a little clearer, let us compare two studies of family disorganization: Patterson's statistical study of data from the Philadelphia Court of Domestic Relations and Mowrer's analysis of Chicago cases. Patterson worked out ratios of deserters to the marriageable population, compared marriage and desertion rates, sought to correlate desertion with race, nationality, religion, types of marriage ceremony, housing condition, rent paid, occupations of husbands and wives, incomes, age, length of married life, length of acquaintance before marriage, number of children, etc. In some instances he found positive correlations; in others, negative; in some instances there was no apparent correlation at all. But he himself expressed the limitations of his statistical study when he said, "Different people give different reactions to similar sets of conditions. Why will one man desert his wife, but another will not under similar sets of circumstances?" (p. 305).

Mowrer, after examining the available statistical data concerning desertion and divorce, decided to undertake the intensive analysis of individual cases to see whether he could identify types of situations and processes. He was not concerned with finding out that given factors appear with a certain frequency, or even that certain combinations constitute any particular percentage of all cases. His immediate objective was, first, to see what sorts of problem situations were associated with the break up of families and whether they were capable of classification. Second, he wanted to see what sequences of events led up to these problem situations and whether these sequences were capable of classification. Note that this technique is different both from that of statistics and from that of mere narration. In analyzing individual cases and in comparing many cases Mowrer was interested not merely in specific events, but in types of events; not merely in specific sequences, but in types of sequences. His goal was not numerical summation, but the discovery of processes. Mowrer's analysis of situations involving marital conflict led him to the following tentative classification of family tensions: first, incompatibility in response, including "sex incompatibility"; second, economic individualization, including vocational separation and economic independence; third, cultural differentiation, including diversity of racial, religious, and educational background; fourth, individuation of life patterns, including diversity of personal philosophies and interests. His study of the process of disorganization in one family led to the following symbolic representation: loss of respect; pattern-of-life tension; cultural tension; economic tension; further loss of respect; religious tension; sex tension. Whatever may be decided as to the validity of Mowrer's specific findings in individual cases, he has undoubtedly opened up a valuable method of study.

So far we have been discussing studies of social problems rather than of social work, but the principles already set forth seem equally applicable to the analysis of what social workers are doing. The evolution of methods of analyz-

ing social work processes seems to have passed through something like the following stages: first, casual observation and description of the most obvious activities; second, crude enumerations; third, genuine statistics; fourth, detailed description of activities; fifth, analysis of processes. This should not be regarded as constituting a continuous chronological series, though it is likely that the first, second, and third will appear in the order indicated, as will the first, fourth, and fifth.

The excerpt with which this paper opened is an example of the first. It very commonly involves boasting about "self sacrifice" of the workers and "wonderful" results they are achieving. It undertakes no objective basis of comparison. It is on the level of the "yellow journal" with its "human interest" story.

A second stage is that of crude enumerations. The following excerpt from the monthly report of a certain associated charities rendered less than five years ago will indicate what is meant. "Total number of calls, 542; recurrent registered cases, 62; new registered, 20; information given, 88; adjustments made, 97; advice given, 107; investigations, office and home, 71; employment found, 5; clothing: garments, 44; groceries: families, 41; doctor's services, 6; rents paid, 17; gas bill, 1; rocker, 1." Just a few comments will suffice to show the meaninglessness of such figures as these. "Calls" included all visits by clients, volunteers, newspaper reporters, and others to the office, as well as all visits of members of the staff to clients, sources of information or co-operation, other offices, etc. "Recurrent registered cases" were enumerated on the basis that if a client came in for relief five times during the month, that counted as five recurrences. In talking with the staff it was very difficult to find out just what were the units of measuring "information," "advice," and "adjustments." Probably such figures as those reported by this associated charities should not even be dignified by the name statistics.

A third stage is that of genuine statistical work, represented by the *Study of Volume and Cost of Social Work* made by the American Association for Community Organization. The total and per capita income of social agencies classified by sources and types of agencies through which expended is certainly an important body of information, but it is very far from telling the whole story. For example, the statistics do not afford any means of discovering why Buffalo spent \$1.48 per capita for the care of dependent and neglected children, while Des Moines spent only 38 cents for the same purpose. The figures do not tell us whether Buffalo was four times as well prepared to care for needy children, or whether Buffalo had four times as many children in need of social service as did Des Moines, or whether neither was true. Moreover, the statistics do not supply the reasons either for the relative number of unadjusted children in the two cities or for the quantity and quality of service available. Finally, such data as these make no pretense of describing the

"processes" through which people in various sorts of trouble are helped to make new adjustments. Thus it should be plain that, while the statistical technique is a very great asset in understanding and depicting the social work of a community, it has very serious limitations unless correlated with other methods.

What we have described as the fourth stage in the evolution of methods of studying social work processes is in many respects more like the first than like the second and third. It is non-statistical, but it involves much more careful and detailed description of activities than is represented by the ordinary "human interest" story. Miss Breckinridge's collection of forty-four case records under the title *Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community*, the twenty-four stories of institutional work in Drucker and Hexter's *Children Astray*, the narrative of settlement and nursing activities in Miss Wald's *The House on Henry Street* are examples of this sort of work. On the borderland between description and analysis are De Schweinitz' *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*, Miss Cannon's *Social Work in Hospitals*, Deacon's *Disasters*. Others might disagree as to the precise classification of these and other studies of various kinds of social work, but at least we may safely say that they all represent a movement toward more accurate description, analysis, and interpretation.

But there have been some non-statistical studies of social work which are definitely analytical in character. Surely Miss Richmond's two books belong in this category; likewise Mrs. Sheffield's *The Social Case History* and Dr. Van Waters' analysis of the juvenile court presented in *Youth in Conflict*. In the field of group work, neighborhood and community organization, non-statistical studies lack the minuteness of detail which is appearing more and more in analyses of case work. However, Steiner's *Community Organization* is at least a move in the direction of more exact determination of what goes on in this field. Also the "Americanization Studies" made under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation are a noteworthy contribution to this development.

Perhaps some of the most valuable analyses of social work processes are being made by the American Association of Social Workers, both through its national office and in the local chapters. For example, the Chicago chapter has a subcommittee which has been studying very intimately just what happens when a social worker interviews a client. The Kansas City chapter has a group working at precisely the same problem, though by a somewhat different method. A number of the chapters are trying to find out what are the processes which go on in the course of group work. As yet I have not seen any of their results, and hence am not justified in discussing them, except in terms of the hope that they will be objective, comprehensive, and accurate. Perhaps the methods employed by Thrasher in his study of boys' gangs may be used to

advantage in the keeping and interpreting of the histories of groups which are directed by social workers.

It is interesting and significant that the first difficulty encountered by students of social work processes is the lack of a simple, exact, and commonly understood set of terms. So long as the purpose of description was merely to stir the emotions of a possible giver accuracy was not essential. Different terms were applied to the same activity, and the same term was often applied to quite different activities. Under these circumstances, of course, comparison was out of the question. Hence social work publicity was necessarily anecdotal rather than interpretative. But more and more the public wants to hear, not just some moving little tale about the Widow Jones or Orphan Annie; it wants to know what types of problems are demanding attention and what types of service are being rendered. That is, people want to know that what they are getting is really a sample and not an exception (essentially a statistical problem). But they also want the sample presented in such shape that they can tell what it really is and compare it with other samples. This requires an accurate and objective statement, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, which can be offered only if one has first made a painstaking analysis, accurate in detail and objective in point of view. This does not mean that accounts of social work should be dry and uninteresting, but simply that the brilliancy of a narrative can never take the place of the accuracy and representative character of facts.

Hence there appears to be need of three kinds of skill in preparing social work publicity: first, accuracy in making and recording observations of problem situations and social work processes; second, ingenuity in classifying situations and processes so that it may be possible to deal with types rather than merely with individual events; third, facility in giving the public vivid pictures (in words, tables, or photographs) based on accurate and typical data. These three kinds of skill are equally necessary whether one's particular technique be statistical or non-statistical. Only when they are developed will it be possible to educate the public instead of merely selling social work. In conclusion I shall quote two brief paragraphs from the 1926 report of the Wichita Community Chest.

Americans believe miracles are possible with advertising. Social agencies have striven for advertising. They receive it. Figures have been made on the number of inches of newspaper space given to welfare work. It would be conservative to say that on the basis of these figures, in the year 1926 social agencies have received 15,000 inches of newspaper space in the two dailies, which is worth over \$30,000.00. There have been innumerable speeches, endless personal conversations, attractive posters, direct mail advertising, personal contacts with the work. Everything from motion pictures to street corner oratory has been promoted, but the goal of an understanding public has not yet been achieved.

It is next to impossible to teach any individual anything by advertising. One is only able to prejudice him in favor or against a given thing. Advertising will promote good will, but it is something more than good will that social work needs. It needs an intelli-



gent point of view, which can be based alone upon facts. The facts of social problems are too broad and complicated to advertise. They can only be studied and discussed. It is serious study and discussion that social work must promote to achieve its end of creating new and better standards of citizenship.<sup>3</sup>

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## SMALL CITY AND RURAL ASPECTS IN COMMUNITY GIVING

### ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WORK IN CITIES OF 50,000 AND LESS

*H. A. Waldkoenig, Director, Welfare Fund, Battle Creek*

I am glad to discuss the subject assigned, because after working in both large and small cities, I am prepared to say that it is more difficult to do social work in the latter.

Social work in large cities is older and usually more firmly established. Persons of proved leadership can be attracted for executive positions; workers enjoy the association of numerous fellow workers and educational opportunities for advancement in their chosen work; adequate staffs and finances are more readily obtained. In contrast, in the smaller communities social work is newer and less developed; there is less appreciation of and demand for trained workers; one must be an executive and worker combined and possess all-around qualifications, several of which would be considered specialties in large cities. The worker must plan and execute his own work, often without supervision. Specialized agencies are not as numerous, so that greater resourcefulness is required in serving clients. From an organization and administrative viewpoint, the smaller the city the more difficult the problem.

It is significant that more attention is being given to the organization of social work in the smaller communities. The program of this Conference indicates that trend. As the director of a community chest in a city of about 45,000, I have been actively interested in this subject for the past few years, constantly striving to give the community a well rounded social service program consistent with its needs and resources, and to raise the standards of work and workers to conform with the standards as promulgated by the organizations' respective nationals. These endeavors are not accomplished without opposition, and one must be prepared to be a martyr if necessary.

Just how much social work a small community can afford, or rather how much the public is willing to support, I shall endeavor to ascertain by an examination of the services rendered in cities of less than 50,000. The term "social work" usually includes voluntary and tax supported organizations and institutions dealing with individuals in the field of dependency, delinquency,

<sup>3</sup> The Wichita Community Chest, Inc., *Annual Report*, 1926.

health, and character building. Sometimes coordination is added as a fifth field.

Practically every American community makes provision for care of its destitute, this group being a legal charge on the tax rates. In addition, this group may be cared for by one or more privately supported agencies, such as family service societies, home service divisions and Red Cross chapters, and denominational groups caring for their own members. In recent years coordinated effort has resulted in some division of work between these agencies for mutual benefit. Occasionally religious organizations, such as the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America, have been persuaded either to discontinue entirely their family service work, or limit it to their own membership in communities where other organizations better equipped to do this work are in existence. Institutional care for the aged destitute is given in either private or county homes. Working arrangements have been made between family service societies and public officials whereby cases requiring long-time service and little or no relief are assumed by the family society and others turned over to the public authorities. Notwithstanding the advent of community chests, private organizations continue, and rightly so, to exercise discretion in the selection of cases for treatment. It is practically useless for private organizations to "serve" and help families who have required assistance over long periods of time where cooperation necessary for constructive case work is lacking. The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work lists family societies in 146 cities having a population between 25,000 and 50,000. Of these, 80 are accredited members and 36 are not accredited. In addition, I counted 59 cities with population between 25,000 and 50,000 without family societies.

Further analysis shows 425 cities with population between 10,000 and 25,000. Of this number 24 were accredited members of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, 31 listed but not accredited, and 370 not listed. It is safe to assume that this work is performed by public authorities in the majority of these 370 cities. In some communities the task of caring for the destitute is delegated to the private society which spends public funds. This method works very successfully in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and merits the consideration of smaller communities contemplating establishing or organizing family societies.

In children's work it is not possible to tabulate the number of cities having agencies functioning in this field. Agencies doing child placing may be a part of a state organization, as in Massachusetts and Michigan; or affiliated with a state charities aid association, as in New York and Pennsylvania; while in some places children's bureaus are organized in family service societies. Few cities with population of less than 50,000 support child caring institutions, normal children being placed in foster or boarding homes, while the state provides institutional care for defectives. Day nurseries are in operation in 24 cities

under 50,000, according to the National Federation of Day Nurseries. Mothers' pensions are granted in many cities situated in states which have made provision for the granting of such pensions, but the administration frequently is not uniform in counties within the same state.

In the health field, medical services in the home are provided in many cities through the county or city departments, or through family societies, or a combination of both. Medical clinics, where established, are mostly in city health departments or private hospitals, but not many cities provide these facilities. Clinics for the examination of persons for contagious and venereal diseases are more numerous. In some communities the state contributes to the support of the latter clinics. In communities where tuberculosis societies have been established the clinics are usually held under their auspices, the city, county, or medical society furnishing the medical services. Facilities for mental examinations are limited almost entirely to children and are held in connection with the schools. The state hospitals for the insane in Michigan are sending their staff members out through the state, and clinics are now being held in many small cities. Visiting nurse associations, as such, are established in few cities, the work being carried on in connection with family service societies or by the city health department. The National Organization for Public Health Nursing reports this work carried on by public departments in most communities. Many smaller communities are receiving countywide Red Cross nursing service. The American Hospital Association reports accredited hospitals in 103 of 175 cities with population between 25,000 and 50,000, and 128 of the 425 cities between 10,000 and 25,000. In some cities payment for hospital service for indigents is met by the city or county, and by establishing adequate rates for pay patients the hospitals are self supporting.

The handling of destitute transients or "homeless," is not very well organized or uniform in most small cities. The success of handling this group depends largely on the cooperation of the police department, as the average individual will help these people when requested. Religious organizations, like the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America, handle both men and women of this group in many cities. Family societies and the Travelers' Aid also do this work. Facilities for lodging the homeless range from the police station to separate institutions for this purpose.

In the field of protective work in cities of less than 50,000 the National Probation Association reports that 132 cities between 25,000 and 50,000 have paid probation officers, and 452 cities under 25,000 have such officers. In the small cities many are part time. Women's divisions have been established in police departments of 23 cities between 25,000 and 50,000. Family and children's society workers frequently serve as probation officers in smaller communities. Compulsory school attendance laws are in force in most states, and these officers do some protective work.

The character building or recreational agencies play a very important part in the organization of social work in small communities. A hasty examination seems to indicate that proportionately a large percentage of boys and girls are enrolled in the activities of these organizations in the smaller than in the larger cities. Being sponsored by strong national organizations probably accounts for most cities having Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations, Boy Scouts and either Camp Fire Girl or Girl Scout organizations or both. The Boy Scouts report organizations in 145 cities between 25,000 and 50,000; the Young Men's Christian Association in 145 cities; Girl Scouts in 101 cities; and Camp Fire Girls in 93 cities. The Playground and Recreation Association of America in the April, 1927, number of the *Playground* reports recreation associations in 66 cities between 25,000 and 50,000, and in 179 cities less than 25,000. No associations were reported in 109 cities between 25,000 and 50,000, and none in 246 cities of less than 25,000.

The American Association for Community Organization recently directed a questionnaire regarding social service exchanges to 90 cities between 30,000 and 50,000. Exchanges were reported in 28, no exchange in 12, and 50 did not reply. Only six reported the exchange in the "chest" office. In federated cities the social service exchange or central registration bureau should be part of the federation administration, because, first, there is a tendency for contributors to report cases needing service to the organization to which they pledge, and second, agencies should clear through the federation office rather than with another member agency.

Community chests, welfare funds, or some form of joint finance are in operation in 76 cities with populations between 25,000 and 50,000. No chests are reported in 99 cities of the same size. Of 425 cities between 10,000 and 25,000, 73 report community chests. I wonder in how many of these cities chests were formed at the instance of the social agencies? Since the chest movement has become popular, there has been a tendency for civic and business groups in communities to take the initiative in the formation of financial federations, when frequently the public or the social agencies are not ready for a federation. Chests so formed frequently lack adequate social service leadership, which in turn may result in budgets in excess of the giving habits of the community, and not infrequently results in the budgeting of participating agencies inconsistent with the service each renders to the community. Chests so organized do little toward social planning in the community.

I doubt the advisability of establishing a chest in any community unless the community is prepared and willing to pay a salary adequate to attract the right type of person as director, who either has had adequate training in social work or is willing and able to learn. Small cities are inclined to rely on part time workers or volunteers. Neither are successful over a long period of time. The interest of volunteers eventually lags, especially when the same persons

are used year after year; and few persons who can be obtained on a part time basis are sufficiently expert in several fields to give satisfactory service in each.

While it is admitted that the community chest method is a marked advance over the old competitive method of supporting social work, yet the pooling of the budget is of little value unless it leads to a better understanding of the problems of the community as a whole and the marshaling of the community's resources for their treatment. The desired cooperation and coordination will be accomplished if a well trained executive is secured to make a thorough analysis of the community's resources. In fact, one of the chief functions of a chest executive, either in large or small cities, is to make or devise ways and means of making continuous studies of the community's social service work, and plan to meet existing social service needs.

A few communities are fortunate enough to secure executives whose experience and training are such as to fit them particularly to study constantly and evaluate community needs. When such a person is available it is good business to employ him on a year-round basis. In the long run it is cheaper for a community to employ such a person, who can more than save his salary in several ways. As secretary of the budget committee he is in a position to exert a conscious effort on the community's program; his handling of campaign plans and organization will eliminate the expenses of the professional campaigner, or save approximately one-half of the campaign costs of the volunteers; his year-round publicity will strengthen the organization's position in the community and assist materially in the collection of pledges; his follow up of past due pledges should alone meet the expenses of the central office. His services as consultant to the workers of participating agencies will improve the morale of the workers, and his position in the community will impress the public with the seriousness and purpose of his calling.

Such federation secretaries are in the small minority in cities of less than 50,000. They are naturally attracted to larger communities by better opportunities for service and salary. The American Association for Community Organization is attempting to attract persons trained in social work to its field, relying on short summer courses or an apprenticeship in a larger federation for their acquiring the necessary information regarding administration. Unfortunately most communities make their placements without consulting the association, as a result of which it must devote its efforts to training on the job. The offering of a survey course on the field of social work in conjunction with the course on administration in the summer school of the American Association for Community Organization is an effort of the association to meet this unsatisfactory situation.

The federation secretary is expected to act as consultant in social work for his board of directors. To do so successfully he should have a good background from study of the social sciences, some training in family case work,

and preferably knowledge and training in specialized fields, such as children's work, medical social work, recreation, etc. Much of this knowledge can be acquired by attendance at summer school sessions, and since community chests are more and more demanding that the executives and workers of member agencies whose training is below the standards set by their respective national associations take the necessary steps to qualify, by attendance at schools or work in other agencies, it would seem reasonable to expect similar action of federation secretaries. With such a foundation one would be in a position to keep up with the latest developments in social service work. This can be done by reading the latest pamphlets, magazines, and books in the field, attending conferences, and visiting other communities which have successfully met a particular problem in which the community is interested. The former is necessary; the latter, expedient.

From my observation of chests operating in small cities which I have visited or with which I have corresponded, I have the impression that there is some correlation between lack of adequate training in social work of the chest secretary, lack of proper community planning which is reflected in the participating agency budgets, lack of adequate publicity, and campaign goal failures. All are essential to the successful operation of a welfare federation.

These statements seem to be substantiated by an analysis by the American Association for Community Organization of 132 community chest campaigns held in the fall of 1926, which revealed that 86 of these cities fell short of their published goal, and only 46 succeeded. Forty-one of the eighty-six cities that failed to achieve their goal were short ten per cent or more. Another analysis by the American Association for Community Organization shows that 64 cities under 50,000 population who held campaigns between September, 1926, and February, 1927, raised \$75,000 less for 1927, notwithstanding that the majority of these cities have been using the chest plan for several years. Of the 64 cities, 37 raised less than for the previous year. The situation warrants serious thought.

Contributors to budgets support social work because they sympathize with, though few fully understand, our aims. The public has a right to expect of a welfare federation: first, responsible management; second, economy in raising funds; third, efficient year-round administration; fourth, good social service work; and fifth, immunity from numerous solicitations. The community chest guarantees the first three, and likewise should be prepared to guarantee the fourth. The fifth is usually misunderstood and confused with funds for capital expenditures.

The budget is an effective instrument of control, and properly used it is an aid to community planning. In the very important business of fixing budgets, before any are considered, some person who has a good picture of the social service work of the community, can appraise social work standards and val-



ues, and can estimate the community's giving habit should set a total figure which the budget should not exceed. After determining how much social work the public will support, apportionment among the agencies can then be considered. Increases should first be given to agencies to whom definite commitments have been made during the year. There is no reason why an organization whose budget in the past has been in excess of its service to the community should not be reduced, although such practice seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Unless there is someone who can evaluate the work of each agency in relation to the social service program of the community, board members of participating agencies who are politic are likely to influence the budget committee. This will result in the organizations which can muster the largest group who will "shout the longest and loudest" receiving budgets in excess of their service to the community, whereas other agencies which may be doing better work but are less insistent in their demands receive less.

The organization of new social agencies in a community is a subject which should receive consideration. There is a tendency for groups or individuals to want to start a new organization, and the problem becomes more acute when funds are left for a building but no provision is made by the donor for maintenance and operating expenses. Unless the proposed agency's work is to cover unmet needs, the project should be discouraged. The federation should survey its community's unmet social needs and endeavor to meet them in the order of their importance. On the other hand, there is a tendency in some cities for federations to finance agencies that were in existence when the federation was formed and to discourage the creation of new agencies or expansion programs of existing agencies which seek to meet growing needs. Newly organized agencies should be welcomed into the federation if their proposed work warrants their existence and fits into the community's social service program; others should be discouraged.

Good publicity is important in community organization, and is necessary for federation success. I believe federation publicity should stress the service rendered by the member agencies in the fields of family dependency, child dependency, delinquency, health and recreation, and character building rather than to advertise the work of agencies as such. Where there is a division of service between a public department and a federation agency, as in the family service field, extra effort should be directed to getting the division of work clear in the mind of the public, otherwise the private agency will be charged with the shortcomings of the public department. I further believe that more emphasis should be placed in the publicity on the work done by other than the relief agencies, as there is a misconception among the mass of small contributors to welfare federations that their contribution goes for relief.

I believe in the community chest method of financing social work. Properly administered, the community chest can occupy a strategic position in com-

munity organization. Its future depends upon the type of social workers it selects for its leadership, and the small city offers the most fertile field for further organization.

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### THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZING THE DISTINCTIVELY RURAL COMMUNITY IN COMMUNITY GIVING

*W. H. Stacy, Extension Associate Professor of Rural Organization  
Iowa State College, Ames*

May I say first that no one here regrets more than I that Dr. E. L. Morgan was called home and is therefore unable to discuss this topic. As one engaged in strictly rural work, I have come to have the highest regard for his leadership and had looked forward to receiving further instruction at this hour.

There are different views of what is rural. We have at Ames what is essentially a rural social service league, and this year are very fortunate in having the services of Miss Gertrude Vaile as executive secretary. From the standpoint of raising funds for social welfare work in a rural community, she would be able to give far more helpful suggestions than I. In that field, I would mention also the county organization work which is being developed in sixteen Iowa counties under the direction and supervision of Miss Louise Cottrell, of the State University of Iowa. In these counties, funds are raised partly from the county budget and partly by voluntary subscriptions. Work which the sixteen county social secretaries are doing is proving to be of very definite value.

However, there is another type of organization for rural social activities which I wish to present very briefly. It is an organization which is conducting a very definite program for the improvement of farm life. Almost twenty years ago President Roosevelt called together a Country Life Commission. The findings of this commission directed national thought, as never before, to the rural problems. Out of these discussions there finally came, in 1914, the Smith-Lever Act, which provided for what is known as cooperative extension work. Under the Smith-Lever Act, the United States government, through its Department of Agriculture, cooperates with state extension services in establishing county leaders in agricultural programs. They have behind them a program of organized work. In supporting this there is a definite plan for raising funds in each state. In Iowa, most of the budget is raised within the county, about half of which comes from voluntary membership fees.

In attending most of the sessions of this Conference which have considered rural social problems, I have been impressed particularly with the thought which has been presented as to handling them in a manner similar to that used in the city. It seems to me, looking at the work from the viewpoint of the farm people, that there are such distinct differences in the origin of social prob-

lems that we must recognize different goals and different methods. The city social problem originates from congestion; the farm social problem originates from isolation. Farm people need to be brought together in groups in order to learn about living together and working together; city social cases need to be separated and dealt with more as individuals. City social problems originate from unemployment, while farm social problems originate from overwork. The city social workers must deal with the unemployed individual, helping him to find a job; the farm social worker must work with farm groups, helping them to become more efficient, and, through the use of better methods, better equipment, and cooperation, to accomplish more with less work.

In the city, social problems arise from the fact that folks living as neighbors have diversity of interest and occupation, while in farm communities there is more a community of interest and uniformity of occupation. In the city situation there develops lack of neighborly interest, which must be met by individual case work; in the farm communities there is strong neighborly interest, be it good or bad. This interest can be dealt with *en masse*. The city type of individualism develops irresponsibility which leads to many of the social problems evident, particularly among the younger class; in the country the problem is often a matter of overrestraint on the part of community customs or traditions. Again it is more of a group problem in the rural district. The city problem is one which has been growing because of the tremendous haste with which city activities are promoted; the rural problem, on the other hand, is often due to the slowness and backwardness of accepting new customs and plans. Again the opposite type of treatment is required. In the city the extremes of wealth and poverty are evident, and with sources of surplus wealth to draw from, the logical plan is to organize social welfare activities; in the country, with uniformly small income and less in the way of extreme poverty or extreme wealth, such a plan of action is less practical than the organized local leadership type of positive activity.

Finally, in the cities, diversification has brought professionalism, and the hope, as well as perhaps the danger, of meeting the social problem lies in the work being professionalized; in the farm community it is not professionalism but institutionalism which offers the hope for growth and development.

The great challenge for rural social development among farm people lies in socializing the farm institutions and organizations. This can be done and is being done. It does not mean that there is no need for rural social welfare case work. That, together with public poor relief, must be provided. It may be the only way of reaching the social problem of the village. Let us hope that among farm people the emphasis may always be on the organized positive type of rural social development.

As we consider the problem of organizing the distinctly rural community in community giving, therefore, is not the first part of that problem a uniform

and complete understanding and appreciation of the rural institutions already established and their possibilities?

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### THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A COMMUNITY CHEST EXECUTIVE

*Very Rev. Charles E. Jackson, Dean, St. Mark's Pro-Cathedral, Grand Rapids*

The end of the budget is the beginning of the task!

The raising of money is such a large part of the effort of the community chest organization that the executive might very easily consider money getting as the chief responsibility for his year. The term which describes money, however, the word "means," should be so considered, and not measured as the end. In every avenue of life the true appreciation of means and ends gives one a keen insight into the essential contribution of the enterprise. Too often does one see men of wealth who have not discovered the difference between the means and the ends. When they die, someone asks, "Has he left anything?" and often times the sad answer is, "Yes, he has left all." The identification of his means with the great agencies which heal and console have not been made, and at his death, his money is still without the power of his personality.

In like manner, an executive of an overhead organization which cooperates with various social, health, and charitable organizations of the city must be very clear that he sees the end of his work in terms of usefulness and service and not in terms of money getting. Any man who can be described as a good money getter in the offices of education, religion, and philanthropy may easily reinterpret that apparent commendation as an indication of shallowness and failure to see his work in the large. Now and again one can describe people who are constantly "reducing their horizon." An executive who reduces his horizon to the problems of money raising can very quickly dwarf his leadership in the social life of a community.

An administrator must know the object of the enterprise which he seeks to direct. To describe the head of a school or college as primarily an administrator is not to appraise his leadership in the proper scale. Dr. Charles William Eliot, for forty years head of a great university, an administrator of rare capacity, was awarded a medal many years after his official retirement, and on one side of the award was the one word, "Teacher." The administrator who has gifts of leadership is essentially a teacher. A teacher is one who receives from the living teachers of his own youth the great ideals of life, reinterprets them in his own life, and passes them on to others. An administrator must be equipped with an understanding of the contribution that his predecessors have made. Otherwise he will have a short perspective and a narrow range of responsibility. It would be unfair to expect any man to lead the social agencies of any large community who has not been equipped with an understanding of the

sources in the past efforts—to help the handicapped, to inspire the discouraged, to heal the sick, to bring justice to the oppressed, and to arouse new joy and enthusiasm in helping the scattered elements of the great human family. An executive in any social agency should know the history of that particular movement of which his unit is a branch. Education in social work is a prime essential in hospital, child saving, recreational, or philanthropic work of any type. Much more certainly is that true in the qualifications of any who would be the leader of the various cooperating agencies.

A community chest executive should be large minded. This would be a result of excellent schooling and also a spirit ready to recognize the worth of other leaders. Magnanimity is an essential qualification. Pettiness, which does not recognize the delight that follows in a unity made up of diversity, fails to find a happy compensation. Any leader who desires to have all his colleagues echo his own opinions and share in his own convictions misses the opportunity of his position. Greatness always recognizes those who are like minded in their ideals but who have different conclusions. There must be no bitterness in an executive who would cooperate with others of his own profession. Like Edwin Booth, the great actor, he must say, "I shall never consider myself a gentleman until I rejoice at the triumph of my greatest rival."

Together with the aptitude to teach and with recognition of differences, there must be in the mind and heart of any executive very profound sympathy with human beings. The man who rejoices more in his machinery than he does in the individual to be helped can never expect a genuine enthusiastic following in the life of the city; but let a trained intelligence keep alert the warmth of human fellowship, and the city rejoices in giving him generous and continuous support.

Another qualification that associates itself with the work of the teacher is also associated with the administrator: the quality of patience. It is not negative, but is a positive conviction that the ideal is worth the struggle. The vision and task go hand in hand. The man who has a vision and no task growing out of it becomes a dreamer. His responsibility is too little concerned with the human elements, which may be slow and indifferent. The man who sees the task without the growth of splendid idealism and vision becomes a drudge. Treadmill, office routine will destroy the enthusiasm that alone can kindle radiant co-operation.

An administrator who would seek to be a teacher to his colleagues and to his public opinion must be a man of conviction. He should never say "Yes" and "No" at the same time. He should be unlike that witness who, in answer to the lawyer's question, "Was the door open or shut?" replied, "It was." Now and again one hears of administrators who give such equivocal answers that the visitor is not sure when he leaves the office whether his request was denied or granted. There is no reason why any man should always expect to lead a ma-

jority public opinion. A mayor of a city once observed that whenever he made an appointment he made nine enemies and one ingrate. An administrator should have courage and willingness to be in a minority. That is why he is a leader; he is expected to be at the head of the procession. He should not be so far in advance that the procession is lost and the leader isolated; but he does need to be ready to state a great ideal, to work for it, and patiently to know that some day it will be his joy to find a common acceptance of what was once his exceptional and individual ideal.

An administrator who desires to be a teacher and a sympathetic counselor needs also to know that a teacher is just a growing student. The tremendous situations in the new industrial world, in the life of great cities, in the study of modern medicine, and especially the wide range of modern psychological and biological studies must make any leader eager to have a little share in understanding these great fields. He will not only need the *Survey* as a magazine, but he will need to keep as intimately as possible in touch with the leaders in the various professions which interpret social life. The modern hospital is such an intimate part of all social practice that the more he knows of the work of doctors and nurses the more certainly is he to be a leader in public opinion.

The qualifications, then, of an executive community organization are primarily those of a citizen who would interpret the great ideals of the humane desire to help one's fellow men. The intimate association of philanthropy and religion make one know that he who would do most to establish on the earth the Kingdom of God must have a vital concern with the elements that make for neighborliness. In its simplest terms the ideal of the Kingdom of God is the consummation of neighborliness. A spirit of neighborliness in the local field and the larger ranges of the nation and the great work of the international life and interracial friendship will have love, joy, and peace as the fundamental principles upon which any community executive must build. He will rejoice in sharing with religious leaders the desire to make humankind more truly one in its obedience to the commands of the Eternal and to the demands of human fellowship.

Such a leader is not an unknown paragon, but in any community, of whatever size, he may be a fellow among all other fellows who is respected and loved by all. He is expected to have his mind clear, his heart warm, and his will determined above all else to share his ideals with men of good will. There are those who in their own experience will recall some men and women who in various cities have shown forth these various qualifications. They have known the technique of good family case work. They have understood something of the meaning of hospitalization. They have talked the professional language. They have known the significance of the budget system, and the necessity of saving every penny; but primarily they have lived in the community as a good neighbor.



I think, in my own happy experience, of a life like Robert A. Woods, of the South End House, Boston. He always had the spirit of adventure and chivalry, a modesty that was quite overwhelming to others, and a large mindedness that never failed to inspire. He made a contribution which is lasting and abiding. The titles of his two books, *Americans in Process* and *The Neighborhood in Nation Building* indicate the range of his mind and the warmth of his personality. While he was technically not a community chest executive, he showed forth in the life of the community the very attributes of character which in the newer and more contemporary social progress are demanded of those who would stand forth in the neighborhood as citizens and leaders. The end of the budget is the beginning of the task.

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### TESTS OF PROGRESS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Robert W. Kelso, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston*

In opening this subject, it is well to state the basic purpose and the general method of community organization in social welfare.

The purpose of all community efforts is to advance the common welfare by protecting society from antisocial forces, by rendering favorable forces more effective, and by developing a program of service conducive to such advancement. The purpose in the organization of community forces in the interests of the common welfare is the attainment of a maximum result in terms of remedial and preventive social work that is reasonably attainable with the equipment and other means at hand. The general method pursued in the organizing process is the drawing together of the several individual and small group units of service into a friendly cooperating group, the constant consideration of standards in principle and in method; with continuous review of the several elements of the broad program of service, seeking their logical integration in a constant interplay of functioning. What now are the tests of progress in such community organization?

The first and most obvious test relates to the coordinated program. How thoroughly and how adequately is the whole field of need covered? Look over the field of social work in practically any of our American cities, and you are likely to find serious gaps. One city lacks adequate protective service for older girls; another is deficient in the care of convalescents; a third has little or no provision for the chronic sick. Few cities provide such a service in hospitalization as the public health authorities consider adequate on a basis of morbidity data. In some places a forlorn orphanage or two holds the fort for child care. The growth of our social agencies having been fortuitous, the result is miscellany.

The second test, which has always concerned our business friends first, is

this: Are the methods followed efficient, not only in the individual elements of service coordinated, but also in the coordinating plan? One of the commonest experiences we have is that of an institution or an agency headed by a person receiving less pay than a crossing tender or a counter girl in the five-and-ten, involving a major operation in the philosophy of public welfare and a careful job in the handling of fundamental problems. Directors are thus far unwilling to pay what the social work job is worth. As the social work job is charity in their view of things, they think that the staff should serve at charity pay. As in the long run a service gets about what it pays for, the result of the low pay policy is low efficiency. We are familiar, too, with the agency that is struggling to do a heavy piece of work with nothing on hand but a deficit, compelled to pay from 10 to 30 per cent of all it secures from the public in the mere process of getting it. From the point of view of the public this is low efficiency.

When we begin to think of thoroughness and efficiency in our social program, we discover pretty soon that these qualities depend upon something still deeper. A third test is the soundness of the principles of action which lie beneath the methods used. We may think of these principles as sound in justice or in political expediency, or both. What are the sound principles of action in social service? We are not in this business merely for the pay we get out of it. We do not do it for the sake of advancing a small group or out of loyalty to a particular agency, or for the love of church or clan. We have somehow a desire to do something for mankind as a whole. We are busy with a sort of other-mindedness. One of the bigger tests of the value of community organization, then, is the soundness of the principles on which we act. It is a sound principle in the upbringing of children that the family home is the best place for the normal child. In child care it is a test of our community organization whether that principle is squarely and frankly at the bottom of what we seek to do for childhood. It is a sound principle of institutional care for the aged that the community, through gifts or through taxes—it makes no difference—should limit its service to the infirm, extending outside assistance on a case work basis to other groups. It is a test of our community organization whether we seek to live up to this principle or whether we herd aged persons into eleemosynary institutions whenever they fit the qualifications, have the money we ask, and are sufficiently genial and ambulatory to fit into the institution household. It is a principle in the treatment of mental defectives that the breeding of hereditary mental defectives should be discouraged and prevented where possible. It is a test of the value of our organization whether we follow out that philosophy or whether we put a premium on the breeding of such defective individuals by subsidies and ill advised family case work.

A vital test in the organization of community forces is the degree to which competition is disappearing and cooperation is increasing in the functional interplay of the various social enterprises. When, for instance, we see public offi-

cials unwilling to sit in with the highbrow private relief agency folk for a conference on family budgets, or find the family relief agent calling an overseer of the poor hard names because he will not increase relief to her particular case, we cannot say offhand which party is in the right; but we do know that to a degree they are both in the wrong. They should work together. When also a social agency holds aloof from a federation because it is fearful of submerging its individuality and has nothing to learn from the experience of others, we may take it for granted that sooner or later there will be mistakes made in its relationship to the rest of the field. When we find an agency preparing an appeal to the community, secretly studying its neighbors and fishing for such information as it can get from their offices about their appeals—the object being to reach the givers of the community a little bit ahead—stealing the other fellow's thunder, winning away some of his support if possible—not that they wish him less, but that they themselves desire more—we may be pretty sure that in this cutthroat competition, this benevolent damning with faint praise, we shall find a situation of constant though perhaps minute hostilities tending to disintegrate the effort rather than to knit it up into purposeful and cumulative action. How far these disaffections, these details of competition, go, only the executive in his moments of unwise confidence can tell. In functional federation this test demands thoroughgoing active interplay. Groups of agencies must be constantly considering problems. Such study groups must go farther than the two or three agencies engaged in boys' club work, in dispensary service, in child placing. They must cross section the working body so that thought can be given, and will naturally be given, to the foundation principles of service. In cooperative financing such a test demands a joint presentation of the needs and the merits of the service to the contributing public, the whole group cooperating in encouraging citizens to support it. The holding aloof by some one large agency because it thinks it stands to gain a little financially by not herding with the weaker organizations reveals a failure to meet this test. The agency that finds itself fairly easy to finance because of its human appeal cannot, in the face of these requirements, say to agencies that must appeal to reason as well as to sympathy, "We are happy enough; our financing is not a trouble to us; why should we take on your troubles and do your worrying?" There is an old saying, true in all times, "He that is not with me is against me." The agency that holds out against the field for its own selfish interest is in its heart against the field, and will not be found cooperating to the limit.

The final test, which is one of the certain earmarks of progress, if made, is the degree to which a community consciousness is developed by educational interpretation of problems and methods. We should not forget that social work is a trust service; that its beneficiaries are the community at large in the first instance, and its clients only in the second. It is a service to the whole people. The degree, therefore, in which the people as a whole understand the social

problems now covered by social work effort, and appreciate the several enterprises undertaken to meet them, is a sure test of the soundness, the thoroughness, the efficiency, and the good will of the agencies in their organized effort. We have some 300 federations in social work in America. Most of these are doing joint financing rather than joint social work. Only now are they beginning to see the vital necessity for considering and appraising the functional as well as the financial budget. A new light is dawning upon our federation effort. It is becoming apparent that we need not only an adequate, continuous guaranty of financial support sufficient to put the program through, but that we need, and we must have, constant, thoroughgoing, completely cooperative interpretation of our problems and methods to the public. This is a year round process designed to offer the community an accounting of service rendered, and to lay before them the problems of their own social order, keeping them conversant with all efforts aimed at the meeting of those problems, and building such a good will for social work as will provide the guaranties of financial support and a sound public opinion behind the methods used.

## IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

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### HOW SHALL WE MEASURE THE RESULTS OF OUR POOR-LAW ADMINISTRATION?

*Richard K. Conant, Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Welfare, Boston*

Private agencies and public welfare departments have never undertaken very seriously to measure the results of their work because they have been too much occupied in the service itself. They should undertake to devise measuring sticks by means of which it will at some time be possible to gauge the results of their work. We have taken care of an abandoned child, restored a family to a condition of self support, cured family troubles, or built up the health, intelligence, and character of a young person, or we have failed in certain accomplishments, but we have never undertaken very seriously to measure our results.

When tests of character development reach the degree of accuracy now attained by intelligence tests and physical examinations, we may be able to measure the results of our work by noting the number of points gained in health, the number of points gained in intelligence, and the number of points gained in character development. At present no such mathematical measurement seems practicable. Even the intelligence quotient is open to many objections as an exact measure of that side of personality, and although scores of character tests have been devised, no thoughtful person has yet even dared to talk about a character quotient. And although we should some time be able to measure the development of a person by points in the ways suggested, the combination of points would not in any exact degree measure the whole result. A social service visitor strives to readjust personalities, sharing her best, mentally and spiritually, with her clients, and the whole result includes much more than the total of health, intelligence, and character. The result of the influence of personality upon personality cannot be fully set down. The change in persons which results from their own awakening cannot be measured in finite terms.

Dr. Haven Emerson<sup>1</sup> calls upon us to devise rates to aid us in the study of poverty just as mortality rates aid in the study of various diseases. Massachusetts is one of the few states in which the statistics of poor relief have been fully kept, and we have in this state the information necessary to compare year by year the rate of dependency. The rate of dependency has not increased in

<sup>1</sup> *Survey*, January 15, 1926.

Massachusetts in the last twenty-five years.<sup>2</sup> The rate has varied as unemployment has varied, but our statistics indicate that the general trend of dependency in Massachusetts is downward. Dependency rates, like mortality rates, are influenced by many economic and educational factors, and they are by no means an exact measurement of the results of the work of social agencies. These rates must, however, be taken into consideration in attempting to measure the results of our work upon whole communities. If all states would adopt the Massachusetts system, we should be able to find out more about the meaning of the rates in each state.

We ought to record and compare the annual number of new applications and the total number of cases cared for as a whole and their factors as far as we can analyze them. In our annual report each year we tabulate the factors of unemployment, desertion, non-support, etc., the new applications and the total cases cared for under mothers' aid and the other forms of aid. Such statistics, with other facts, give an indication of results. For example, in any new form of aid or institutional work it is to be expected that the load will at first increase faster than the increase in population. After that, if the relief operation is constructive and preventive as well as remedial, the load should become stabilized, and if conditions improve the load should decrease. The number of mothers' aid cases in Massachusetts increased each year from the enactment of the law in 1913 until it became 2,798 in 1915, 3,330 in 1920, and 3,407 in 1921; since that time there has been a gradual decrease to 2,633 cases in 1926. If the load keeps on increasing after years of effort, we have a negative result of great importance which should be studied. Statistics of the reasons for closing mothers' aid cases give an indication of results; statistics of receipts for support at institutions or for children placed out give an indication of results; statistics of the savings of children under care give an indication of results. Our annual report contains all these statistics.

We should record more and more statistics of this sort with a view of comparing the whole situation from year to year and from decade to decade, and get an indication of the effect of our work upon the whole community. And yet the measurement of the results upon the community as a whole, through dependency indexes or otherwise, will always call for a very large degree of interpretation.

We can never expect to add up the results of our work mathematically. How can a visitor measure mathematically the result of lifting a life from the deepest abysses of human misery to a plane of decent existence? When a visitor goes to a family in which the father committed suicide a few weeks previously because of unemployment and mental overturn, a family in which every member is in great distress, how can she measure the result of her work in re-

<sup>2</sup> Catherine E. Howland, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, December, 1922.



storing that family, after years of effort, to self support and happiness? How should we charge up the failure of the family to apply for public aid before the father committed suicide? When there comes to us a widow, grief stricken at the loss of her husband who has just died with tuberculosis, leaving no insurance and many debts, a widow with five children, some of whom are tubercular, how can we measure the result of mothers' aid, and of the visitor's work in restoring that family, after years of effort, to a condition of health and usefulness? And how can we compare the measurement of that result with the measurement of any other case result? When a baby of four months, in a shoe box, is abandoned on a railroad track and is taken in charge by our division of child guardianship, is provided with a new home, and is finally adopted by a good couple, how can we measure the result of saving that life? Perhaps you will say that we did not save it; that the person who found it before the train came saved it. We did something. How can we measure what we did?

How shall we measure the exact results in the case of a young girl who comes to us with both arms paralyzed as the result of infantile paralysis? She is placed in our special school for crippled children. There she is given a good education during a period of ten years. She learns to write with a fountain pen held between her toes, to turn the leaves of a book, thread a needle, and sew—all with her toes. How will you measure the result in that case? and if she makes a failure of her life afterward, will you charge us with neglecting to do something more which you think we might have done in her education? In Massachusetts the state has custody of dependent children until they are twenty-one years of age. We do not merely discharge them from an institution at the age of fourteen or sixteen without further responsibility. When one of these girls of eighteen years whom we have provided with the best of homes and the best of care runs away, submits to an illegal operation, and dies as the result of blood poisoning from the doctor's illegal surgery, and the whole state is horrified at the attempt of the doctor to conceal his crime by quartering the body and leaving it in boxes in an open grave in a cemetery—how can we measure the result of this case? Upon any scoring of the elements of the case by which we might test ourselves, we should have a series of plus marks. As I went through every detail of the case, there was no reasonable way in which it could have been handled any better. Shall we call it a success? When a seven-weeks-old boy is abandoned and comes to our care, is placed in a good home under the ordinary visitation and personal interest of the visitor, comes through a life of hardship in which he himself overcomes great difficulties, makes his way through college and becomes a successful college professor—how shall we measure the result? Shall we claim that the strikingly successful result in this case was due to any of the methods of handling a case for which we have given ourselves plus marks?

While we cannot measure with any degree of mathematical accuracy the

results of case work, it is most important that we should look at the results in each case and should try to measure them by such means as we can contrive. The pioneer work in this field has been begun by a committee of the 1926 Institute of Family Social Work. The tool employed is the overworked questionnaire. In its first form it was a questionnaire of ninety-four questions, scoring with a plus or minus mark the habits and attitudes of, in the sample case, a non-supporting man. After a study of this man's ninety-four habits and attitudes at two different times in order to measure the success or failure of the agency to improve him, one might be satisfied never to study another man. The committee hopes, however, to devise and put into general use a less elaborate standard statistical card which will score results and not merely record services performed, as do most of the statistical cards now in use. This pioneer work is excellently described in two articles in *The Family*, one by Miss Florence Nesbitt (December, 1926) and the other by Miss Ellen F. Wilcox (April, 1927).

For the public agencies, I suggest that we work on this problem to the fullest possible extent in the hope that we may improve our own work by the effort to devise some simple measuring sticks. We ought to ask ourselves this question, How are we to measure results? and we ought to force ourselves to answer it. I asked it of the hundred visitors in my department, and requested them each to submit a set of questions which could be used in testing results in an ordinary case. If you will ask this of your associates you will learn a great deal. It pries from them their most fundamental thoughts on this subject and on many other subjects closely related to it. When I had read the questions submitted, I sent the matter back to the visitors again, with a list of their best questions, and asked them in their various groups to agree upon ten questions which could be used as a test of results in the usual kinds of cases handled by each group. It is possible for those who are engaged in any line of social service to devise a few practical questions by means of which they may undertake to decide roughly in each case whether or not a reasonable degree of success has been achieved.

The questions as first agreed upon by the various groups of visitors are as follows:

*Mothers' aid visitors.*—Has the law under chapter cxviii succeeded in keeping the family together? Has adequate aid raised the standards of families aided under chapter cxviii? Under mothers' aid does the general attitude of the applicant improve? Has the woman applied herself to the task of better preparation of food as the result of supervision? Has aid resulted in a better physical condition of the mother and children? Have housing conditions improved? Has the help of the schools and the available educational funds been enlisted to enable the children to continue higher education? Has constant contact of the visitor with the family resulted in a better understanding of the family by individuals and organizations interested? Was there a satisfactory improvement

in the earning capacity of the family? Has mothers' aid helped the family to maintain its self respect and encouraged independence?

*Temporary aid.*—Has the insistence of proper medical treatment helped to make the family self supporting? Was there a satisfactory improvement in the health of the family? Has visitor's work tended to interrupt development of disease? Has any action helped to improve housing conditions? Has attention to proper attendance at school made the children better workers when they have become old enough to assist in the support of the family? Was there a satisfactory improvement in the education of the family? Was there a satisfactory improvement in the earning capacity of the family? Were the family relationships improved? Has the granting of relief tended to destroy the initiative of the members of the family or lessened their efforts to become self supporting? Has the securing of a position for one of the family taken the family from the dependent list?

*Children under the age of self support in foster homes.*—Has the child shown physical improvement after placement in a foster home? Has the child received the type of education best fitted to his mental capacity? Has the child been taught to use his hands and has he learned to do things, with the idea that he may need to know how to earn his own living later? Has the child's behavior compared favorably with that of children in their own homes? Has the child received true religious training? Has the child in the foster home been considered a member of the family and a factor in the community? Have the foster parents set a good example to the child and given good moral training? Has the life in the foster home developed inner resources which will enable the child to entertain himself as he grows older without being wholly dependent upon others or upon commercial amusements? Has the foster home developed into a permanent home? Have the parents of children released to them met the obligations imposed upon them and responded to social supervision?

*Older girls in foster homes.*—Has the girl profited by lessons in thrift, by education and moral standards inculcated, thus becoming a force for good and an asset to the community? Has she learned the art of living with people? Has she been accepted as an equal in the community and learned to be less sensitive as to her status? Has she maintained, during state supervision, a regard for her own family and a desire to improve its standards when she returns to her home? Has the girl living in one foster home for many years come to regard it as her own? Has the girl had so great a measure of confidence in her visitor, during her minority, that she continues to regard her as her personal friend? Has the girl learned to spend money wisely and to save a reasonable part of her earnings? Has she ever expressed a desire to repay the state in any way for her support? Has she learned to use her leisure time to advantage? Has the girl become established in her church affiliations?

*Older boys in foster homes.*—Has the boy's mental and physical condition improved in different environment since his commitment? Has he received a good moral and religious training? Has the community accepted the boy in the proper spirit? Has the boy learned that the visitor is his friend and has worked for his best interests? Has the boy saved any money, or has he been otherwise thrifty? Has the boy's training given him a foundation which will enable him in his future life to realize the high standards of home making? Has the boy been given opportunity to obtain education according to his ability? Has the boy's home life and training helped him to choose good companions? Has the boy been given the same opportunities for development that have been given the average child in the community, so that when he reaches his majority he is equipped to take his place in the world with other young men of his class? Has commitment of the boy influenced his parents to improve their home conditions and to work for his return?

*Boys on parole from training schools.*—Has he more respect for the law and the rights of others? Is he industrious and making efforts to keep employed? Does he attend to his religious duties? Does the paroled boy keep away from his old companions? Has his mental attitude toward crime or delinquency changed since his return to the community, and has he developed a sense of moral responsibility? Is the boy honest in his dealings at home and outside? Does the boy keep reasonable hours? Have his parents improved the home conditions since the boy was committed? Has the boy responded to the parole rules? Does he contribute a reasonable amount of his wages to his parents?

*Girls on parole from training schools.*—Has the girl learned to respect law and authority? Has the purpose for which she has been committed been accomplished? Has the girl accepted her training in the spirit which will make her a help in building up her own family? Has she developed a moral stamina so that if she returns to her old neighborhood she will not return to her old pals and her old delinquencies? Has she learned to enjoy good books and normal wholesome pleasures? Is the girl so employed that she is not only self-supporting, but happy in her work, so that when no longer in the care of the state she will remain in the same employment and not at once become a rolling stone? Has the girl learned self reliance? Has the girl learned to use money, i.e., to spend wisely and save some? Has the unmarried mother learned how to care for her child? Has the girl learned how to look after her physical condition and keep her body as well as her mind clean and healthy?

Some day it will be possible to agree upon standardized lists of questions for social agencies doing similar work. I believe that for the present it will be of more value for each agency to work out its sets of questions separately, test them separately, and improve them separately than it will be to wait for an agreement upon a standard set of questions. The set of questions must be test-

ed in practice, can be printed on a statistical card, weighted, if desired, and scored plus or minus, and in each case a rough percentage of achievement can be marked up. The list will need revision from year to year. It will not in any way be an accurate measurement, but it will, I am sure, prove of the greatest value to us in forcing ourselves to do what we do not now do—to audit each case from the point of view of results obtained—and it will in the long run lead to better standardized and more complete measurement of results.

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## THE COUNTY INSTITUTION IN RURAL SOCIAL WORK

### SOCIAL WORK OF COUNTY INSTITUTIONS

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There are more inmates in county institutions than in all other institutions in the United States. Of 109,075 prisoners on January 1, 1923, 8,435 were in county jails, 5,205 in county workhouses, and 3,731 in county farms and chain gangs. In other words, about 15 per cent of the 109,000-odd prisoners were in county workhouses, and 3.4 per cent on county farms and county chain gangs. In other words, about 15 per cent of the 109,000-odd prisoners were in county institutions. On January 1, 1923, there were 78,090 paupers in almshouses. Thus over a hundred thousand human beings in the United States are cared for in these two classes of county institutions. How many inmates were in county hospitals we do not know. In some states dependent children are kept in county institutions; in others, some of the insane. On January 1, 1923, there were 28,549 insane persons in other public hospitals than the state hospitals. These included hospitals controlled by the United States Veteran's Bureau. How many of these were in county institutions it is impossible to say. Probably, however, the majority were in county institutions. It is safe at least to say that 120,000 people are cared for in county institutions in this country. They consist in a broad general way of four classes of wards—pauper adults, pauper children, insane, and prisoners.

What is being done in a constructive way for these wards? They are being housed, fed, and clothed. The children are probably being given some kind of an education. When, however, we inquire as to whether any constructive social work is being done for them, on the whole we have to answer in the negative. Aside from a few rather remarkable exceptions, practically nothing has been begun. Even the sick in most of our county almshouses are nursed by untrained inmates. The chronic insane in our county institutions have been sent there because they have failed to respond to treatment in the hospitals. The inmates of our county jails who have been sentenced to these institutions for punishment for the most part are lying there in idleness. Those in the

county houses of correction are being given some work. On the whole, however, it is a purely penal, not a correctional, procedure. With few exceptions, no constructive work is done upon them to see that their incarceration corrects their habits. It is a notorious fact that the paupers in our almshouses go in and out almost at will. No social worker is attached to these institutions, and no attempt is made upon their release to rehabilitate them.

Suppose we consider what might be done by the application of social case work to the inmates of these institutions. Would all of them be there had we social workers to deal with them before they are sent? Once we had no such thing as probation officers to deal with juvenile delinquents. Consequently juvenile offenders were sent to institutions. Here we have learned better. The great decrease in the number of inmates in our correctional and penal institutions, between 1910 and 1923 was probably accounted for by two facts: first, the permission to judges to allow the payment of fines by instalments, and second, the extension of probation to first offenders. Probably the increase in the age of those sent to county almshouses between 1900 and 1923 is due to the application of social work by private agencies in the communities from which they are sent. Once not only the hopeless aged but children and young people were sent direct to the almshouse. Consider, however, how much more could be done in preventing the sending of many who now go to the poorhouse did the county itself provide trained social workers to attempt to handle these cases by social work methods. Every study of the almshouse inmates shows the presence there of some who have children or other relatives who might be induced to support them. While the law requires now that children shall support their parents, it is impossible for the poor relief authorities to discover those responsible. Moreover, frequently it would be possible for the social worker to work out some other method of caring for some of even the aged instead of sending them to the poorhouse. Some of them could be placed where they could earn their way; some could be boarded at no greater expense; and some could be provided for by interested organizations. While it is only a guess, I should estimate that a fourth of those now in the poorhouse could be cared for in other ways just as comfortably and without the stigma attached to the inmates of an almshouse. The probabilities are that many of the older inmates might be placed where they could earn their way if constructive effort were put forth. Furthermore, since about five-sevenths as many people are admitted to the almshouse every year as are in it on any given date, it is apparent that they are coming in and going out rather frequently. Consider what might be done by a social worker in the rehabilitation of those who are discharged or discharge themselves from the poorhouses. I know a man without relatives who goes to the county poorhouse in the autumn, remains there all winter, and goes out in the spring, earning his living at casual labor all summer. Suppose that connected with that poorhouse there was a social worker who undertook to find



him a place to work in the winter as well as in the summer. Consider further what happens to the mother of an illegitimate child who finds in the poorhouse her lying-in hospital. Having given birth to her child, she goes out as soon as she is able. There is no one to do constructive work on her case. She may leave the child there or have it committed to some institution, or she may take it with her to face the world with this additional burden. Probably she will be back in another year or so to repeat the procedure. What might not be done were there a social worker attached to the institution to deal with her case constructively? How much misery and expense might be saved by such constructive handling no one can guess. As a result of the county's neglect this girl continues her way uninterrupted by the intervention of a far sighted and constructive piece of social engineering.

Consider the children in county institutions. It is well known that most of them are mental or physical defectives who could not be placed without very careful case work methods. It is my judgment, however, that some of those now in these institutions could be placed were trained social workers to take them in hand. Furthermore, at the present time the defective children in such institutions are not being trained in accordance with the meager abilities they possess. Poor as are our state institutions for mental defectives, our county institutions for dependent children are worse from the educational point of view. Let us admit that the most of such children are custodial cases. Some are not; and yet because no social worker is attached to such institutions they are not placed in families or are improperly placed by untrained county officials.

Let us turn to consider our county jails. They are used chiefly as places of confinement for those charged with crime and awaiting trial or for those who are held as witnesses who cannot be trusted to appear. The remainder of the inmates are mostly those sent to "lay out" a fine which they are unable or unwilling to pay. Some of them are utterly degenerate individuals. Into their midst are thrust young men charged with their first offense. No one is there except the jailer who locks them in. In the first few days after incarceration there is an opportunity for the right person to bring hope instead of despair to many a young man who has made his first mistake. The right kind of a worker could do helpful, constructive work with some of these and thus save many a young man from a career of crime. As it is, the hardened degenerates transform the penitent youth into a hardened criminal. Furthermore, think of the neglect with which we treat the man who is discharged from jail. He is turned out with no one to take an interest in him or to help him in a fight for decency. Could not a social worker be of great value to some of these people as they come out of jail, and thus prevent a recurrence of their offense? She could follow him out, ascertain the conditions responsible for his mistake, and by human service often get him upon the road to useful life.

Suppose we look at the present methods of outdoor relief. It is administered in most of our states by men who have had no experience with demoralized families. Since they know nothing about constructive methods, these poor relief officials, in order to save the taxpayers' money, resort to methods of repression. They make relief as sparing and as distasteful as possible. They get rid of the applicant as quickly as may be without consideration of the question as to what is to become of the individual or the family. Relief is given, not according to knowledge of the conditions which have brought the individual to apply for relief, but according to the pressure which some politician or his friends are able to bring to bear. The result is a constantly mounting bill for county relief. More important than this, such a method results in the pauperization of an increasing number of families. No investigation is made to ascertain the mental and physical condition of these clients. No consideration is given to the effect of unconsidered relief upon the character and habits of the recipient. Demoralization results. The family becomes a chronic pauper depending upon the bounty of the taxpayers for support. No efforts are made to get the members of this family reestablished upon their own feet as independent, self-respecting members of the community.

In order that you may see that I am speaking not in the abstract but from knowledge of concrete situations, permit me to tell you a story. In Wisconsin not long ago a county board adopted a budget system. After one year's operation it was discovered that the taxpayers were paying over \$100,000 annually for the support of the public paupers of that county. About 150 families were discovered to be upon the county for their support in whole or in part. The county fathers were alarmed and wanted to know how this large sum of money which the paupers were costing the county could be reduced. They came to me for advice. For fifteen years I had waited for this opportunity. I told the finance committee, and later the county board, that as I saw it there was only one remedy: to employ a trained social worker, or "investigator," as they called her, to handle their outdoor relief problems. There was much debate and a statement on my part that if they would give me a contract to care for the poor of this county for three years at \$50,000 a year I would guarantee to take care of all the paupers who should have county relief as adequately at least as they had been cared for and risk making \$15,000. They understood that kind of an argument. Finally they were induced to hire a trained social worker at \$1,800 a year, plus the cost of a stenographer and travel expenses, to administer the outdoor relief of that county. The experiment is in its beginning. So far, however, the county board is well satisfied with the experiment. I have no doubt in my own mind, from knowledge of what the social worker is doing, that the county in the first year will save her salary and expenses at least five times over. One worker, of course, is not sufficient. It is my hope, however, that the demonstration will convince them of the importance of such a trained

worker in their county relief work, and will lead them to add other workers to her staff. I pointed out to them that the forty-odd thousand dollars which they were paying for hospital bills could be reduced without injury to any client by a social worker who would have in charge these cases. There is no reason why a trained medical social worker could not save many times her salary in constructive work with those who apply to the county for medical relief, and in keeping off the county roll some who could afford to pay their own hospital bills or could arrange for the payment from relatives and friends.

The Iowa plan over which Miss Cottrell has supervision in some sixteen counties in this state is a movement in the same direction. That plan provides that by a combination of resources between a private agency and the county board a social worker shall have charge of the outdoor poor relief of the county. The experience in the counties which have tried it shows a large saving to the taxpayers; still more important, the rehabilitation of numbers of people who had become dependent upon the county; and the prevention of some pauperization.

This same worker or these workers might well do social work in connection with the other classes of county boards previously discussed. Is it too much to hope that some of us now living may see a unified social service for all the county institutions in a fair number of the states of this Union? If that could once be brought to pass, without question the present demoralizing policies of poor relief, of the care of dependent children, of inadequate probation service, of medical service, and of the placement of children would be displaced by carefully considered methods of rehabilitation and prevention. How long will we continue the present wasteful methods of community neglect for these members of our society? Shall we never learn that similar methods to those which we have applied with so much benefit to livestock and to the healing of disease in human beings can bring about great changes in the social relations in our communities?

The county institutions are closest to us in space. We know more about them than about the state institutions. Why, then, do we continue to neglect them so woefully? Is not the answer to be found in the following facts: First, we do not know how much they cost us. Every county board should do business on a budget, so that it would know just how much each county service is costing. Certainly here, where we are spending most of our taxes, we should know just how much is going for education, for roads, for the courts, for the jails, and for the care of the dependent. Yet, taking the United States as a whole, we know less about our county business than about any other business with which we are connected. Second, we do not know the facts about the number or condition of the people upon whom we are spending our money. When the lay relief official of this Wisconsin county was asked whether any of the families to which he was contributing aid were on the list of the private

organization for family relief in that community, he declared that there were no duplicates. It was learned by a committee of the county board appointed to ascertain whether his statement was true, that a third of them were being served by both. The private agency had tried time and again to find out who was on his list without success. He refused to clear his cases with them, or with the social service exchange in the city. Moreover, when some of these pauperized families became known to the members of the county board, they were able to name a number who had no business to be receiving relief. We are ignorant. Only knowledge can make us free from the present demoralizing practices in public outdoor relief. The trained social worker is finding out the exact conditions in these families. She is applying every resource known to social service so that they may know the joy of being independent, of standing on their own feet. She is healing their pauper spirit. She is saving the taxpayers' money. She is building in them social values. Social service deserves a place in our county institutions.

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#### THE EXTRA-INSTITUTIONAL SERVICES OF COUNTY INSTITUTIONS

*H. Ida Curry, State Charities Aid Association, New York City*

My reluctance to say no to a very good friend led me to consent all too hastily when Dr. Potter asked me to take part in this morning's program. As I began to think of the assigned subject, I became aware that its meaning and scope was not altogether clear to me. A review of one after another of the types of service which have been found helpful in restoring sick or needy persons to places of usefulness in the community, or which have proved humane and at the same time economical in providing custodial care for those needing it, led to the conclusion that all such service should eventually become an integral part rather than an extra service of our public institutions—interpreting public institutions broadly to include all tax supported agencies which deal with the problems of charity and health.

In point of numbers, the publicly supported poor in any given community are but a small fraction of the population, but they are an expensive fraction. Those who cannot support themselves are supported by somebody. Almost no one in America dies of starvation, and so the decision which must be made is how and by whom supported, rather than whether supported or not. The wisdom of taking thought as to the best as opposed to the cheapest care of the poor is being recognized in ever widening circles. And we are increasingly realizing that the methods and standards which private case working agencies have found effective could be applied advantageously to public administration.

Let us briefly consider in the time at our disposal to what extent the ideals

and methods of the private organizations have been so applied, taking into consideration first the relief of families in their own homes. The ineffective administration of outdoor relief, to which Professor Gillin has referred, was recognized more than fifty years ago and resulted in the charity organization movement. In this, as in many other instances, when the problem of unsatisfactory public administration was to be solved a new form of agency was proposed rather than a new standard of administration in existing agencies. In a few cities, principally those of the Atlantic seaboard, public outdoor relief was abolished because of its maladministration, and strong private organizations came into being to do well what had been done so poorly by the public agencies. In but few instances was there an effort to make effective the then existing public outdoor relief.

The charity organization movement has been confined principally to the larger cities. Among the 2,787 urban communities of the United States, only about 11 per cent have as yet developed family welfare organizations which are listed in the directory of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. The directory lists only about thirty organizations whose service extends into the country field. Even allowing for the fact that the directory does not include all the private family welfare agencies of the United States, it is obvious that the charity organization movement as yet is not affecting the great number of smaller cities and is barely touching the rural field. In other words, in by far the largest part of the United States poor people are dependent upon public outdoor relief. By and large, the policy of family agencies has been to ignore, and sometimes even to oppose, public outdoor relief. The cities which abolished public outdoor relief have furnished so many of the leaders in the family welfare field that perhaps it is but natural that this "let alone" policy has prevailed so largely. I would not undervalue the contribution which the family welfare agencies have made in demonstrating the value of case work and in developing technique and standards. These all wise social agencies both public and private are accepting and adopting. One cannot overstate the value of the principle which the charity organizations have developed, that careful inquiry and friendly oversight alone will insure beneficial results to families who are to receive relief. However, it is somewhat interesting to speculate as to the possible results which might have been obtained, or which might now be obtained, by the application of the same amount of organized citizen interest, and of time and money, to develop the same standards of case work by equally trained personnel within the public relief agencies of the country.

Iowa offers the outstanding experiment in the linking of public and private charitable agencies in the family welfare field, and so successfully that it seems curious that the plan has not been more widely adopted elsewhere. In practically the whole of the United States public outdoor relief is still administered by local public officials, usually elected, or selected, by reason of political ex-

pediency, and seldom because of either business or social ability. Outdoor relief is just where it was one hundred years ago. It has been affected not at all by the tremendous advance we have made in the last fifty years in a knowledge of what really does help the poor.

While the niceties of technique were being developed in an increasing number of private agencies a new form of public assistance to needy families was created. No social movement, perhaps, ever made a more sudden or widespread appeal than that for widows' pensions. It marked the practical adoption of the principle that children should not be removed from their mothers by reason of poverty alone. At least it marked the adoption of this principle as it related to isolated groups of children. Great care was usually taken to divorce this form of assistance entirely from the outdoor relief administration. New machinery and nomenclature, however, did not change the fact that mothers' pension laws are relief measures. Every state law provides that such assistance is to be based on the need of the family, and not merely upon widowhood or some other circumstance of the mother.

Mothers' allowance legislation furnishes another outstanding illustration of our disposition to invent some new agency to deal with a problem. We find mothers' allowances administered by juvenile courts and by special boards created for the purpose, but seldom are the administrators of outdoor relief intrusted with the task of granting assistance to the particular types of mothers defined by the statute. All other mothers equally competent to care for their children, and just as much in need of assistance, still have to depend on the old and unimproved public outdoor relief if they receive help from a public agency. No one would claim that mothers' allowances are universally well administered. Where trained field service has been employed we find excellent results; and, furthermore, in so far as I have observed, even where no such service is utilized, the allowances are more nearly adequate and are more intelligently administered than is the outdoor relief in the same territory. The wave of public sentiment which brought about the enactment of laws providing for mothers' allowances created an expectation that such relief would be commensurate with the needs of the mothers and children who were to be helped. The great advantage which accrued from the new administrative agencies was that the juvenile court judges and the special boards were usually more socially minded than were most of the officials who were administering outdoor relief. But also one can speculate as to what progress might have resulted in the field of outdoor relief if the wave of citizen interest which secured help for the children of widows had been more widely applied and made to include the whole outdoor relief field, with the same demand for adequate relief and for more intelligent consideration thereof.

Let us now turn to the child welfare field. Child welfare originally was an indoor problem. As in the field of family welfare, private institutions and



societies came into being, and they, too, generally were organized to take the place of, or to supplement, whatever public provision for children had been made. Although the child welfare movement until recently has been less intensively developed, and so far has produced fewer outstanding leaders, it has influenced public relief as administered to children much more profoundly than the family welfare agencies have influenced the administration of outdoor relief. Genuine progress has been made in introducing field service and case work methods and standards into public agencies dealing with dependent as well as delinquent and neglected children. The probation service and some of its results have been referred to by the previous speaker.

As Iowa offers an outstanding example in the public and private field of family welfare service, New York State presents an equally unique experiment in the child caring field. A statewide private organization, the State Charities Aid Association, for some time past has cooperated with public officials and has developed relatively satisfactory public administration of child care. A group of representative public spirited citizens in each county has been organized as a children's committee, and through a trained social worker employed for the purpose it undertakes to assist the poor law officials in the care of destitute and neglected children; to assist the Board of Child Welfare in granting allowances to eligible mothers; to assist the children's court in dealing with the welfare of children. Usually public appropriations cover at least the salaries of the agents, private committees supplementing by raising whatever additional funds are required from private sources. In many counties, however, the complete cost of administration is met by public appropriation. The private organization does not assume responsibility for the support of children, except, as in rare instances, an unusual type of treatment is required which cannot readily be met from the public funds.

It is to be noted that both in the Iowa and New York experiments which have been cited the effort has been for the private agencies to vitalize and make effective the public relief agencies which exist. In neither instance has the private agency been organized to supplant the public agency. In New York State not only have antiquated methods been replaced by the more effective modern case work way of studying the individual circumstances and need, and in finding a way to meet them, but the whole viewpoint in relation to public service to children is being shifted. A few years ago it was not uncommon to hear a county superintendent of the poor say that his duty was done when he took care of children who were brought to him, and that he had no business to go out to find neglected children, or, as he expressed it, to make paupers. The gradually shifting viewpoint is clearly indicated in recent child caring legislation in New York which has tended to accept the principle that the poor law officials are expected to render to children any form of care or protection which they need.

Organized citizen interest which arouses public opinion is the one essential factor in securing desired improvement in any branch of public administration. In the realm of county social work considerable progress in crystallizing public opinion can be noted, not only in the two instances cited, but in the modernized county welfare programs of one kind or another which are being developed in the various states: county boards of child welfare, county boards of public welfare, county departments of public welfare, and so on. Some of these county administrative agencies can hold their own with the best private welfare agencies both in regard to trained personnel and results obtained by case work methods. So far, however, curiously enough, outdoor relief administration has seldom been turned over to these boards except in the limited field of the so-called "mothers' allowances."

California and North Carolina are examples of states in which systematic efforts are being made to organize county programs of welfare which will provide all types of social service. However, in the counties of California in which reports indicate the greatest success, the home relief is administered by the private agencies; and in North Carolina the county commissioners, and not the superintendents of public welfare, are the legal administrators of outdoor relief.

In many states the administration of indoor relief shows greater improvement than is to be found in the field of outdoor relief, particularly as state provision has been made for the special groups which formerly made up so large a part of the population of almshouses. Other and better care for destitute children, hospitals for the insane, state institutions for the feeble-minded and the epileptic have reduced the almshouse population, and if fully developed, would reduce their population to semi-hospital cases.

In scanning all parts of the country we can find sporadic instances illustrating the practicability of public administration being made as effective as the best private agencies. We can find a county general hospital situated five miles from the nearest town, but reached by bus over good roads, conducting general medical, eye, mental, cardiac, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and other clinics. We also find the same hospital equipped with hospital social service workers, a social service committee, and occupational therapy. We can find an almshouse which has been completely revolutionized through the efforts of a county superintendent of public welfare in regard to location, type of building, and the personal care of the inmates; the population, which has been reduced by 50 per cent, consists entirely of old people with no relatives or friends to look after them, all of whom require infirmary, although not genuine hospital, care. We find rural children's courts with excellent trained social workers acting as probation officers. We find an experiment in rural schools in the introduction of visiting teachers. We find a county health department carrying dental service and immunization treatments into the furthestmost parts of a

county, as well as conducting clinics for tonsil and adenoid operations, tuberculosis and venereal disease clinics; and as the county health officer is also the medical inspector of the schools, this health program has been particularly successful in reaching the most isolated neighborhoods.

If the best of all these public administrative features could be reproduced in one county, what a social picture we would have before us. And why not? The best methods of social work can be applied to county institutions and agencies for the public relief of the poor just as fast as the community is educated to their desirability. My plea is that private agencies should lead the way in bringing about the reforms in the public agencies, the need of which Professor Gillin has so well presented. It will always be impracticable and impossible for private agencies to take the place of the public agencies, and if they will work more intimately with the public agencies, and if the citizens interested in private charitable effort will extend their interest to the public agencies, more rapid and more widespread improvement in all branches of poor relief can be expected. It is a truism that the private agencies should point the way, and they have been doing so in splendid fashion. But having found how results can be obtained, should they not lead the citizens of the community to be willing, nay, to demand, that the agencies which are supported by public taxes should travel over the same road?

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#### THE PURPOSE OF STATEWIDE STATISTICS IN BUILDING THE FOUNDATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

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Is there really a purpose back of reporting by child caring societies to their state boards? Were there well thought out reasons for establishing one system in one state and totally different methods in other states? Have the majority of private agencies which by law must report to their state departments of welfare any conception of what it is all about? Or is it "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die"? These are some of the questions that come to mind on studying the subject of statewide statistics and the ways they are gathered.

This ought to be a testimony meeting at which the state officials present could tell us just why they require certain information and what light it gives them on problems of dependency and delinquency. I fear that their answers might reveal a lack of clear thinking on the subject. Perhaps their plan was inherited from their predecessors or was borrowed from neighboring states. Tradition may have established the routine procedure, and the original purpose in collecting those particular data may have been forgotten.

It would also be of interest to get from the delegates of private child caring organizations here represented a vote as to how valuable the figures seem to them after their state departments have collected them. We might thus learn how intelligently these societies are cooperating with their state departments and how many of them consider reports just red tape. In Pennsylvania the department of welfare gathers an annual census from all child caring organizations, but asks only those receiving state aid to report on the yearly movement of child population. This sounds simple but proves very difficult. Children's homes may be able to add and subtract dollars, but they do not seem to be able to add and subtract children. One institution president, to whom a report had been returned for corrections, wrote in despair: "We shall try to have the report corrected in a few days. Would that we could exist without state aid!" Obviously this good lady saw no reason for an accounting of her children; it was just a burden put upon her by a fussy state department.

However, the size of the problem of dependent and neglected children in the United States is beginning to challenge the attention of all thoughtful persons. Thanks to the 1923 poll of the child caring institutions and agencies of the country made by the United States Census Bureau, we have now some figures to consider. Incomplete as the census is, with many omissions and inaccuracies, it gives a startling presentation of the problem we are dealing with. Dependent, neglected, and delinquent children to the number of 404,678 in the United States is certainly a challenge. Many questions arise as we study the tables so laboriously collected and so illuminatingly arranged by the Census Bureau. But with a recognition of the magnitude of the problem we next come face to face with the necessity of determining what our responsibility is in the matter of the bookkeeping of children. Is it enough to leave to the federal government the task of collecting this data every ten years? Most states have answered this in the negative, and already have systems which, in varying degrees, measure the ebb and flow of dependency and delinquency.

There are at least two reasons why child accounting is a duty. If these were acknowledged by all, record keeping and reporting might not seem such unnecessary red tape. These two reasons may be stated as follows:

First, as a business proposition it is necessary to have knowledge of the volume of child dependency, with its attendant cost to the public and private treasury. The compilation of a population census on a given date, the simplest form of child accounting, is reasonable and desirable and would probably be regarded as such in any state. The fact that there is fluctuation of population in institutions and that the population of some institutions sometimes falls below their capacity may indicate subtle changes in the social needs of those communities. A tabulation of these facts should bring home a realization that this expenditure of funds might be better directed toward more needed forms of service to needy children. We ought to be constantly challenging our meth-

ods of care in order to determine whether they are meeting the need or are merely wasteful.

Second, as a determination of causes of dependency the compiling of statistics points to methods of preventing dependency and delinquency. Statistics may be a real index of social problems, but in how far they can reveal subtle factors in cause is hard to determine. There is too little uniformity in the facts now gathered, too little use as yet made of the figures when collected, for us to get from them any real picture of the causes of dependency. Have we not, however, a responsibility for at least trying to get the facts and for arranging them so that they will give us a basis for conclusions. New legislation to protect family life and childhood, more adequate mothers' aid or workmen's compensation laws, new forms of community organization or of institutional care, can only follow the needs revealed by careful accounting. If statistics reveal shifts in the kinds of dependency, social workers ought to be aware of these shifts and be prepared to meet the new needs. In short, no action can be taken to prevent dependency unless there are scientific facts as to the causes of poverty and of broken homes on which to base conclusions. Nowhere do these now seem available, though a more careful study of the subject may reveal a more satisfactory state of affairs than is here indicated. Some printed state reports do show a desire on the part of the state governments to get facts on which to base new programs.

Recently an attempt was made to gather from some states, with highly developed welfare departments, information as to their methods of compiling social statistics. It was hoped that similarities of method might be discovered, and that through an analysis of what all feel to be significant and important data, some steps could be taken toward securing uniformity and better standards. Tabulation of answers from nineteen states, however, shows such striking dissimilarities in legislative authorization for state reporting systems that a short-general paper cannot do justice to the subject.

Eighteen of the nineteen states are legally required or authorized to obtain reports from private institutions. The diversity in the reporting systems, however, extends to classes of organization from which the governmental agency secures statistics, the frequency of reporting, the kind of data asked for, and the form of report. Fourteen states secure data regarding individual children received into or discharged from care, but some confine their interest to monthly reports on the admission or dismissal of every child, the period of receiving these reports varying. Still other states limit their supervision and reporting to institutions receiving only public charges, while others again may supervise purely private agencies, but do not demand reports from them. Five states secure annually from all classes of public and private child caring groups only summarized data, and several have a combination of all these systems.

The utilization of the compiled data lends itself even less to analysis.

Most states print biennial reports, and these all carry tables; but such tables! They seem invariably arranged for the confusion of the unstatistically minded. Ought not these compilations, secured with so much labor and indicative of such important conditions, be considered as valuable tools which public and private social workers may have at hand for their daily work? And should they not be arranged so that they may be easily used?

Following the gathering of procedures from state departments an attempt was made to get the opinion of some of the private organizations concerning the reasonableness and adequacy of the reports required of them by the state. More than half of these thought that their states' requests were reasonable, but the remainder thought that the systems were totally unreasonable and useless. They were unanimous in feeling that their state boards did not publish the figures in any way so as to give a picture of the causes of child dependency. Evidently the state governmental agencies have yet far to go in making their figures of value to social workers.

The response of these children's workers, who represented only a few of the larger private agencies, were much more thoughtful than were the responses received from the public departments themselves. They made more concrete suggestions. For instance, they urged closer cooperation between state and private organizations, as well as among private organizations themselves; they pointed to the need of directing the attention of individual institutions toward a revision of their policies so as to meet changing needs; they also urged legislation looking to better treatment of social problems, and the development of wiser methods of handling dependency. They were uniformly emphatic in their insistence on the need of more facts, more system in getting the facts, and more intelligent utilization of the facts after they are gathered. On the other hand, state departments generally expressed themselves as well satisfied with their own methods. Only a few indicated a desire for better standards of reporting, a more uniform program between states, or of a study of principles underlying the gathering of statewide statistics.

Perhaps it is presumptuous, after so casual an analysis of the various states' methods, to make any recommendations, but even a superficial consideration of the subject forces one to conclusions as follows:

First, there should be a constant demand, in and out of season, for better record keeping among children's organizations. This does not only mean better social histories of individual children, though these, of course, are the bed rock of all children's bookkeeping, but there should also be a tabulation of related data about children which perhaps will give some slight indication of the causes of child dependency. Certainly there ought to be available in every institution or agency a means of computing the number of days' care and of observing the ebb and flow of children through the organization. The Child Welfare League of America has done a great service, first in furnishing at cost forms for fam-



ily and child histories and, more recently, sheets for recording the movement of child population. If there could be a general adoption of these forms a progressive forward step would be taken.

Second, there should be more emphasis on a uniform financial accounting system. At present it is almost impossible to determine the cost of child dependency because there is so little similarity in bookkeeping methods. The Child Welfare League has again made a contribution to this need by preparing a simple but adequate loose leaved financial record book for children's institutions and agencies.

Third, there should be a closer follow up of the private organizations under the supervision of state boards of welfare in order to raise the standards of investigation and of record keeping, and to eliminate inaccuracies in reports. It is generally charged by the high grade societies that only the conscientious agencies obey the full letter of the law; that the poorer organizations either do not comply with the regulations or their figures are so incorrect that little weight should be placed on them. Certainly anyone who has had the enforcement of a licensing system for children's institutions or boarding homes knows how worthless are some of the reports sent in and how necessary it is that they be checked.

Fourth, there should be a conference of state officials, federal government representatives, and workers from the private child caring field to discuss the possibility of obtaining uniformity in state board reports. If differences of method are eliminated there may become available a way of compiling important data which will have national significance.

Unless local groups realize that they have a responsibility to the whole child caring field, that they are part of the whole fabric of work for dependent and neglected children, they will be falling short of their duty. They owe it to their children, to their states, and to the country at large to pool the facts which will show the size of the problem, the causes of the problem, and the gaps in the social machinery of their local communities. On the other hand, state departments must scrutinize their own standards and methods more closely, must decide more definitely what they want to know, and why. Above all, they must recognize their responsibility for putting their information at the disposal of the general public in a challenging and intelligible form. Until the public and private agencies recognize this and get together in a concerted action for preventive work there will be no purpose (or sense) in securing statewide statistics.

## DISEASE AND DEPENDENCY

THE EFFECT OF THE MODERN PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT  
UPON OUR PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENCY FROM THE POINT  
OF VIEW OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH WORKER

*Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati*

How great a problem is ill health? How much of a factor is it in causing families and individuals to seek aid from public or private agencies? To what extent has it influenced the problem of dependency? Will it be a greater or a lesser factor in the future? It will be the aim of this paper to present such evidence as we have in answer to these questions.

Let us start with an inquiry as to what constitutes a satisfactory standard of living in the United States, and what percentage of our families fall below such a standard. This is of fundamental importance because the families who fall below the safety standard are always potentially on the borderline of poverty. Any event which decreases their income for varying periods of time or adds substantially to the family expenses, such as sickness, may spell disaster. Recent studies (Queen, *Social Pathology*, p. 254) indicate that \$1,500 a year is the minimum that a family of five in the United States must have to maintain a reasonably satisfactory living standard. The average family income of wage earners is approximately \$1,200 a year. One-half of all incomes are less than \$1,200 a year, and one-fourth, less than \$833 a year. Conservatively, then, one-half of our families are seldom far removed from the twilight zone of dependency.

*Extent of physical and mental ills.*—A brief examination of the facts as to the extent of sickness and the cost of sickness will help us to get a well rounded picture of our problem. Hospitals in the United States in 1922 treated five million patients. Institutions for mental diseases and for the feebleminded cared for an additional 570,000 persons. During this same year 21,500,000 visits were made to dispensaries. The 42,000,000 persons in the United States gainfully employed lose on the average more than eight days a year from sickness. An examination of half a million insured persons made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company showed that about 2 per cent were constantly sick. Health examinations at clinics in New York City showed 62 per cent of those examined in need of medical treatment, 34 per cent in need of hygienic advice, 6 per cent normal. This does not make adequate allowance for the less tangible though scarcely less significant incidence of nervous and mental disorders, which are, as every social worker knows, a tremendous factor in reducing income and disrupting family life. The total cost of sickness in the United States reaches the staggering total of \$2,250,000,000 a year. (Dr. Louis I. Dublin, "Economics of World Health," *Harper's Monthly*, November, 1926).

*Ill health among dependent families.*—Mr. Bailey B. Burritt, director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York City, in a paper entitled "Disease as a Factor in Poverty," presented before this Conference in 1923, showed that among 3,875 families under their care during a six months' period there were 5,613 separate important health problems listed by visitors, compared with 3,643 different important social problems. There were more than twice as many definite health services rendered to these families as there were social services. One-half of the total expenditures of this organization during 1924 was spent in families in which tuberculosis was a problem. Dr. Horace H. Jenks, director of the Associated Medical Clinic of Pennsylvania, has shown that 87 per cent of a large group of children studied suffered from physical defects, as against an average of 69 per cent among 500,000 school children studied by the health department of the state of Pennsylvania. During the five year period 1919-22, while New York City's population increased 6 per cent, the tuberculosis death rate fell 46 per cent and the number of families receiving relief because of tuberculosis decreased 32 per cent. (Haven Emerson, M.D., *Social Results of a Reduced Death Rate from Tuberculosis*). Reporting on a study of health of 500 families, the Family Welfare Society of Boston, in a recently printed report (*Health—A Social Problem*, 1925-26) shows that, during the year studied, in over one-half of the families the chief breadwinner was sick at some time during the year. There were 2,448 individuals in these families, of which nearly one-half (1,195) were receiving medical care. One hundred ninety-seven of these 500 families, nearly one-half, were brought to the society chiefly because of sickness.

*Mental abnormalities among dependent groups.*—Just how much of a factor mental disease, feeble-mindedness, mental and nervous disorders, personality and behavior difficulties may be in the breakdown of families that ultimately reach case working agencies is difficult to determine with accuracy. In 1921 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a careful study of the mental hygiene problem in Cincinnati and Hamilton County. This study included 1,200 dependency cases in the family welfare organizations, the county and the city infirmaries, and in three orphanages. It showed, as would be expected, that deviations from the normal mentally is not a primary factor in the case of dependent children. More than two-thirds of some 350 dependent children studied were found to be normal. The contrary was the case with adult dependents. The following statement is made in this report. "In the light of this study we believe that fully 75 per cent of all adults being dealt with as cases of dependency, illegitimacy, etc., by the social agencies of Cincinnati show mental and physical conditions that are outstanding factors to be considered in connection with any adequate provision for their relief." Even allowing for any reasonable percentage of error in diagnosis and conclusions in this and

other similar studies, it seems reasonable to conclude that mental problems are no small factor in the struggle of poor families for the necessities of life.

*Achievements of the public health movement.*—The story of what has been accomplished in the field of public health is so striking and so momentous that it bears frequent repetition. As we all know, the death rate from tuberculosis, one of the greatest causes of breakdown among American families, has been reduced by one-half, resulting in a saving of 100,000 lives a year in the United States. Smallpox, formerly the "terror and destroyer of mankind" from which scarcely one in a thousand escaped, is today a minor cause of death. Typhoid fever has been nearly exterminated in cities. Malaria is no longer a serious health problem. The death rate from diphtheria has been battered down at a remarkable rate. Infant mortality, once as high in American communities as 300 deaths per year out of every thousand babies born alive, has now been reduced to an average rate of between 75 and 80.

What the success of these efforts in controlling disease has meant is disclosed when we look at the death rates over a period of years. In New York City the death rate in 1875 was 28.3 per thousand of the population. In 1925 the rate was 11.5. In other words, the rate of deaths per 1,000 population over a period of 50 years has been reduced more than half. At the same time life expectancy has increased. In the year 1880, about 15 years after the Civil War, the life span in New York City was 40 years. It is now close to 58. More than 15 years have been added to the life span in less than one-half of a century, due in large measure to the enormous saving in infant lives.

*The effect on the work of family rehabilitation.*—Keeping in mind the facts presented in the first part of this paper as to the extent of ill health in the general community and in particular among dependent families, and the tremendous cost of ill health, these gains are momentous indeed. Mr. Bailey B. Burritt points to striking changes in the problem of dependency, brought about, he believes, by various factors of which improvement in the public health is outstanding. This has made possible the shifting of the emphasis from mere relief to constructive and preventive efforts. It has enabled family welfare organizations to do a type of work more intensive and fundamental to the well being of their families. The job, he believes, is becoming less hopeless and more manageable. In the report of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor for 1924-25 we find the following statement: "We report with confidence that social work with families is attaining results never before secured. This is possible because the volume of social service work to be done is less appalling, less unmanageable, less hopeless than in 1905 or 1915." It should be borne in mind that there are a number of factors that have entered into this, one of the most important being that the average wage earner is earning more in real wages than he was in those earlier years. There has been an increase in real income from 1907 to 1918 estimated at 11.7 per cent (*Pre-*

venting Poverty, Bailey B. Burritt). The type of dependency with which we are dealing now and our methods of approach are not those of yesterday, and the progress of public health work has played its part in changing this picture. However, we must not overlook the fact that while the depths of despair and distress reached by dependent families is less acute perhaps today in the United States than at any time of which we have record, yet the job confronting family welfare organizations is just as great and just as vital as ever. Modern industrial life has produced many new problems, including overfatigue, industrial diseases, high speed operation, bad housing, congestion. We are discovering needs for the family adjustment that were poorly met or not met at all in the past. We are constantly moving forward toward a higher standard of living which requires that the family welfare job be a far better job than it was in the past. The refinements of life, and with it the refinements of social work, move up a notch or two decade by decade.

Perhaps in no field in the whole problem has the picture been affected more than in dealing with children. The organization caring for children today has an obligation to give that child the benefit of present day knowledge of how to build up and safeguard that child's mental and physical vitality. An enlightening study just published by the United States Children's Bureau (*The Work of Child Placing Agencies*, 1927) covering the work of ten such agencies, shows not only how different is the approach to this problem today, but that leading organizations in this field recognize their obligation to keep these youngsters in health, and are measuring up better and better as time goes on.

Increased facilities for medical care, clinics, hospitals, sanatoria for the tuberculous, infant welfare stations, public health nursing, prenatal care, mental hygiene clinics, institutions for the feeble-minded, have been placed at the disposal of the social worker in increasing measure. They are part of his stock in trade today. He keeps in touch with the trends and developments of the public health movement. He knows about the rules of health, and how to keep well. It is part of his job to know these health resources and these health facts and to use them in his daily work. If his agency is on its toes and not too short of funds his clients are given periodic physical examinations and mental examinations if needed, and perhaps he has the good sense to take a health survey himself occasionally. In these ways, then, the approach to the problem of dependency is not quite the same as in the "good old ton of coal and basket of food" days.

*The almshouse and the chronic sick.*—It is pertinent here to point out one other specific way in which the situation is different, radically different. Curiously enough, the very increase in the life span has added a new and pressing health problem. There are more people living past middle age, and therefore an increasing number of victims of the chronic diseases. When we study the population of county homes and infirmaries we see convincing evidence of this

trend. The number of poor in these institutions is decreasing. The percentage of the chronic sick housed in them is mounting by leaps and bounds. The almshouse population of the United States in 1910 was 84,000; in 1923 it was 78,000. An interesting study recently made by the Helen M. Trounstone Foundation of Cincinnati of the population in our county home gives us a picture of which few people in the community, even social workers, were aware. In 1900 the home housed 1,200 inmates; even as late as 1915 the population totaled 1,171; by 1926 this population had dropped to less than 600: one-half the former size.

Many factors have entered into the decrease in the almshouse population, including the improved standard of living and the development of specialized institutions such as tuberculosis sanatoria, asylums for the insane, children's homes, and institutions for the feeble-minded. Of the approximately 600 now in our county home, nearly one-half ought to be in other institutions or placed back in the community. One hundred seventy-six are considered legitimate cases for the Hamilton County Home as such. One hundred twenty-five fall definitely into the classification of the chronic sick for whom chronic hospital care should be provided. In addition there are twice this number in general hospitals and in homes in the community who should be in chronic hospitals. Here, then, we have a specific relation of health development to dependency. The care of the chronic sick as an institution matter is probably twice as great a problem in communities today as the care of those rendered dependent by old age alone. We are face to face with the necessity of changing our county homes so that they will make provision for the scientific care of the chronic sick, many of whom can be improved and the suffering of most of whom can be relieved by proper care.

*The outlook for cutting down the toll disease.*—"No organization dealing with the problem of poverty can afford to overlook the fact that these [diseases] are the accompanying factors of poverty, and that if these factors were removed the evidence tends to show that most poverty would be eliminated." Even those who would not go full way with Mr. Burritt in this conclusion would certainly not challenge the statement that if we can cut down the incidence of sickness and disease materially below the present rate we shall cut down by that much an outstanding cause of distress that throws families upon the rocks of destitution.

What, then, are the prospects for further progress in the battle against disease? Dr. Louis I. Dublin, an unquestioned authority on vital statistics, believes that we can reduce the present death rate by one-third and extend life ten years longer by the most efficient possible utilization of the scientific knowledge that we now possess, even though no new medical discoveries are made (*The Nation's Health*, April, 1923). This estimate that the life expectancy in the United States can be increased to 65 years expresses the best mortality that



we may hope for with our present knowledge and in the light of our actual achievements. It is carefully computed on the basis of the estimated ratio of improvement that can be expected among the various age groups in the population and on results that have been achieved in the United States and elsewhere. It is predicated upon doing everything of proved value in the promotion of health and in the prevention of disease. New Zealand approximates this expectancy now with an average life span of 62 years. This goal if achieved would mean a reduction in the death rate from 13 to 8.6 per 1,000—a yearly saving of 463,000 lives.

*How the social worker can help.*—There are many things that the social worker can contribute that will help determine the rate at which this reduction shall take place. The maternal death rate in the United States is much too high, higher than that of sixteen other countries; three times as high as that of Italy. This means that we must have better prenatal care and better obstetrical service. In the field of infant mortality, placing infants in the care of competent physicians or in the hands of well organized infant welfare stations where mothers can be taught the essentials of infant care and the importance of breast feeding are fundamental. The purity of the milk supply must be guaranteed. The child of preschool age has been neglected in the past. The social worker should join in the effort now being sponsored on a nationwide basis by the National Parent-Teachers' Association for the summer round up of children of preschool age to have them medically examined and their physical defects corrected. A great advance made by modern medical science is in the knowledge of value of sunshine. We know that rickets can be prevented and cured by the proper use of sunshine and cod liver oil, along with other methods of treatment. It should be possible to abolish rickets. We also know that sunshine is definitely beneficial in building up health, vigor, and resistance to disease. Much is being done for the health of children in the public schools. Yet there are few school systems in the country that have a well organized plan of systematic training in health habits grade by grade, and still fewer that have central direction of all the factors in the school system affecting the health of the child. Among youth and adults the hope is for wider dissemination of the rules of health and hygienic habits, together with the right mental attitude toward the problems of life, and coping in their incipency with any trends toward abnormal mental development.

In abating specific diseases much can be done. We all know well the underlying principles of tuberculosis prevention, but we are not all doing everything possible to assist in the movement by getting cases into the sanatoria early enough so that they can be cured, by giving such care to contacts, and especially children, that they will escape the disease, by providing amply for the needs of families whose wage earner needs sanatorium care. We know how to eradicate typhoid fever and smallpox. There is no reason why these diseases

should not be relegated to the scrap heap. Heart disease is apparently on the increase and is certainly taking a far greater toll of human life today than tuberculosis; in some communities nearly twice as many. Much can be done toward checking the development of heart disease in children and toward the relief and rehabilitation of heart disease victims in later life. Cancer now vies with tuberculosis as a major cause of death. It is more baffling than either heart disease or tuberculosis. We have a worth while contribution to make by helping to spread knowledge of the necessity of early discovery of cancer and prompt treatment by surgery, X-ray, or radium. The venereal diseases take a tremendous toll of human life and cause perhaps a greater amount of human misery than almost any other disease. There is reason to hope that as time goes on, with more widespread education in social hygiene and in the facts of human life and reproduction, we may, all working together, bring about a decrease in these diseases. In the field of children's diseases we can help to encourage the use of toxin-antitoxin as a preventive of diphtheria. New York state has set for itself the goal of "No Diphtheria by 1930." Let us follow suit. Immunization against scarlet fever has reached a point where we can safely advocate it. Practical methods of preventing whooping cough and measles are yet to be discovered, but nevertheless there is reason to believe that the time of such discovery is not far distant.

The future should bring a development of more adequate clinic and hospital facilities for the acutely sick. Much of this problem of disease prevention is properly the obligation of official health departments. It is the responsibility of private agencies to see that these departments get money enough to meet this obligation. Until that time arrives private agencies must continue to fill in the gaps. The present need of greater facilities for the care of the chronic sick has already been emphasized.

We have an obligation to assist in the rehabilitation of those handicapped physically or mentally, instead of permitting thousands of persons to fall by the wayside in despair, and to a life of uselessness. Those of our communities who have considerable Negro population have a great obligation in the health field. If health building is important with our white families, it is twice as important with our Negro families, among whom death takes double the toll it exacts among white people.

Quack doctors, cultists, including chiropractors, neuropaths, anti-vivisectionists, anti-vaccinationists, patent medicine vendors, who spread unfounded and pernicious information among the gullible, rich and poor alike, are a definite drag on the results that can be achieved by medical science. The social worker should play his part in the effort to eliminate this menace. The time is approaching when bad housing, congestion, lack of intelligent city planning, inadequate recreational facilities will be recognized as serious obstacles in the way of health betterment. Here is a real challenge that must be met. There is

no reason why any community with a sufficiently intelligent public sentiment and with a properly organized housing program cannot eliminate much of the worst existing housing and prevent for all time the development of future slums. Our chief objective today in the field of public health must be, not the cure of disease nor even the prevention of disease, but the building of vigorous, robust health of the kind that makes for success and the joy of living. The periodic health examination is destined to be one of the most effective means to this end.

We must not neglect in this program the great field of mental health—not so important in cutting down the death rate as the elimination of physical disease, but just as important in terms of human efficiency and human happiness. The past five years have seen in this country a greater development in the study of behavior problems, personality difficulties, minor mental and nervous disturbances in children than has been known heretofore. May we not hope that by expanding and perfecting our work in preventing these problems of nervous instability among children we shall cut down the percentage of mental breakdown, of insanity, of delinquency and of dependency in the years to come?

The problem of feeble-mindedness will, we believe, become less serious in the future as we carry out intelligent programs for institutionalizing that group of unstable feeble-minded who cannot get along in the community, and by providing suitable education, vocational training, industrial placement, and careful supervision for that great group of mental defectives who can make good and perform a useful service to society.

Rural sections of the country are confronted with many obstacles that cities do not face. The advance of the public health movement in rural areas is for that reason destined in most respects to train considerably behind urban communities. The fight for progress there is equally pressing, and must be pushed with vigor and persistence so that our country districts may benefit as rapidly as possible from the march of progress toward better health.

The social worker has a vital rôle to play in every phase of this progression toward better health.

THE EFFECT OF THE MODERN PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT ON  
OUR PROBLEM OF DEPENDENCY FROM THE POINT  
OF VIEW OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

*Emil Frankel, Statistician, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Harrisburg*

Ill health is no respecter of persons, and its physical and mental consequences must be suffered by rich and poor alike. It is the economic consequences which experience has shown us that are not borne alike. For those living on the income level of the average wage earner, ill health generally will create serious difficulties in the whole household economy, while it may spell disaster to those living near the borderline of dependency.

The social worker, realizing the existence of a very close relationship between ill health and dependency, and having to meet the social and economic consequences of disease of the marginal economic group, is bound to ask: first, What is the extent of ill health among the great mass of American wage earners? Second, What is the cost of ill health and how is the cost met? Third, What is the causal interrelationship between ill health and dependency? Fourth, What achievements has the public health movement to record, and what bearings do they have upon the problem of dependency?

First, estimates have it that American wage earners lose from six to nine days of a year on account of sickness. In 1901 a federal investigation of 25,440 workmen showed that 11.2 per cent heads of families were idle during the year solely on account of sickness, and that the average period of such unemployment was 7.71 weeks, or an average for all the heads of families, sick and well, of six days. An additional 3.7 per cent of heads of families idle for combinations of reasons, in which sickness was one element, would increase the average. Another study, basing its estimates upon German experience, found that among the occupied men and women of the United States there occur annually 13,400,000 cases of illness, causing 284,750,000 days of disability, or an average of 8.5 days per person. On the basis of an extensive actual study in this field undertaken by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, covering nearly 1,000,000 workers in representative establishments and occupations, it was estimated that each worker in this country loses annually an average of about nine days on account of illness alone.

The United States Public Health Service study showed that among the equivalent of 424,573 industrial employees under observation for one year occurred 41,830 cases of sickness and non-industrial injury causing disability for eight consecutive days or longer. The National Industrial Conference Board's study of industrial medical departments in 207 industrial plants with 764,827 workers recorded 1.40 medical cases per worker per year, 1.35 new injuries per worker, and 2.01 redressings per new injury.

The recent investigation of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics

of medical service for industrial employees, covering 98 establishments employing 528,508 employees, revealed an average of 233,709 new cases treated per month, or 2,804,508 per year; and 434,558 new cases treated, including re-treatments, or at the rate of 5,214,696 per year. That means 5.3 new cases treated per worker per year, and 9.9 new cases, including re-treatments.

Second, it may be safe to estimate that the total annual cost of meeting ill health in the United States at large is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$1,500,000,000, and that of the 44,600,000 gainfully employed persons in the United States, \$555,000,000 per year.

Unless a worker's place is definitely in the dependent class he will try to meet the cost of ill health of himself or his family out of his current earnings or accumulated savings. If, however, his economic status is low or he belongs to the dependent group, the cost of his ill health must be met (partially or wholly) by society at large, either through health organizations maintained by taxation or through organizations maintained by private benevolence, or both.

No figures are available which would give the sum total of the value of free health rendered at the public's expense. The following hospital and dispensary figures may serve as an indication. With the United States Census report as a foundation I am estimating that the 5,000 general medical and surgical hospitals in the United States last year rendered 33,000,000 free days and 16,500,000 part pay days of hospital treatment, at a cost to the public of \$175,000,000. Tuberculosis hospitals averaged 113,000 patients who were given 13,750,000 days treatment mostly free. The total visits paid to dispensaries amount to more than 23,000,000.

That the worker is willing to meet the economic consequences of ill health in accordance with his capacity to pay is evidenced by the cost of living studies made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1918-19. In 12,096 working class families with a total average yearly expenditures of \$1,434.37, \$60.39, or a little over 4 per cent, went for "sickness and disability," which includes physician, surgeon, and oculist, medicine, nurse, hospital, dentist, eyeglasses, and miscellaneous. The average expenditure for sickness and disability per person per year was \$12.38, of which \$6.59 went for physician, surgeon, and oculist, \$1.69 for dentist, 93 cents for hospital, and 36 cents for eyeglasses. It is important to note that as the income increases the family is better able to meet financially the cost of ill health. The average yearly expenditures for sickness and disability in income group under \$900 was \$34.10; \$43.34 in income group \$900-\$1,200; and \$95.56 in income group \$2,500 and over. The average expenditure per person was \$7.97 in the under \$900 income group; \$9.64 in the income group \$900-\$1,200; and \$14.94 in the \$2,500 and over income group.

As a counterpart to this study of industrial workers' families let me cite you the results of an investigation which included 2,886 farm families in dif-

ferent sections of the country. The average expenditures of all families (including the value of produce raised on the farm that was used by the family) was \$1,598. The expenditure for the maintenance of health, that is, for medicines and the services of doctors or nurses, or for hospital care, averages \$61.60 per family, or 3.8 per cent of all expenditures.

In connection with the cost of ill health it is of interest to know what margin for meeting "sickness and disability" is allowed in the wage earners' incomes or in present day wage levels. A minimum health and decency budget for an average family of five, allowing for a limited amount of sickness and disability, would range today from \$1,800 to \$2,000. Set against that the following figures: Only a little over 11 per cent of the adult population of the United States filed income tax returns in 1924. Out of a total of 7,500,000 filing returns, more than 3,000,000 persons reported incomes of less than \$2,000; 350,000, of less than \$1,000. The average yearly income of 2,758,757 persons was \$1,377; of 344,876 persons, \$683. The average annual income of 827,539 families was \$1,436, and that of 120,670 families, \$617.

The average annual earnings of individual American wage workers today is estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$1,500. There are some variations in different industries. It should be borne in mind that they present full time yearly earnings, that is, no allowance is made for a working hour or a working day to be lost in the year. Boot and shoe industry, \$1,335; cotton goods industry, \$909; woolen and worsted goods industry, \$1,259; men's clothing industry, \$1,728; iron and steel industry, \$1,500. Average of common labor in all industries, \$1,072; railroad employees, including executives and officials, \$1,646. The average annual wages in West Virginia in 1925 were \$1,409; in New York State factories (office and shop employees included), \$1,509 in 1926.

The recent estimate made by the National Bureau of Economic Research puts the 1926 income of each of the 44,600,000 "gainfully employed" persons in the United States at \$2,010. It should be noted, however, that this figure includes employers, employees, and those working on their own account.

The significance of these income and wage figures seems to be that even at this period, outwardly as prosperous as any in our recent economic history, very large sections of our working population do not receive incomes sufficient for them to live under a "minimum health and decency budget," and dependency therefore becomes the concomitant of sickness and disability.

Third, in summing up a very exhaustive study in American charities, Amos G. Warner, the pioneer social worker, came to the conclusion that, "sickness, though not the largest, is the most constant cause of poverty, everywhere and at all times . . . most of the causes of poverty result from or result in a weakened physical and mental constitution, often merging into actual diseases." He found that in both American and English experience the percentage of poverty attributable to sickness ranged from 15 to 28 per cent, the aver-



age being 21. More recent data confirms his findings. Massachusetts' experience with outdoor relief during the last five years showed that among 22,922 families aided, illness was given as a factor in dependency in 22 per cent of the total. In 1924 the Pennsylvania poor boards gave outdoor relief to 12,000 families, and in 30 per cent of these sickness was found to have been the main cause.

In a study of the medical factors in family case work, Dr. Rubinow, of the Philadelphia Jewish Welfare Society, found that 45 per cent presented disturbance in physical and mental health, and that the remaining 55 per cent were not altogether free of health problems.

The 1925 experience of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor showed that in 7,081 families under care there were 12,137 separate important health problems, that is, about two leading health problems in every family under care. The principal health problems during the last three years were: in need of dental care, acute or chronic disability, malnutrition and special diet needs, maternity, and tuberculosis. Tuberculosis was listed 790 times in the 6,821 families, indicating that tuberculosis was present as a complicating factor in 12 per cent of the families. Of the total number of 23,340 services rendered in 1925, over 55 per cent were health services.

The experience of the Charity Organization Society of New York shows that 85 per cent of the 3,655 resident families cared for during the fiscal year 1926 presented some physical disability. In the seven year period 1919-26, 21,792 families aided presented 32,773 physical and 7,486 mental problems pressing for solution, or nearly two health problems per family.

In discussing sickness and dependency the economic consequences of premature deaths from preventable diseases ought not to be overlooked. The studies made by the United States Children's Bureau in seven American cities covering 21,000 legitimate live births show that the general rates of infant mortality decreased as the earnings of the fathers increased, or, stating it in another way, the higher the earnings the smaller the proportion of deaths. For infants whose fathers earned less than \$450, the death rate was 166.9, as compared with only 59.1 for those whose fathers earned \$1,250 or over. The group of babies whose fathers were classified as having "no earnings" had the highest rate of all, 210.9.

In the United States there are today aided through mothers' pensions 50,000 widowed families and 125,000 children. There are an additional 280,000 children under institutional care. The dependency here is one largely of premature death of the breadwinner, generally caused by preventable disease, and his inability to provide against the hazard of his death. A study made by the Pennsylvania Mother's Assistance Fund showed 1,469, or 85.0 per cent, of the 1,728 heads of families died before reaching the age of 45 years. The diseases causing their deaths may be classed among the preventable ones, such as influ-

enza, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and occupational diseases, such as miner's asthma and lead poisoning. The economic position of these families as determined by the husband's former earnings was found to be low. In the great majority of cases the insurance carried by the man was only equal to providing burial expenses, with little or nothing left to tide the family over an extended period of time. As a consequence nearly one-half of the 1,940 families under the care of the Pennsylvania Mother's Assistance Fund asked for aid less than one year from the time of the father's death. The Pennsylvania study of widowed families has shown that public funds must not only substitute for the loss of the breadwinner's earnings caused by premature death, but that additional health problems had to be met. Very few of the mothers were found to be "well," and there was hardly a family in which some child did not require medical or dental aid of one kind or another.

Fourth, I need not recount to you in detail the successes achieved by the modern public movements for prolonging the span of human life, for the reduction of mortality, and for the curtailment of preventable disease. The story has not yet been fully told of what possibilities are contained in our public health efforts, such as periodic examinations and corrective work through health centers, child welfare stations, diagnostic clinics, inspection of food supply, public health nursing, and popular health education and the effects they have already had upon disease prevention and health promotion. What bearing further conquests by and achievements in the public health field may have upon the economic situation of the mass of wage earners—and that means upon our problem of dependency—is indicated by the fact that the economic loss from preventable disease and death has been variously estimated to range from \$1,000,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 annually, which is equivalent to one-sixth to one-ninth of the total national income.

Significant facts of the possibilities of sustained health efforts among an industrial population are given by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The downward tendency of mortality since 1911 among 17,000,000 industrial policyholders has been more than twice that for the general population of the United States registration area: a decline of 15 per cent in the general population, as compared with a drop of 32.5 per cent among policyholders. The decline in the mortality of the insured group over and above that for the general population resulted in a net saving of 35,690 lives in the year 1925 alone. The cumulative saving of lives among Metropolitan industrial policyholders over the whole period, 1911-25, over and above the saving expected from the decline in mortality among the general population, was 240,744.

In this connection it is interesting to note the recognition of the value of health service shown by industry in general. The medical organization is coming to be an integral part of the economic administration of industrial plants. A large amount of constructive service is given at a moderate cost. The National

Industrial Conference Board's study made in 1921 puts the cost at \$4.43 per employee per year.

Heartening as are our achievements in the public health field, it seems that we have quite a way to go before we become fully effective. The health survey of eighty-six cities made by the American Child Health Association, for example, showed that their organized public health activities average about half of that called for in a reasonable program. Viewing our health problems as a whole, some social workers doubt whether all our public health efforts can be truly effective without a nationwide health insurance scheme. They argue that sickness is a risk to which every individual is exposed, and therefore insurable on a sound actuarial basis. Moreover, the claim that to have a thoroughgoing health insurance scheme would be a very effective way to prevent sickness, and therefore to prevent dependency.

In summing up, I need not urge the social worker to give recognition to the fundamental importance of health problems in his work. There is ample evidence of a growing recognition. The figures of the New York Charity Organization Society, for example, show a noticeable increase in the proportion physical disabilities have affected the families under care; the proportion rose from 75 per cent in 1921 to 85 per cent in 1926. This increase is not ascribed to more ill health, but to better recognition of health problems on the part of case workers. In the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia the average number of families receiving medical services, per hundred families under care, increased from 42.3 per cent in 1920-21 to 78.5 per cent in 1923, an increase of 86 per cent.

This increase is not attributed to any deterioration in the health conditions, but to remarkable improvement in recognition of health problems in family case work, which was as noticeable in temporary illness as in tuberculosis or other chronic diseases, and was particularly striking in connection with mental and nervous disorders.

The public health movement has also had the effect of modifying and expanding the technique of social case work. Writes Miss Betsey Libbey, of the Family Society of Philadelphia:

With the development of the movement for the prevention of tuberculosis, case workers at once added to their technique health examination for all members of a family where one individual was known to have tuberculosis. When the public health movement began to emphasize prevention in the field of venereal disease, case workers not only redoubled their efforts to secure treatment for those who were known to have specific disease, but also, especially in cases of syphilis, to have Wassermanns for each member of the family. Then there came from the public health field an emphasis on examination for the well, and now case workers are attempting to have regular examinations for their clients in well clinics. One can trace similarly the development of our case work techniques through knowledge and discoveries in the mental hygiene, the home economics, and the psychological fields. Case work is ever reaching out to all fields of knowledge that may have any contribution to make to the understanding of human life and its betterment.

I hope that I have made it clear that the social worker in general, and the family case worker in particular, is deeply concerned with the achievements of the public health movements. He welcomes the public health movements as a "going concern," and notes with great satisfaction the tendency ever to widen the scope of its work as well as to interrelate all public health efforts, curative as well as preventive, so as to bring the maximum amount of pressure upon the health situation of the people.

## X. THE IMMIGRANT

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### HUMANITARIAN EFFECTS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAW

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The present immigration law has now been in force for almost three years. From the very day of its enactment men and women interested in the subject of immigration have been aware of the difficulties visited by the immigration law upon thousands of foreign born residents in this country. That the law is creating hardships is a fact which is recognized and admitted: legislators responsible for the passage of the immigration act of 1924, officials charged with its administration, even the highest executive officer of the land—all have publicly acknowledged the necessity for some change which will "humanize the present law." On that score, therefore, there is no discussion. A modification of the law must be made to eliminate the needless sufferings caused by separating wives from husbands and children from parents, for this, in brief, is the painful result of the selective quota act now in force in this country.

The question then arises: Why is there any delay in amending the law? The answer is simple. Restriction of immigration is the purpose of this law. Any amendment to the law which would increase the number of immigrants admitted into the United States would, in the opinion of restrictionists, tend to weaken its restrictive feature, and might act as an entering wedge for a more liberal policy for the future. Thus, several bills introduced into both houses of Congress during the last two sessions, looking toward a slight revision of the law to enable the reunion of separated families, have failed of passage because of this fear. "Too many people will enter the country and the doors will again be flung wide open," cry the restrictionists. "We must know how many persons will actually be affected by these amendments before we generously open our gates to them," they say in effect.

As social workers, all of us are eager to assist in gathering facts which will help to clarify some of these issues. And it is with this object in view that the Division on The Immigrant, when planning the 1927 program, decided to attempt to procure reliable data which might, to some degree at least, indicate the extent of this problem of separated families. A subcommittee was therefore appointed by the chairman to conduct a study throughout the country and to assemble data which, in addition to giving an approximate estimate of the magnitude of the problem, might also present the social effects of a law which strikes so palpably at relationships growing out of fundamental human needs.

*Some provisions of the immigration act of 1924.*—The immigration act of 1924, in providing for the admission of foreign born persons, divides them into several groups: those admissible outside of any quota, those given preference within the quota, and those who are admitted within the quota in the order of their application. The quota for each nationality is 2 per cent of the number of that nationality living in the United States in 1890. The non-quota group consists of wives of American citizens and their unmarried children under eighteen years of age. Rabbis, ministers, professors, and their wives and children under sixteen years of age also belong to this group. The preferential quota group consists of aged parents of American citizens, husbands of American citizens, and unmarried children between eighteen and twenty-one years of age of American citizens; also skilled agriculturalists, their wives and children under sixteen years of age.

*Study restricted to "fireside relatives."*—Realizing that the inquiry must be restricted to those persons most affected by the law—the so-called "fireside relatives"—the committee prepared an informal questionnaire with instructions that information be secured in regard to the following groups of relatives only: first, children separated from parents or guardians (this includes stepchildren of American citizens; children between 18 and 21, and children over 21 of American citizens; children under 21 of foreign born parents living in this country; and orphans under 21 whose closest relatives reside in the United States); second, wives separated from husbands and husbands separated from wives (this includes husbands of women who are American citizens, and wives of foreign born men, not yet citizens, who arrived in this country before 1924); third, aged parents of American citizens.

No uniform schedule card was prepared by the committee, since obviously the method of approach would vary, depending upon the facilities available for the conduct of the study in each community. It was suggested by the committee that an effort be made in every case to obtain a full history of the relative's situation in this country, together with such facts as might be ascertained regarding the health, economic and social life of the disunited relatives in Europe. To indicate the kind of information desired, the following questions were submitted to each community concerning alien men living in this country whose families are still abroad: How many foreign born men in your community, not yet citizens, still have their families abroad? How long have these men been in the United States? Have they attempted to send for their families? With what success? Are they supporting their families? Have they sent steamship tickets? When? Are they eager to have their families join them? Have they applied for citizenship? Have they been denied citizenship because their families are not with them? Has a coolness sprung up between husband and wife because of malicious gossip, or because of nagging letters sent by the wife? Have any of these men established new families here? Have any of



them obtained divorce by publication? Have any of them attempted to return to their families abroad, but could not because of economic conditions in the native land? Have any of these men found it impossible to return to their native land because their families are refugees in another land? Have any of these men remarried without obtaining divorces?

*Agencies to which questionnaires were sent.*—From the United States Census of 1920 a list of 140 cities having a foreign born population of 5 per cent or more was selected, to which this inquiry was directed. Wherever a community council existed the questionnaire was submitted to that agency, with the request that a meeting be called of all social organizations dealing with the foreign born in their community, for the purpose of obtaining their joint cooperation in this study. Where there was no community council, the questionnaire was sent to international institutes, family welfare agencies, travelers aid societies, Red Cross chapters, and other organizations which might be in a position to undertake this work. The international institutes of a number of cities had in fact conducted a similar study during 1926 under the supervision of the National Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, some of them continuing the study during the present year. In addition to sending out these inquiries to social agencies in this country, a communication was sent to the President of the International Association of Organizations for the Protection of Migrants, at Geneva, Switzerland, requesting him to ascertain whether any foreign governments had on hand data concerning the numbers of families in their countries separated from the breadwinner in the United States, and to attempt to procure this information for us, if available. This organization has already given earnest consideration to this subject and has published a pamphlet on the subject of "Separation of Families of Migrants."

Of the 140 cities in this country to which the inquiry had been sent, 40 did not reply. Forty-one of the remaining 100 replied, stating they were unable, because of lack of funds or inadequate staff, to undertake the study. In 4 cities the study was attempted, but no information was secured. Seven cities that had promised to make the study have not yet turned in the results of their efforts. Of the 48 cities that actually conducted the inquiry and obtained data, 18 cities did very intensive work. In the tables which are presented with this report it will be noted that figures are not given for New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago, and that in several cities the numbers of cases reported are altogether too few in comparison with the foreign born populations of those cities. In New York and Brooklyn the welfare council has undertaken to make this study, but because of the enormous population and the many nationalities involved it was decided not to embody the figures already gathered at this time, since they are not representative of the total numbers actually obtainable. The study is being

continued, however, and a report will doubtless be ready for 1928 or earlier, if desired.

*Methods used to obtain data.*—Many were the methods devised by the agencies in different cities to procure authentic data on this subject. Foreign consuls were consulted, foreign language newspapers were invited to cooperate, mutual benefit and benevolent societies were approached, evening schools for foreigners were visited, case records of agencies were investigated, etc. For example, in Yonkers announcements were published in the foreign newspapers inviting persons of different nationalities to come to the International Institute on evenings set aside for the respective nationalities. Every precaution was taken to explain the purpose of the study to those people who responded so eagerly to the notices, the workers being careful not to raise any false hopes. In the larger cities printed schedule cards were prepared for each case.

*The results of the study.*—From the various reports received tables were prepared which are submitted as an appendix to this report. Care was taken to eliminate all cases which do not come within the category of the special groups concerning whom information was desired. Thus, out of 2,715 cases reported, only 2,121 cases were selected as being pertinent to this study.

In analyzing the tables we find that most of the 2,121 applicants had arrived in this country before 1924, the year when the law went into effect, 736 having entered before 1921, 601 before 1924, only 89 after 1924. Information was not obtained for 589; 1,259 alien men wished their wives to join them; 31 alien applicants stated their husbands are abroad, unable to join them; 2,357 unmarried children under twenty-one years of age are in Europe separated from their father or mother who are not yet naturalized. Of the applicants who are American citizens, 10 women reported that their husbands are aliens awaiting preferential quota opportunity. There are 50 unmarried children between 18 and 21 in this group who cannot join their citizen fathers, and 43 stepchildren under 21 of American citizens who have only regular status in the quota. Aged parents of American citizens to the number of 279 are still awaiting their turn in the preferential quota, while 201 children under 21 are orphaned brothers and sisters of American citizens.

Table III shows the nationality of the applicants residing in each city, together with the nationality of their relatives who are still abroad. The figures in this table show that the largest proportion of cases reported in this study were Czechs, the Italian group following, with the Polish coming third and the Russians fourth.

*Chairman Johnson's estimate on separated families.*—It may be well at this point to refer to figures published by the House Committee on Immigration in a Report<sup>1</sup> submitted by Chairman Johnson accompanying the Senate

<sup>1</sup> Report No. 1965.

Joint Resolution 82 which had been passed by the Senate. An attempt had been made in the Senate, through this resolution, to afford relatives awaiting quota visas an opportunity to enter the United States at an earlier date. The amended resolution considered by the House Committee provided that non-quota status be given to husbands of American citizens and to the unmarried children under 21 of American citizens. It also provided that in such countries where the estimated demand for visas by quota immigrants, who either be-

TABLE I

Country	Outstanding Relative Petitions	Estimated Num- ber of Wives and Children on Waiting List
Austria.....	133	1,100
Belgium.....	33	220
Czechoslovakia.....	482	11,000
Denmark.....	65	82
Finland.....	52	440
France.....	40	143
Germany.....	532	2,420
Great Britain.....	1,170	13,277
Hungary.....	588	5,500
Irish Free State.....	117	*
Italy.....	6,278	16,500
Lithuania.....	320	1,650
Norway.....	123	1,100
Poland.....	2,448	33,000
Portugal.....	86	2,200
Rumania.....	589	3,300
Russia.....	2,272	80,000
Netherlands.....	55	550
Sweden.....	155	660
Switzerland.....	53	50
Yugoslavia.....	233	†
Total.....	15,824	173,192

\* Not given.

† Not given, although the number is estimated at 100.

longed to the category of preferential quota immigrants or who were the wives and unmarried children under 21 of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States, exceeds 60 per cent of the annual quota, the president would proclaim that the provision granting preferential status to agriculturists should be removed, and that preferential status up to 90 per cent of the entire quota should be granted to aged parents of American citizens and to wives and unmarried children under 21 of resident aliens. The report included two tables showing the estimated number of wives and children of alien residents of the United States and also the number of outstanding petitions for relatives in the preferential quota on the waiting list for quota visas. These figures, procured from

the reports of American consuls in 1925, are reprinted here (Table I) as a basis of comparison with the figures obtained through our study.

From Table I it would seem that the Russians are the largest group separated from their relatives, the Poles coming next, the Italians following with a figure which is almost identical with that furnished by the Italian government, the English being fourth, and the Czechs fifth. The total number of wives and children of aliens amounts to 173,192, a figure which is only slightly larger than the total annual quota allowed for all immigrants under the present law.

*Estimates from governments abroad.*—The International Conference of Private Organizations for the Protection of Migrants has submitted figures obtained from various governments showing its estimate of the number of separated families to be as follows: Austria, 750 wives and 1,500 children waiting; Hungary, 212 wives and 278 minor children waiting; Italy, 16,000 wives and children (at the present rate it would take seven years before these families could be reunited); Czechoslovakia, 6,000 women and children and 370 minor children whose fathers and mothers both are residing in the United States and who are waiting to join their parents.

*Types of cases studied.*—It will be remembered that in addition to obtaining an estimate as to the numbers of persons separated from their near relatives, the committee also wished information regarding the effect of this separation upon the people concerned. In reading over the histories which accompanied the majority of the 2,121 cases reported, it is apparent that aside from the usual problems accompanying separation, unusual situations have complicated problems which might otherwise have been solved in due time. Neither time nor space will permit the recounting of the hundreds of ordinary stories of separation of aged parents from American children, of wives from alien husbands, of children from alien fathers. Generally speaking, the relatives here maintain the relatives abroad by sending regular remittances; they are in communication with each other; they suffer, naturally, but they hope in due time, when the husband will have become a citizen, that they will be reunited, or, if they are parents, they hope they will live long enough to receive their visa in the preferential quota. We shall therefore refer here only to the more complicated types of cases which have been reported in this study.

In many cases parents of American citizens are unable to take advantage of the visas when their turn is reached because they hesitate to leave behind them young children under 21 who have no special status in the quota. Such is the case of the B family. Mr. B; born in Syria, an American citizen, has a mother of 60 and a young sister in Cairo, Egypt. They are refugees from Syria. The mother can obtain a visa, but refuses to be separated from her only daughter. Both are being supported by the son, as the girl can find no employment in Cairo.

TABLE II  
STUDY OF SEPARATED FAMILIES: NUMBER OF APPLICANTS IN UNITED STATES AND NUMBER OF FIRESIDE RELATIVES ABROAD, BY CITIES

CITIES	TOTAL NO. OF CASES RE- PORT- ED	NUMBER OF CASES INCLUDED IN STUDY		DATE OF APPLICANT'S ARRIVAL				NON-CITIZENS			AMERICAN CITIZENS				
		Total Ap- pli- cants	Total Per- sons	Re- fore 1921	1921- 24	After 1924	Un- known	Wife	Child under 18	Child 18-21	Child over 21	Hus- band Cit- izen Wife	Or- phan Broth- ers and Sisters under 21	Step- chil- dren under 21	Par- ents
1. Akron.....	25	25	38	24	1	.....	.....	.....	5	1	3	.....	9	2	6
2. Boston.....	3	3	5	2	1	.....	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	1	1
3. Boulder.....	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Bridgeport.....	91	88	107	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	33	6	1	.....	5	.....	7
5. Buffalo.....	20	10	15	7	1	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
6. Cleveland.....	138	97	205	47	34	13	.....	82	53	25	4	1	1	2	15
7. Dayton.....	16	13	24	11	2	.....	.....	1	6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	6
8. Decatur.....	6	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9. Des Moines.....	11	11	28	3	.....	.....	8	.....	9	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. Detroit.....	624	488	1,198	224	229	35	.....	7	347	646	73	.....	59	4	38
11. Duluth.....	7	5	11	2	3	.....	.....	.....	4	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
12. Erie.....	133	99	253	.....	.....	.....	90	60	140	15	11	.....	5	3	10
13. Hartford.....	19	18	48	.....	.....	.....	18	14	33	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. Kansas City.....	16	7	9	6	1	.....	.....	4	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. Lawrence.....	18	18	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16. Los Angeles.....	69	30	65	27	3	.....	.....	1	24	32	2	.....	5	.....	3
17. Louisville.....	8	4	7	1	2	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
18. McKeesport.....	11	11	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	4	2
19. Madison.....	8	8	26	6	2	.....	.....	.....	8	13	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
20. Manchester.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. Milwaukee.....	49	35	74	12	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22. Minneapolis.....	71	52	92	15	9	4	9	1	22	34	10	.....	1	3	15
23. New Bedford.....	30	24	52	20	4	.....	2	.....	25	39	7	1	.....	.....	.....
24. Niagara.....	9	5	11	11	.....	.....	.....	1	11	34	7	.....	.....	.....	.....
25. Norfolk.....	15	7	9	5	1	.....	.....	.....	2	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
26. Oakland.....	4	3	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	2	.....	.....	1	1	2
27. Passaic.....	38	11	13	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
28. Patterson.....	17	9	14	.....	.....	.....	7	1	3	8	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
29. Philadelphia.....	48	28	40	17	47	1	3	1	1	9	4	2	5	.....	9

TABLE II—Continued

CITIES	TOTAL NO. OF CASES RE- PORT- ED	NUMBER OF CASES INCLUDED IN STUDY		DATE OF APPLICANT'S ARRIVAL				NON-CITIZENS				AMERICAN CITIZENS					
		Total Ap- pli- cants	Total Per- sons	Be- fore 1921	1921- 24	After 1924	Un- known	Wife		Child under 18	Child 18-21	Child 19-21	Child over 21	Hus- band Amer. Cit- izen Wife	Or- phan Broth- ers and Sisters under 21	Step- child- ren under 21	Par- ents
								4	146								
30. Pittsburgh.....	*272	260	542	90	145	7	180	4	146	256	9	22	72	21	12	21	279
31. Portland.....	1252	207	416	4	23	2	3	174	228	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32. Providence.....	9	9	11	4	2	2	3	2	3	7	1	2	1	1	3	4	1
33. Reading.....	15	15	19	12	1	1	3	2	2	7	1	6	4	1	1	7	1
34. St. Louis.....	87	80	173	18	1	1	80	63	98	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35. St. Paul.....	9	5	10	2	1	1	2	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36. Salt Lake City.....	6	4	8	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	3	8	10	1	1	26	1
37. Schenectady.....	125	89	168	39	44	3	2	44	73	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1
38. Seattle.....	4	3	4	3	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
39. South Bend.....	5	5	9	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40. Stamford.....	3	2	2	2	1	1	110	44	76	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41. Syracuse.....	110	187	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42. Toledo.....	6	2	2	2	1	1	3	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43. Trenton.....	5	5	11	2	2	1	3	7	4	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
44. Yonkers.....	82	50	108	30	17	3	7	4	30	60	4	1	5	1	1	1	1
45. York.....	100	11	14	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46. Youngstown.....	114	71	110	35	31	4	1	2	51	46	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
47. Washington.....	95	62	116	19	26	9	7	1	36	48	14	3	1	1	1	1	1
48. Wilkes-Barre.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Totals.....	2,715	2,121	4,318	736	601	89	589	31	1,259	2,139	218	50	96	8	201	43	279

§ The figures in this column represent alien wives whose husbands are abroad.

† From 1919 to 1924.

‡ Other sections.

\* Western Pennsylvania.



Many aliens, particularly women with American born children, who went abroad for a visit delayed their return to this country until after 1924 and are now unable to join their husbands here because of quota. In some cases the elder children are here with the father, the mother having taken the younger children with her on her visit to Europe.

Children abroad whose fathers are in the United States are now homeless because the mother or grandmother has died. Some are in orphanages; others are neglected. The fathers are able to care for them here, but because they are not yet citizens the children cannot join them.

There are many cases of mixed nationality, where the mother belongs to the quota of a country with a very small quota, the children belonging to a country which has a large quota. According to the law, the children take the quota of the accompanying parent, and as the mother usually does not wish to be separated from her children, the entire family must wait until the husband becomes a citizen, or until their turn comes in the mother's quota.

The cases of widows with children who marry American citizens and are then forced to choose between joining the husband in this country and leaving the child, or remaining with the child, are exceptionally tragic in their effect.

*Naturalization problems.*—The entire naturalization procedure is bound up in this question of immigration and separated families and must be taken into consideration in a study of this nature. In many cases the separation is indefinitely prolonged because the husband cannot become a citizen. Sometimes it is because the judge refuses to grant naturalization to men whose families are abroad; sometimes it is because the men are unable to produce evidence of legal admission to the United States; sometimes it is because the men cannot learn sufficient English to pass the test. It is to be regretted that the desire for citizenship in many instances is likely to be motivated by material rather than spiritual considerations.

*Action taken by foreign countries.*—To assist their nationals in becoming reunited with the breadwinners in this country some countries have legislated to the end that passports are granted only to wives and children of residents in this country. In this way these people have first rights in the quota and can join their relatives more rapidly than if they waited for their regular turn with other applicants. This is true of Italy and Portugal, and up to April, 1926, this procedure was also followed by the Czechoslovakian government.

*Effects of separation.*—The case histories in this study disclose startlingly tragic effects of the law upon a relatively small group of people. Husbands and wives, lonely, disheartened, distracted, begin to reproach and upbraid each other in their letters. Misunderstandings, antagonisms, recriminations arise. Infidelity and desertions are not infrequent. New marriages without the necessary legal divorce occur from time to time, and new households are often set up without any marriage ceremony. Women abroad lose interest in the hus-



TABLE III—Continued

Cities	Total		Ital- ian		Pol- ish		Hun- garian		Czech		Rus- sian		Arme- nian		Aus- trian		Lith- uanian		Rou- manian		Por- tuguese		Syr- ian		Jogo- slav		Ger- man		Greek	
	A*	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
37. Schenectady.....	83	161	56	103	6	15	5	10	1	1	7	12																		
38. Seattle.....	3	4																												
39. South Bend.....	2	4																												
40. Stamford.....	1	1																												
41. Toledo.....																														
42. Trenton.....	2	12																												
43. Vonters.....	43	81	10	25	1	4			19	35	5	6																		
44. York.....																														
45. Youngstown.....	50	132	20	43	3	7	1	1	25	57	1	3	3	6																
46. Washington.....	45	91	28	56	2	2					6	15																		
47. Wilkes-Barre.....																														
48. Totals.....	1,681	3,477	324	716	261	521	84	168	307	846	142	274	133	252	22	44	28	49	55	116	29	62	46	81	53	118	56	120	51	101

\* A = number of applicants in United States; B = number of relatives abroad.

bands here, forming new ties. Children are left alone without proper guardianship, their physical health menaced by this abnormal situation, their future education endangered. When the father finally obtains his papers and sends for his children, they are, upon admission, also entitled to American citizenship. During the years of waiting, however, they have been deprived of the opportunity of learning American customs, manners, health habits and standards, and all the other precious advantages which are so lavishly bestowed upon the children in our public schools. The long years of separation between husband and wife cause problems in adjustment to arise which may later greatly affect the home, the children, and even the community. The economic difficulties, too, must be considered, for the husband is obliged in many cases to send money to his wife and children, to his parents and other relatives, to keep up his own home here, and far too often he pays hundreds of dollars needlessly in the hope of having his family join him sooner.

*"Why don't they go back?"*—Consider the psychological upheaval that takes place in the mind and soul of a human being when he leaves his own land and home to settle in a new country; the tremendous mental effort involved in adjusting one's self to new environments, in learning a new language; the effect of breaking up of old ties and former allegiances, of forming new associations, of succeeding in a new country; the effect upon one's self respect and pride in returning defeated, broken, a failure. "Why don't they go back?" ask many restrictionists. "We did not invite them here." Many have no homes, no countries to which to return; many occupy important positions in industry, science, and art, and are an economic asset to this country; many have become established here, but would be glad to return if it were not for the fact that they would face economic ruin, even starvation, in their old countries. By admitting them into this country we have assumed a moral responsibility toward and for them. Our programs of adult education for the foreign born, fostered and encouraged by national patriotic organizations, frequently financed by government, state, and municipal organizations, our desire to assimilate the foreign born here, show that we expect them to remain in this country. By permitting a law to remain upon our statute books which causes misery, engenders suspicion, and retards assimilation, without endeavoring to correct these wrongs, are we not creating problems which are likely to be far reaching in their social effects upon community life in America? The central interest of the American public is to eliminate as many disturbing factors in the life of each community as is humanly possible. As an ideal underlying every branch of social service it is essential that all of us understand the effect of the present immigration law and that we lend our efforts to the creation of a public opinion which will banish the hardships and difficulties existing now and will establish that peace, tranquility, and justice which is the goal of American life.

*Recommendation.*—According to the figures from the Department of State, about 173,192 wives and children of aliens are unable to enter because of quota. The annual quota for all countries under the present law amounts to 164,667, a figure slightly lower than the estimate of waiting relatives given by the Department of State. Why could not all immigration within the quota, as at present regulated, cease for a period of one or two years, and the wives and children of aliens who arrived in this country before 1924 be admitted to the full extent of the present quota? Both houses of Congress have already evinced a willingness to place in the non-quota group of immigrants husbands of American citizens and children between 18 and 21 years of age of American citizens. We would urge that parents of American citizens be also included in the non-quota classification. Then, after these families have been reunited in accordance with this plan, admission of immigrants within the quota could again be resumed under the present regulations. As for the suggested amendment covering relatives in the non-quota group, we believe this should be a permanent provision. At all times the provisions concerning the fitness of immigrants, as outlined in the immigration law, should prevail.

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### SEPARATED FAMILIES

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#### PERTINENT PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS

When the principle of percentage limitation was written into the United States immigration policy in 1921, this country created for itself new problems and unforeseen emergencies.

*Under the 1917 law.*—Immigrants who came to the United States before that time, whether destined to relatives or not, were of course subject to the selective tests applied through the 1917 immigration law or earlier acts. If found to belong to any of the "excluded classes,"<sup>1</sup> unless there were special reasons for exception, and special hardships involved, they were of course barred from entry. Since 1921, they have encountered in addition, the bars of rigid preferences and priorities arising out of the quota system of immigration regulation.

*Under the percentum act of 1921.*—The first percentum act of May 19, 1921, it will be remembered, limited the annual immigration quotas allotted to the various countries, "to three percentum of the number of foreign-born of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States Census of 1910."<sup>2</sup> That act, like its successor, now the general regula-

<sup>1</sup> Immigration Act, February 5, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> The Quota Act of May 19, 1921 (as Amended May 11, 1922), Sec. 2 (a).

tory act in operation, recognized the necessity of making some exceptions to this inflexible method of selecting persons admitted to this country. Eight groups, chiefly persons coming in some temporary capacity, were placed outside these new quotas. One of the eight falls within the special consideration of separated families—the group of boys and girls described as “aliens under the age of eighteen who are children of citizens of the United States.”<sup>3</sup> It was this first percentum act also that established the principle of preferences within the quotas in the provision:

That in the enforcement of this act preference shall be given so far as possible to: the wives, parents, brothers, sisters, children under eighteen years of age and fiancées,

- (1) of citizens of the United States;
- (2) of aliens now in the United States who have applied for citizenship in the manner provided by law, or
- (3) of persons eligible to United States citizenship who served in the military or naval forces of the United States at any time between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and have been separated from such forces under honorable conditions.<sup>4</sup>

*Under the Immigration Act of 1924.*—The so-called “new immigration law,” which took effect July 1, 1924, reduced the number of admissible aliens still farther, it will be remembered, by fixing the annual quota of any nationality at “two percentum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any Nationality shall be 100.”<sup>5</sup>

This later act made more descriptive and more specific the definitions of groups now known as “non-immigrant,” “non-quota immigrants,” “quota immigrants” and those to whom “preferences within quotas” are granted. Most of the types of persons coming to this country in a temporary capacity, placed outside the 1921 quotas, are embraced under the 1924 law in the “non-immigrant” classification. Immigrants under eighteen years of age who are unmarried children of citizens of the United States have now become the first of the “non-quota” types specified in the later law. With them are included, as is now increasingly well known: “The wife of a citizen of the United States”; “An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States” returning from a temporary visit abroad; “Immigrants born in countries of the Western Hemisphere”; “Ministers, professors, their wives and children under eighteen years

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> It provided further that after the “maximum number of aliens of the same nationality” had been admitted, certain other aliens might also be admitted outside the quota, if they were “returning from a temporary visit abroad” or if they were “professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, nurses, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, aliens belonging to any recognized learned profession, or aliens employed as domestic servants.” *Ibid.*, Sec. 2 (d).

<sup>5</sup> The Immigration Act of 1924, Sec. 11 (a).



of age if accompanying or following to join"; "Students in accredited schools in the United States."

The present preference status, which applies to "50 percentum of the annual quota" of any nationality, admits on that basis, "the unmarried child under 21 years of age, the father, the mother, the husband, or the wife, of a citizen of the United States who is twenty-one years of age or over," or (unless the annual quota of the nationality is less than 300) the immigrant "who is skilled in agriculture, and his wife, and his dependent children under the age of sixteen years if accompanying or following to join him."<sup>6</sup> It is seen, therefore, that the non-quota status under the present law does not apply to such near relatives of either citizens or declarants to citizenship, as husbands, children over eighteen years of age, parents, and certainly not to the brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nieces or nephews.

*Who are these families?*—Who are these next of kin who cannot join their families here because of the rigidity of present quota restrictions?

*A husband detained abroad.*<sup>7</sup> One is the husband of a Russian woman who lives in Chicago with their American-born child. They came to this country about twelve years ago. In September, 1923, the husband was almost ready to take his final citizenship papers. He was an engineer, and a group of five or six of his friends in Chicago became interested in mining activities opening up in Western Siberia. The others were American citizens and ran no risk of being excluded if they spent a few years helping to develop operations in Tomsk and thereby gaining experience. Mr. T. could not resist the temptation to go with them. He was interested in the project technically. His near relatives were in Russia. About two years later, his wife came to the Immigrants' Protective League, asking how she should proceed in order to bring about his return to the United States. The best documents possible were secured, indicating that he went abroad with the idea of remaining there only a short time, that he had established residence in the United States, that he intended to return, since he had left his wife and son here, and since his employers expected him to return. He secured also character affidavits and statements to the effect that his interest lay in engineering and travel rather than in communism. Mr. T. has not, however, been able to reenter the United States. If his "unrelinquished domicile" is not accepted as a fact, his wife here may begin the long road to citizenship, and he, years of waiting in the preferred list.

*A child over eighteen years of age.*<sup>7</sup> Another separated family is that of a Swedish immigrant who came to Chicago in April, 1925, with his wife and several children. He appears to be a cultured and able man who will do well in this country. He left behind in Sweden an eighteen year old daughter, who

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 6 (a) (1) (2).

<sup>7</sup> Case story abstracted from records of Immigrants' Protective League by Miss Iris L. Wood, Supervisor of Case Work.

was born in Russia and lived there four years. They were so anxious that there should be no record of her in Russia that they did not have her christened until they returned to Sweden. The waiting time in the Russian quota, as far as can be stated, is twenty-two years. She will be past twenty-one when her father becomes naturalized, so he cannot petition for her.

*A Lithuanian mother.* Exploitation of families seeking reunion is not uncommon. A Lithuanian mother of seventy-three waited years to join her only son in this country. When his citizenship was completed in 1924 he went back on a visit to Kovno to see whether her coming could not be hastened. Finally, when the papers were in readiness, the medical examination disclosed trachoma. Another period of waiting for treatment then ensued. In July, 1926, when her eyes were pronounced cured, she went to the local steamship agent to claim her prepaid ticket, only to find that the agent had disappeared. She was penniless. The shock of this final disappointment was too much for her. She returned to her native village and died shortly afterward.

Of such types as these are the husbands, children over eighteen, brothers, sisters, and parents of immigrants settled in America, whose families meet the hardships of separation under the present quota act.

#### THE PROBLEM AS RECENTLY STATED BY CONGRESSMEN

The effects of this act, after an operation of almost three years, are now beginning to be known. The enforced annual congressional consideration of our restrictive policy, because of the time limits written into the recent immigration measures, is perhaps not a negligible element in the growing familiarity with these effects. The debate on House Bill 6238 and its attached "Wadsworth Amendment" by the United States Senate on December 14, 1926, for instance, gave wider and more forceful public recognition to the problems of separated families. The remarks of certain senators on the question at that time, were very much to the point. Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts pointed out that "the immigration act of 1924 was in many respects discriminating," and that he considered the amendment a move to remove one of the most inhuman and cruel features of any law enacted in recent years by the Congress of the United States.<sup>8</sup>

Senator William C. Bruce of Maryland speaking in favor of the measure, remarked:

There is at the present time a reaction against the immigration law . . . This bill gives a measure of relief which, it seems to me, is unquestionably a just measure of relief. Here is a man who came to this country before the present immigration law went into effect, and having come here without any notice of any sort that it would ever go into effect, and having declared his intention of becoming a citizen of this country, why should he not be allowed the privilege of having wife and child come in as nonquota immigrants?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Ninth Congress, Second Session, December 14, 1926, No. 8, p. 411.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-14.

Senator Royal S. Copeland of New York stated that "he believed the amendment to be decidedly in the interests of America, and that in the interest of good citizenship, in the interest of good morals it should prevail."<sup>10</sup>

Senator James W. Wadsworth, the author of the Amendment bearing his name, spoke most eloquently in behalf of this mild measure of relief:

On July 1, 1924, the new law suddenly took effect. These immigrants who were comparatively recent arrivals, had no warning indicating that the whole picture would be changed, that a much severer set of restrictions would be imposed. . . . With the enactment of the new law, the husband and father who had come to this country to live here permanently, who had come here legally, with every expectation of bringing his wife and little children here to join him, suddenly awoke to the fact that he could not see his wife and children again short of five years. I say five years is the shortest period because the quotas were so restricted and reduced that if he were to wait until his wife and children could be picked up in the quota of the country of their origin, he would have to wait all the way from 8 years to 20 years before they could come to this country. . . .

I think those families ought to be reunited. It can do no harm whatsoever to do it. The admission of 35,000 mothers and little children would not flood the labor market, would not threaten us with unemployment in our industrial centers. It would result in the building of more homes. . . . It would make the husband and father happy when he finally got his wife and children with him and therefore a better citizen, loyal to the institutions of the United States, a friendly neighbor. His children would go to school with our children and grow up as good American citizens of the future.<sup>11</sup>

Other senators of course, among them Senator David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania, and Senator James T. Heflin, of Alabama, did not agree with the above-mentioned sentiments.

It is important to everyone interested in the welfare of the foreign born in this country to know how the senators from his or her own state voted on this indicative measure. The roll call may be found in the *Congressional Record* of December 14, 1926 (p. 414). If their vote was "nay" there is work for such a constituent before Congress meets again in December.

#### APPLICABLE PROVISIONS OF THE NATURALIZATION LAWS

Since United States citizenship is made the determining factor in the admission of the near relatives of the foreign born to this country, certain provisions of the naturalization laws are of primary importance in this connection.

*Residence requirement.*—Chief among them, perhaps, is the requirement of five year residence in this country and therefore a minimum five year separation, unless the immigrant is fortunate enough to have applied for a visa early enough to be at the head of the long waiting lists.

*Lack of preparation.*—But there are delays and obstacles in the path to citizenship quite apart from the residence requirement. In order to be "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States," as the naturalization law requires, the applicant for citizenship must have acquired a

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408, 409, 410.

knowledge of the United States government. It is not always easy for the adult who works all day to find or attend night classes in citizenship which afford the preparation needed. If he starts with the handicap of illiteracy, moreover, the road to adequate knowledge is decidedly prolonged.

*Inadequate witnesses.*—The inadequate information of witnesses, or the difficulty of securing two who are citizens and know the applicant to have been "a resident five years continuously" is another obstacle.

*Special difficulty of Armenians.*—The Armenians, whose status as "free white persons" and therefore eligibility to citizenship, was so long undetermined by the courts, suffered months of delay.

*Renunciation of allegiance.*—Incorrect declarations of intention sometimes mean a loss of two years, or more, if new declarations are required and the waiting period between the first and second papers again becomes necessary. Mistakes in declarations are easily made, as for instance renunciation of allegiance to the wrong ruler. Since the law requires that the sovereign be specified by name, one may not, being a Polish woman for instance, renounce allegiance at present to the emperor of Austria instead of to the "Republic of Poland." An Armenian, who happened to have lived in Italy fifteen years, could not make the mistake of renouncing allegiance to the King of Italy instead of to "the Republic of Turkey" without being compelled to begin the naturalization process over again; a divorced Syrian woman, born in Aleppo, although she had married a Russian, could not, obviously, renounce allegiance either to the Tzar, or the head of the Soviet Republic, instead of to "the present Sovereignty in Syria"; a Bulgarian does not at present renounce allegiance to the king of Greece, as did a certain applicant in Chicago, but to "Boris, III, Tzar of the Bulgarians."<sup>12</sup>

*Thirty days before election obstacle.*—Another difficulty which has been met during the last eight years arose out of a clause in the naturalization law, passed in 1918 (May 9), making the filing of a declaration of intention within 30 days of an election illegal. That provision of the law was intended to prevent aliens from voting. Its framers probably did not remember how many annual election dates there are in most states. In Chicago, in each of five years included in this period, there were five elections. This meant that in almost half the year, declarations of intention could not be filed. Many is the "first paper" declared invalid under this provision, and many the declarant unfamiliar with this arbitrary section, who was compelled to begin the citizenship process over again. Happily, the first session of the Sixty-Ninth Congress repealed that provision on May 25, 1926. It is safe to say that legalizing the filing of first papers during any month of the year has cut down the period of waiting for many a separated family.

<sup>12</sup> Form 102, Seventeenth Edition, November 15, 1926, "List of Foreign Sovereignties and Their Rulers," U. S. Bureau of Naturalization.

*Verification of landing.*—One of the chief difficulties now met in the filing of declarations is in connection with the verification of legal entry into the United States of recent immigrants. It is so easy to forget the date of arrival and the name of a boat. In 1924 (August 1), the Bureau of Naturalization requested all clerks of courts handling naturalization to forward to the Bureau: "All preliminary applications for declarations of intention to become citizens of the United States submitted by aliens arriving in the United States since June 2, 1921, and to defer the filing of the declarations of intention until proof had been furnished that their entry into the United States was by a permanent admission in conformity with the immigration law."<sup>13</sup> This process of verifying legal entry at the ports, frequently takes from three to six months at present, which means that the declaration of intention is not really filed during that time. In the problem of verification of landing, the recommendation of the Commissioner General of Immigration and the approval<sup>14</sup> of the Commissioner of Naturalization for *nunc pro tunc* examinations before immigration inspectors, for persons in whose records of entry some technical irregularity occurs, is welcome indeed. Here lies an opportunity for enthusiastic support of the recommendation of these public officials by social workers, and a slight step at least toward the reunion of other separated families.

During 1924 and 1925, there was a special naturalization disability affecting applicants whose families were abroad. A communication from the United States Commissioner of Naturalization, Mr. Raymond Christ, dated February 14, 1925, directed all district directors and naturalization examiners to "oppose the granting of all petitions where the family is not residing in this country." It was the expressed opinion of the Acting Secretary of Labor at the time (Mr. Henning) that "an alien whose family is in Europe has never lived in the United States, no matter how many years he may have been here. He cannot be naturalized because he has not complied with that requirement of the statute that he must have resided here for five years." The impasse facing applicants for citizenship who "could not bring their families because they could not become naturalized and could not become naturalized because they could not bring their families" was absolute indeed. It was a number of months, it will be remembered, before the absurdity and injustice of that ruling became clear enough to sweep it away. Perhaps one of the most significant factors in its *reductio ad absurdum* was the widely quoted opinion of Federal Judge P. J. Stern, of Philadelphia (May 11, 1925), who granted certificates of citizenship at the time, in opposition to the Bureau's ruling, to men whose wives were still in Europe.

The exclusion tests under the 1917 law still mean that the experience of the Polish man who states that he "cannot get his papers until his wife in Eu-

<sup>13</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, 1925, p. 7.*

<sup>14</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, 1926, pp. 22, 23.*

rope is cured of trachoma," may be typical of many others. The present policy of the naturalization district in which Chicago is located directs (January, 1925) the applicant first to obtain from his wife an affidavit showing whether or not she is ready and willing to come to the United States to live with him, second, to have a reputable physician examine his wife and minor children and make a report showing whether they are in such mental and physical condition that they will pass the immigration tests of the United States, and third, to be prepared to show that he is in a financial condition to bring his family to this country and to support them properly. It is understood that there are judges in certain of the naturalization districts who still deny citizenship to men on the sole ground that their wives are abroad. If social workers at this Conference chance to live in those districts, they may appeal for a change of administrative policy at once, upon their return, taking their stand upon the reversal of the Bureau's order (in May, 1925). With this action goes one more obstacle toward the reunion of separated families.

#### THE NUMBERS AFFECTED

There is no wealth of information in the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration nor in published reports of the Secretary of State as to the actual numbers of families separated by immigration. Absolute figures on such a point would involve a new and very difficult kind of a census.

*Those who "come to join relatives."*—Certain facts which have a bearing on the problem have, however, been gleaned from the annual reports of the commissioner, and a table prepared showing the numbers of immigrant aliens admitted to the United States in each of the years from 1910 to 1926 inclusive, with the numbers and percentages of those "who came to join relatives."<sup>15</sup> The proportion last year (1926), for instance, was 230,243 "to relatives," out of a total of 304,488 immigrant aliens admitted, or 75.6 per cent. In the decade and a half that preceded, the percentages of those who came "to relatives," although it varied, was always above 56.4 per cent of the "immigrant aliens" admitted. In other words, large numbers of those who come to America, follow the natural ties of kinship here.

*Wives and children of citizens.*—These numbers do not reveal the degree of relationship of these immigrant aliens who came to join other members of their families. It can by no means be assumed that they have joined immediate families or that they are the ones on Europe's waiting lists who have suffered most by separation. The last two annual reports, however, record the number of wives who were admitted to citizen husbands and the number of children admitted to citizen fathers. In 1925, the wives numbered 4,171; in

<sup>15</sup> Copies may be secured upon application to the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago.



1926, 6,810. In 1925 the children numbered 3,046; in 1926, 4,344. This means that last year, the total number of such wives and children was only 11,154; and the year before still less, 7,217.<sup>16</sup>

*Petitions for visas.*—On the fringe of those who have now been united stands the next nearest waiting group, for whom petitions for non-quota and preference quota visas have been received from citizens, and perhaps approved. The last annual report of the Secretary of Labor (1926) records that in 1925 27,000 "petitions by United States Citizens for Non-Quota and Preference Im-

TABLE I  
ADMISSION OF ALIEN VETERANS AND THEIR FAMILIES,\* 1926, 1927†

Month	Number of Alien Veterans Admitted	Number of Wives of Alien Veterans Admitted	Number of Children of Alien Veterans Admitted
Total			
June, 1926. . . . .	72	3	8
July, 1926. . . . .	395	24	42
August, 1926. . . . .	960	109	141
September, 1926. . . . .	428	59	89
October, 1926. . . . .	465	71	89
November, 1926. . . . .	392	110	127
December, 1926. . . . .	220	72	91
January, 1927. . . . .	117	36	44
February, 1927. . . . .	165	46	49
March, 1927. . . . .	284	57	72
April, 1927. . . . .	(3498)	(587)	(752)
May, 1927. . . . .			

\* From *Analysis of Statistics of Immigration*, Table 9, by months, June, 1926, to May, 1927.

† The act extending non-quota immigration status to the "unmarried child under eighteen years of age, the wife, or the husband of an alien veteran . . . if accompanying or following within six months" was passed by Congress and approved May 26, 1926. This provision applies to an alien only if "the immigration visa is issued to him before the expiration of one year after the enactment of this Act."

migration Visas for Wives, Children, Parents, and Husbands" had been received; 25,002 had been approved, 1,800 rejected; 198 were pending at the end of the year. In 1926, 23,856 such petitions were received of which 18,659 were approved; 2,500 rejected; 2,697 were pending at the end of the year.<sup>17</sup> Truly, admission dependent upon the full citizenship of a husband or wife, parent or child, is entry through a needle's eye.

*Wives and children of alien veterans.*—Congress widened the eye with the narrowest thread in May, 1926, by admitting "non quota, if accompanying or following within six months," the wives and unmarried children under eight-

<sup>16</sup> *Annual Reports U. S. Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1926, p. 7; 1925, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor June 30, 1926*, p. 54.

een, of alien veterans. Through March, 1927, a period of nine months since the law began to operate, 3,498 alien veterans had taken advantage of it and came non-quota. Five hundred and eighty-seven wives of alien veterans had been admitted under it, and 752 children of alien veterans. Although "husbands of alien veterans" are given the same right of non-quota entry, none is recorded so far, among those admitted. The terms of the law itself indicate that the separation for this little group of families had not been long. But the benefits of the alien veteran act are about to expire. It applies to an alien only if "the immigration visa is issued to him before the expiration of one year after the enactment of this act," which means May 25, 1927. It would seem as if so arbitrary a time limit is hardly appropriate, hardly an expression of appreciation to the "alien veterans of the armed forces of the United States during the period of the World War." The last report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, quoted an estimate, as of 1924, of "from 12,000 to 15,000 such veterans in Italy alone," a number which it was believed "represents the largest group in any one country."<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Hull pointed out that the year would "be interesting indeed in showing the effect of this relaxation of our restrictive policy. It will enable many expatriated naturalized Americans to return, with the families they have acquired abroad, and will, no doubt, prove an important exception to the quota law."<sup>19</sup> Perhaps, however, its existence, or the way it operates, have not in nine months become known in far away parts of Europe. This little experiment in leniency, which has brought less than 3,500 veterans and just 1,339 wives and children, should prove encouraging to a less hesitating wisdom on the part of the cautious keepers of our gates. There are other wives, other husbands, other children, other parents, quite apart from the nieces and nephews, uncles and aunts who may stand in the place of parents or children, included in those European waiting lists, who cannot claim the special dispensation of a husband's citizenship or war record.

*Waiting lists.*—The quota waiting lists from certain of the Northern and Western European countries, to be sure, are only a few months long. Others from these countries, which were especially favored by the 1890 Census quota base, have ranged from one to seven years. For most of the Central and Eastern European and some of the Balkan countries last year's consular estimates indicated a possible quota waiting list from twenty to eighty years long. For others of the Balkan and Southern European countries the potential list, based on annual quota and estimated demand, ranged from one hundred to two hundred years. Such facts astonish and humiliate, and fortunately, impel toward

<sup>18</sup> *Annual Report Commissioner General of Immigration, 1926*, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

the highly desirable policy of more flexible adjustment of quotas, and the extension of non-quota status to other well defined groups.

#### EXPERIENCE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK RED CROSS

The experiment of the Czechoslovak Red Cross in adjusting the preference quota is of especial interest in this connection. During the first year of operation of the Act of 1924, in certain countries, notably Czechoslovakia—also, it was said, Italy and Jugo Slavia—it became customary for the United States consuls to turn over to the local emigration officials the assignment of a certain proportion of immigrant passports, to which the consuls then affixed visas. In Czechoslovakia, especially, a very intelligent and human system of assigning these quota places was built up. A communication from the Czechoslovak Red Cross states:

The American consul in Prague kept 50 per cent of the allotted quota for the preferred classes. The second half of the quota was turned over to the Ministry of Social Welfare to be distributed among the regular emigrants. The Ministry was especially interested in the families of former emigrants, which were left behind in the old country, and endeavoured to make it possible for the wives and children of these emigrants to join their respective husbands and fathers. Most of these men had gone to the United States in the year 1922 and 1923, when the quota was over 14 thousand a year. The men left their families behind in full expectation that within a year or so they would be united again. When in 1924 the quota was reduced to only three thousand emigrants a year from our Republic, the Ministry of Social Welfare had in their files over six thousand passports of women going to their husbands. The 50 per cent of the quota which the Ministry had at disposal, would allow therefore some fifteen hundred women a year to join their husbands, and within four years all these families would have been united.

However, the representative of the United States government announced to our government that for the future he could not visae the passports of women and children, that other classes of emigrants are to be given a chance also, and requested that the holders of passports be called to Prague in numerical order. It must be taken into consideration that at the Ministry of Social Welfare there are some forty thousand passports which had been issued up to February 15, 1924, since that day no emigrant passports for the United States were allowed to be issued. The passports are filed in the order as they came to the Office from the different county seats which had issued them. Out of these forty thousand passports the Ministry extracted the passports of wives going to their husbands and reached just about half of the numbers when this new request of the American consul was made known. This means now that the other half of the women (in correct figures 2,696 wives) must wait until some eighteen-twenty thousand men, single women or unseparated families will be given a chance to leave for the United States. Can anyone grasp the situation? We must let go the men and women, most of whom are going to distant relatives, and the wives and children, who have no one here to care for them, must stay behind.

It was therefore a heavy blow which was dealt to all this work and brought it to naught, when the American consul asked that these our preferred classes be abolished, a blow, killing all hopes and painfully touching the hearts of parents who were looking for spring, because it would bring them their children.

In the experiment of the Ministry of Social Welfare of Czechoslovakia lies a suggestion for future general public policy.

## THE SEPARATED FAMILY STUDY

Since official reports do not furnish adequate facts as to numbers of separated families and since no quantitative study would be possible in a field of which no one, not even the wisest consul abroad, knows the actual size, it is believed that an intensive examination of groups of cases, selected because of their known relation to this problem will yield the most information. Under the direction of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, the Immigrants' Protective League is now making a careful study of from one hundred to two hundred cases of separated families.

*Basis of case selection.*—The first selections made for this group are current Immigrants' Protective League cases of families who had been separated, in which the husband had asked advice or service, and in which the wife or children have joined or are about to join him. Because the waiting lists from their countries were so long, an effort was especially made to include Polish and Italian families. Cases of Italians present particularly interesting and rather unusual histories. It is now quite customary for Italian men awaiting citizenship in the United States and financially able to make annual or biennial visits to their families abroad. To this group are being added cases known to this organization as "support of relatives abroad," in which wives are not here, and are or are not being supported; cases of children not inadmissible who require support; cases of separated families in which there has been an ultimate break, in which perhaps desertion, infidelity, bigamy, or divorce may have occurred. Those in which the quota immigration laws have been the chief factor in the separation fall of course into the group of keenest interest in this discussion.

Two students in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago are gathering this information. One, a staff member of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, will make this study the subject of a Master's thesis. Her connection with that Bureau and her proximity to the local office of the Council of Jewish Women in Chicago have given her entrée to the records of those two organizations also. Her report therefore will include the use of records cooperatively furnished by them.

*Nationality.*—Included in the 134 cases so far scheduled, are persons representing twelve countries of birth: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Lithuania, Palestine, Persia, Poland, Roumania, Russia. It is planned to extend the list of nationalities.

*Length of separation.*—An overwhelmingly large proportion, 110 out of 134, emigrated to the United States before 1921. Twenty came in the period between the first and second quota laws. Only two arrived after the immigration act of 1924 passed. For two the date of arrival is not yet recorded. This is a group therefore in which separation has been in the main longer than five years. For 42 families it has ranged from five to ten years; for 40, it has

ranged from ten to fifteen years; for 16 families, it has been more than fifteen years.

*Reasons for emigration.*—These are the families of men, chiefly, who came to this country, as they have always come, for opportunity. The reasons for immigration found among these separated families are not new. The question must be raised, however, as to whether the reason for emigration would have been compelling enough had there been a warning, before the war, of the length of separation it would cause, or the prolongation of separation under the quota acts. It is the pioneer spirit still that prompts some, and the promise which a new country always holds out. They still come to evade political and religious oppression. A number out of these give as their reason for emigration, compulsory military service. Or after military service, they "do not want to return to farming," do "not have a trade to find work in a European city," and "therefore decide to emigrate to America," where they hear "one can easily find work." They come of course, in far the largest numbers, for economic reasons, sharpened since 1914 by the war and post-war conditions in many of the countries involved.

*Reasons for leaving family behind.*—Economic reasons are in most cases the decisive factor, too, in the initial separation of the family. There is "lack of employment," "no money," "not money enough for more than one steamship ticket." Some of the men interviewed explained that they "did not wish to borrow so much," that they "were not sure they would settle in America." One man said he "went as others do in Italy. Secured permission from the government to leave wife and go to America for work. Did not intend to stay in the United States permanently." Another from the same country, who had served in the army throughout the war, said that "the Government offered transportation for the whole family but he did not know the conditions here after the war, and so was afraid to bring them into uncertainty. Then he could not bring her over because he was not a citizen. They tried to get her over, but there was always something to prevent. If you have to go to larger towns to get the necessary things fixed, it costs money."

The economic reason is somewhat inverted for another family who own property and have a bank account in Italy. To sell the real estate would mean great financial sacrifice. Their money is deposited in a government bank which pays interest every six months, but if the account is withdrawn, the rate of interest is reduced from 13 per cent to 3 per cent. This family prefers that the wife and child remain in Italy until the husband earns enough to send them tickets.

*Subsequent factors in delay.*—Initial "reasons for leaving family behind" quite frequently lengthen into "subsequent factors in delay." As the men be-

come better settled in this country, however, the economic factor becomes less decisive. An interesting tabulation has been made of the subsequent factors in delay in separated families, correlated with length of residence of the husband in the United States. It has been noted, as separation lengthens, covering most frequently in the group under study from eleven to fifteen years, that factors in delay concentrate in the personal and domestic. Something of their nature will later appear. It is important to observe that immigration and naturalization obstacles not only block reunion most frequently for those resident in the United States from eleven to fifteen years, but that even after twenty years, such difficulties stand in the way of reunion.

*The situation in these families.*—Among the separated families represented are those who are patiently waiting for citizenship and reunion; those in which the misunderstandings of separation have begun to creep; those in which the husband and father finally decides to give up the struggle and his stake in America, which at middle age, or later, may constitute his only certain means of livelihood, and return to his European birthplace; other men who grow indifferent to their families abroad, whose letters become less frequent, between whom the gossip of others enters; whose support of families abroad dwindles to nothing; families in which there is drunkenness, gambling, jealousy, illegitimacy; men who are tempted to infidelity, as may prove true also of their wives; families in which children become unmanageable or delinquent; men who may acquire new family connections here with or without divorce. Perhaps some of these situations might have occurred without separation. It is safe to say, however, that separation served to intensify them.

*Illustration of non-support.*—Among the sharpest of all the problems encountered in these separated families are those of non-support. The following letters will serve as illustrations of what that may mean. They are very frequent. One, for instance, is from a Consulate General in Chicago:

To this Consulate General has applied Mrs. B., residing in Poland, with the request to oblige her husband, residing at Chicago, to take care of his family, consisting of the petitioner and two children born in the United States. In view of the foregoing I take the liberty of asking you whether it will be possible for you to induce him to bring over his family to the United States, or to support them in Poland. At this opportunity I wish to add that all the influence used by this office failed in this case.

An agency abroad reports the situation of another wife in these words:

Several years ago, Mrs. H. took the children to Europe to visit relatives. She says that the plan was for her husband to follow her if she felt the family could manage to live there. If not, he was to send money for their return to America. At first he wrote very regularly and sent funds for the support of the family but he has not written now in two years. Mrs. H. and the children are living with her father. The grandfather is very poor, and there is almost nothing to offer for the support of these five additional persons. Mrs.



H. works as a laundress but her earnings are small. The village police tell us that the children are undernourished and have no proper clothing and that their mother cannot send them to school.

A third wife writes for aid in securing support in this appeal:

I undersigned, notify that my husband who left me with three small children and his blind father, and who went to America thirteen years ago next spring, was writing to me at first several times and was sending me money. When the war broke out, he could not write until the end of the war, and then he was writing again and sending a few dollars, and sent to our daughter a steamship ticket for her to come to him to America. As it could not be arranged, I sent the steamship ticket back to him. It is impossible to go to America now as I am in debt, I have no house for the children. We all live in a small shed. It is already five years since he is living there with some other woman, and seldom writes to me and does not send me anything now. Besides he left me in debt here of about 1000 dollars. On account of this debt he sent me 200 dollars and the balance is up to me to pay. Moreover, in 1915, the Russians retreating, burned up all my property and, therefore, I am now in great poverty with children and have no means of support; besides, my youngest son, fourteen years is a cripple since six years, unable to take care of himself, has to be dressed and fed as well as furnished medical treatment, and I have not a cent and can earn it nowhere, nor receive any help, and my husband gave everything up and does not come to my aid in such a critical condition. Therefore I am compelled to turn to the Consulate of the Republic that it kindly come to my assistance and collect from my husband the money for the debt which he left here, and that he send me something regularly for the support of his children whom he left with me, as the creditors are suing me and I do not know what to do, nor where to live. Therefore I request the High Consulate of the Republic of Poland to help that my husband repay the debt which he left, and pay for the support of his children which are in poverty with me.

Although these illustrations happen to be Polish, they are characteristic of other nationalities as well.

*Bigamy and divorce.*—Organizations dealing with separated families are not inapt now to come upon cases of divorce without notification, or even of bigamy.

One is the case of an immigrant who came to the United States in 1913, leaving his wife and two sons, now twenty and eighteen years of age. Up until December, 1923, he corresponded with the family quite regularly but since then he has not heard from them. He states that he is still sending money through a certain bank here but receives nothing in return except receipts with the boy's signatures. A short time ago a friend returned from Poland and said that his wife had died. He wrote to his sister, living in the same village but received no reply. On January 22, 1926, he married a widow with four children who was receiving aid from the juvenile court. But in the meantime an investigation was made in the little home village in Poland, with this resulting information: "March 16, 1926. I, Policeman from the Police Post at ——— in reply to your letter state: The above mentioned lives at ———. She is 38

years old and lives with both her sons Stefan and Karp. They are all in good health. The above mentioned is in a very hard position, because her husband since a long time does not give any news about himself and does not give her any help." Such situations give rise to really international complications. The local States Attorney's office has assured the Polish Consul that no amount of documents proving the marriage and identifying the parties is adequate in a criminal charge of this nature.

Another case of an Austrian family illustrates divorce without due process. The husband came to the United States in 1922 leaving a wife and three children in Vienna. For a time correspondence was maintained and some money was sent for the family in Europe. In 1923 a steamship ticket and documents were issued and only the exhausted Austrian quota prevented the family from sailing for this country. From that time the husband seemed to lose interest. In June, 1925, he secured a divorce from his wife in the Superior Court of Cook County on grounds of desertion, testifying that his wife had refused to come to America and remarrying the same month a woman with whom he had boarded. His wife still hopes to have the divorce set aside and support from her husband in some way secured.

On such families as these, then, the strain of life apart rests most heavily. An ultimate reunion, after separation in which such situations have occurred, does not always check the family demoralization begun. The possibilities of tension and strife, hardship and breakdown, arising out of enforced separation cannot fail to be disadvantageous and dangerous for America.

#### SUGGESTED REMEDIES

Two directions are open toward the alleviation which this country and other countries must bring about. One is in the revision of the Immigration Act of 1924 at the points where it works greatest hardship, at the next Session of Congress is possible. The other lies in the development of international case work and adequate international machinery which will insure justice and welfare to the individual families affected.

Perhaps American laws must unbend in the requirements of testimony and evidence. Perhaps they must be amended at the point of fixing a longer period than "four successive weeks" for "notice by publication" in divorce proceedings. Many little European towns are farther than thirty days in communication away from an American court. Perhaps some official assurance of translation into the wife's language should be provided. Perhaps new powers and international functions must be added to courts of domestic relations here and abroad. Perhaps an international court over all must handle matters of divorce involving husbands and wives who are residents of different countries.

Private organizations, whose expansion was greatly accelerated in Euro-

pean countries during the war, must lead the way in this direction. Much promise toward interaffiliation, the standardization of their work, and the development of their power, lies in the International Conference of Private Organizations for the Protection of Migrants, with its active headquarters at Geneva. It is to be hoped that this international group of groups will find the opportunity it is seeking of an integration with the work of the League of Nations.

In the direction of the first suggestion, revision of the present immigration law, Congress is stirring but still undecided. There is strong opposition in Congress to modification of restriction.

*The President's point of view.*—Very fortunately, indeed, the executive officials concerned in the administration of the immigration laws recognize the need of change. President Coolidge has twice called the attention of Congress to America's problem of separated families. In his message at the beginning of the first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress, the President pointed out to that body that "the situation should be carefully surveyed in order to ascertain whether it is working a needless hardship upon our own inhabitants. If it deprives them of the comfort and society of those bound to them by close family ties, such modifications should be adopted as will afford relief." At the opening of the second session, his message even more forcibly reiterated that "our immigration restrictions ought not to cause a needless separation of families and dependents from their natural source of support, contrary to the dictates of humanity."

*Recommendations of the United States Department of Labor.*—The Commissioner General of Immigration suggests in his last report, definite and practical measures of relief:

- I. A nonquota status in the issuance of immigration visas should be given to (a) "the parents of citizens of the United States; (b) the husband of a citizen of the United States; (c) the children between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one of citizens of the United States." The number to be benefited by this relaxation of our policy is not large and considerations of fairness and humanity fully support my recommendation. Certainly American wives should have the right to petition for nonquota status for their alien husbands just as we now confer the right upon American husbands to petition for nonquota status for their alien wives.
- II. A general discretion with regard to the excluding provisions of the immigration laws should be vested in the Secretary of Labor to readmit expatriated native and naturalized citizens.
- III. Legislative provision should be made to legalize the residence of these people by *nunc pro tunc* examinations before immigrant inspectors and officers of the Public Health Service, thus dispensing with the unnecessary hardship of departure and re-application under the existing quotas.
- IV. Discretion should be conferred upon the Secretary of Labor to permit the permanent residence here of political refugees who are now in the country under a nonimmigrant status.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1926*, pp. 23, 24.

The Secretary of the United States Department of Labor recommends in addition:

- I. Extension of preference status on the grounds of humanity to husbands, wives and minor children of alien residents in the United States.
- II. The addition to the total quota of the subsequent year the total unused quota of the year closed, plus a small reserve, say 5,000, to be allotted according to the quota ratio to each quota country; charges against it to be confined to dependent fathers, mothers, and minor unmarried children of American citizens (now entitled to preference within quota.)<sup>21</sup>
- III. Whenever an application is received from an immigrant head of family he should be questioned regarding his intention relative to the future residence of his dependents, and if he expects to have them join him in the United States later, he should be required to file applications for his family at the same time; that they should be given preliminary examinations to determine their apparent admissibility, and receive their appropriate visas. In the case of these family visas, the period of validity of the visas should be increased from four months, as now limited, to one year, thus making it possible for all preliminaries to be arranged by the husband and father for his family prior to his own departure from abroad. Otherwise when he is able to send for them, he may find that the number of applications awaiting distribution of quotas is so great that years may elapse before the family can secure the necessary quota visas.

Here lies the beginning of a concrete congressional program, which should certainly be written immediately into America's immigration legislation. Then the program should be extended. It is peculiarly the province of social workers concerned with the welfare of individuals and their communities, to assume leadership in the arraying of that public opinion necessary for enactment. They must believe, with the Czechoslovak Ministry of Social Welfare, that "a human being is not a machine which could be transferred from one place into another vicinity regardless of his family ties, and then expect of him the same efficiency in work as before. Experiences gained from everyday life show that a separated family is just as much the cause of a fall, as an orderly family is the support of the state."

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### THE VITAL PROBLEM IN MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

*Don D. Lescohier, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison*

There are approximately 15,000,000 people in Mexico. Our sister nation to the south constitutes no such vast reservoir of surplus population as does Europe or Asia. The United States cannot be overwhelmed by a vast Mexican migration, as it could by a vast Russian, Chinese, or Hindu migration.

Moreover, we are justified in assuming that some Mexicans, at least a few of them, will not emigrate to the United States. Mexico is the most densely

<sup>21</sup> From *Annual Report of Secretary of Labor for Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1926*.

populated of the Latin-American republics, but has within its borders a vast amount of unused and inadequately utilized land. There is reason to believe that Mexico has a richer store of undeveloped mineral resources than any like area in the world. Large water-power and irrigation resources await development. American and European capitalists, working with awakening Mexicans and aided by Mexico's new land and educational policies, are going to open new opportunities for improved livelihood in their home land to an increasing number of Mexicans. There is no reason to get hysterical over potential Mexican immigration.

The United States census of 1850 found 13,317 Mexicans in this country. Their numbers have grown at an increasingly rapid rate from decade to decade. They reached 103,393 in 1900; 219,802 in 1910, and 478,383 in 1920. The net surplus of Mexican immigration over emigration since 1919 has been almost 400,000. Allowing for the natural increase of Mexican population resident in the United States, we are safe in predicting a Mexican population close to a million when the next census is taken. This would be an increase of 100 per cent over the 1920 census. The increase during the preceding decade was 118 per cent, and between 1900 and 1910 was 115 per cent. The Mexican promises to constitute a little less than 1 per cent of our population in 1930.

One per cent does not sound large. It isn't a matter of major importance in the election of a president. But a million people and their descendants are a significant fact when you are talking about the nation's blood strains and its social problems. It is doubly significant when it is geographically concentrated. Over 80 per cent of the Mexican population of this country is in Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico, and more than 80 per cent of the recent Mexican immigration has gone to those states. The tendency to scatter out over the country has produced significant local increases outside of these states, as in Colorado, the Missouri Valley, and the Great Lakes region, especially in Denver, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit. But the Missouri Valley region, from Colorado to Missouri and Iowa, still falls short of having 10 per cent of the Mexican population, just as it did in 1920; and the Great Lakes region still falls far below 5 per cent. The Mexicans are overwhelmingly concentrated in the Southwest. They will continue to be so concentrated for some time to come.

Texas constitutes the center of the Mexican problem. The number of Mexicans in the Lone Star State today exceeds 1,350,000. There are, also, approximately 800,000 Negroes and a small number of American Indians in the state. The racial and social problems faced by the 3,500,000 whites of Texas are colossal. Let us not fail to appreciate them. It is easy for the outsider to underestimate what a state like Texas, with its vast territory and relatively sparse population, has on its hands. California is in a much better position to grapple with its Mexican situation. The state has but a little more than 100,-

ooo Mexicans, and practically no Negroes. The oriental problem is relatively small and in control, and the great city of Los Angeles, in and around which half of the California Mexicans reside, is well equipped to grapple with the social and educational aspects of Mexican immigration and is attacking the problem vigorously. Arizona and Mexico, frontier states, with their Mexican population scattered through rural districts or concentrated in mining camps, work under disadvantages fully as great as those of Texas. The accomplishments of these states to date should not be underestimated by those who live in more closely settled sections of the country.

Immigration from any country into the United States ordinarily goes through a period of gradual increase, culminating in many cases in a short period of greatly accelerated migration, and then settles down to a more or less uniform or declining flow. British, German, Scandinavian, and other national migrations to the United States have exhibited this general trend to rather steady increase, sharp rise to a final peak, and then steady flow at a reduced and fairly uniform rate. The quota law has recently re-stimulated the immigration of some nationals and artificially decreased that of others. From time to time the general trend of migration movements is disturbed by temporary or accidental forces, such as wars, crises, or extraordinary economic opportunities abroad, such as gold or oil discoveries or the opening up of lands by the American homestead law, or by legislation like our quota law.

Mexican immigration is exhibiting the same general tendencies as European immigration. Mexicans were crossing and recrossing their northern boundary into the American southwest long before the American nation was born. The development of the southwest during the nineteenth century was accompanied by a gradually increasing movement of Mexicans to American ranches, mines, and other frontier activities. Over 13,000 were recorded as living in this country in 1850; 27,466 in 1860; and 42,435 in 1870. We have no dependable immigration records previous to 1908, but each census has recorded a marked increase in our permanent Mexican population. It multiplied eight times from 1850 to 1900; 35 times from 1850 to 1920. During the latter years of the Diaz régime, i. e., just before 1910, when oppression of the peon became acute, Mexican immigration increased sharply. The early years of the revolutionary period which began in 1910 produced a migration which reached a peak of 23,238 to the United States in 1912, unquestionably the greatest Mexican immigration in our history up to that time. In 1913 the immigration was back to less than 12,000, which was about where it would have been during the preceding years if the political situation in Mexico had not temporarily stimulated emigration. From 1913 onward, emigration from Mexico increased rapidly, interrupted only by a sharp recession in 1921 and 1922 to a peak of 89,336 in 1924. The immigration of the last two years has been less than half of



what it was in 1924, and I would not be surprised if 1924 remains the peak of Mexican immigration.

Americans have often overestimated the volume of Mexican immigration, and many are doing so today. In an able article on the Mexicans in the *Survey* of 1912,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Samuel Bryan, of California, estimated that from 60,000 to 100,000 Mexicans were entering this country annually, and that our yearly net accretion of population by Mexican immigration was between 35,000 and 70,000. The United States census of 1920 showed that the average annual increase, including births in Mexican families in the United States, averaged but 11,541 per year during that decade. Mr. Ryan expected the Mexican population to increase by 300 per cent during the decade; it actually increased but 118 per cent. Americans who think that an enormous number of Mexicans are entering this country illegally will probably be surprised when they see the 1930 census figures. I will venture the prediction that the immigration figures and the natural increase of Mexicans living in this country will account for more than 90 per cent, probably 95 per cent, of all the Mexicans within our borders in 1930.

The most important problem of Mexican immigration is the race problem involved. The speaker is not one of those who believe that all wisdom, ability, and promise is bound up in the Nordic race. He recognizes the probability that other races may make an equal contribution to the world's life. He believes, however, that there are differences in the average capacity of races just as definite and significant as the differences between different individuals. Some families produce generation after generation of capable, energetic, socially valuable people. Others produce generation after generation of criminals, paupers, and vice addicts. There is every reason to believe that some races have a larger proportion of the better strains than some others do. The basic problem to be faced with respect to each and every immigrant group is, What kind of people are they contributing to the American nation? What sort of blood strains are they injecting into our social fabric?

From 1920 to the present time the Mexicans have constituted a shade less than 10 per cent of our total immigration. In four of the last seven years they have constituted from 12-14 per cent of our immigration. Only the British and Canadians are more important elements in the immigration stream. At the end of the decade Mexico will, in all probability, have added close to half a million of her citizens to our national population, for most of the Mexicans who are entering the United States are remaining. Since 1920 the return tide to Mexico has equaled but 8 per cent of the immigration into the United States. Adding our deportation of Mexicans, it has constituted about 10 per cent of the immigration. The indications are that the return flow will diminish rather than increase in the immediate future.

<sup>1</sup> *The Survey*, XXVIII, 727.

Much of the discussion of Mexican immigration has centered around matters which are, after all, comparatively superficial except as they indicate race qualities. It is a significant, but not a vital, fact that less than 10 per cent of our Mexican immigrants are skilled mechanics or professional people. We can train them if they have native capacity. It is significant that a larger percentage of Mexicans than of Europeans unable to pass the literacy test get into the United States, and that a large number of those who pass it are unable to do much more than pass. But we can educate them and their children if they have desire and capacity for education. It is significant but not final that only 4.8 per cent of the Mexicans in the United States in 1920 were naturalized, and but .6 per cent had taken out their first papers. Apparently they showed slight interest in American citizenship. Some other peoples who have been negligent of naturalization later changed their attitude. It is significant that Mexican immigration is giving us a considerable excess of males. But many European peoples have done the same thing during the early years of their mass migration to this country, and the North is receiving an excess of Negroes in these early years of the Negro's migration to northern industrial cities. Scattered data which has come to my hands suggests that in Texas, California, and Arizona the Mexicans produce more than their share of pauperism and crime. The same thing has been true of more than one migrant people in the periods when they were making their adjustments to a new environment or had not outlived the standards which they brought from their old environment. Crimes against the person and stealing appear to be more common in Mexico than in this country, and to carry a weaker social taboo. These problems, like some of the others just mentioned, may be overcome gradually as the American environment dominates the minds of the Mexican immigrants.

I am not underestimating any of these problems. I recognize that they are serious. I realize that they are stubborn and that it may take a long time, much money, and much effort and patience to bring the average Mexican immigrant into harmony with American economic, political, moral, and social standards. But they are problems definitely solvable by proper environmental influences, provided that the cause of these conditions is not inherent in the blood of the Mexican immigrant.

Mexico has a population of about 15,000,000 people, of whom approximately 19 per cent, some two to three millions, are of pure or almost pure white blood; about 43 per cent, or seven to eight millions, mixed Spanish and white blood; and about 38 per cent, or five to six million, pure-blooded Indians. There are a small number of Negroes and a small number of foreigners. Neither are of importance to our discussion. Our Mexican immigration is coming increasingly from the interior of Mexico, which is more purely Indian. The northern provinces, which contain the most white blood, have sent us most

of our immigrants in the past. As Mexican immigration gains in volume it also becomes more largely Indian in its composition.

The Indians, whom Cortez found in Mexico in 1518 A.D., had developed three important civilizations.

The Maya civilization, probably greatest of them all, had gone into decline some thousand years before the Spaniards came. The Toltec civilization which developed later than the Maya had been in decline for centuries when Cortez conquered Mexico in 1518-21 A.D., and only the Aztec civilization, least original of the Indian civilizations, still flourished. Even the Aztec had passed its zenith. Very little of what was noteworthy in these ancient Indian civilizations has been inherited by the Indians of modern Mexico. The decline of these cultures, moreover, cannot be attributed to the white man's invasion. It had taken place before the white man imposed his civilization. There is little likelihood that a renaissance of the Indian civilizations would have occurred if the whites had not come. The inventive, aggressive, active mentality which had produced those civilizations appears to have died out of the Indians in the pre-Spanish period. Clark Wissler, in his *American Indian*, declares that the "present state of native culture in Central America is quite the reverse of what the archaeology would lead us to expect. This is particularly true of the Maya area, in which quite primitive and loosely organized groups are still found speaking the Maya language."<sup>2</sup>

Observing the Mexican Indian as we see him in Mexico and in the American southwest, we are justified in asking whether we are wise to add an indefinite number of them to our population. We must ask ourselves whether we have reason to believe that the Mexican Indian will be more successful in adapting himself to the white man's civilization as found in the United States than the Indians of the United States have been. We must inquire whether the backwardness of Mexico should be attributed to medieval thinking and policies on the part of the whites who have dominated Mexico for four hundred years, or is largely due to an incapacity for progress characteristic of the Indian?

I do not think we can avoid facing these questions. No matter what answer is given to them we must gird our loins to the task of educating, training, making as economically efficient and morally sound as possible the million Mexicans which we will have on our hands within three or four years. But if we reach the conclusion that the Mexican Indian races are distinctly inferior, in their capacity for Nordic civilization, to the population of this country, our duty to enforce the same restrictive standards upon them that we have enforced upon Europe or upon the Orient becomes clear. I say, *if we reach that conclusion*.

<sup>2</sup> Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 228.

American and European travelers in Mexico, and American employers, educators, and social workers in the United States, almost universally agree that the Mexican peons show a baffling lack of ambition and thrift, a failure to pay the price of success, an apparent indifference to progress. Like many other immigrant peoples on a low cultural level, they have drifted into the least desirable sections of our cities. A smaller proportion of their children go to high school than of the children of European immigrants. Their infant mortality and general morbidity rates are very high. Mental tests applied to them in American schools have, in every case that has come to my attention, indicated a somewhat lower mental quality than for American children. The inability of Mexico to develop in four hundred years any settled government or universal education, its failure to utilize its magnificent national resources, the backwardness, even primitiveness, of millions of its people, all raise serious questions of racial capacity. Circumstances hardly explain all the backwardness of Mexico.

On the other hand, as Ross and others have pointed out, Mexico has been cursed throughout its history by a political and economic system imposed upon it in the colonial period, which riveted chains of oppression and ignorance upon the masses of the people; by the failure of the Mexican Catholic church to keep pace in its policies and social influence with the standards of the Catholic church in such countries as the United States; with the resistance of the ruling classes to popular education; with the insecurities of a tax system that seized wealth wherever it appeared, regardless of the effect on enterprise; and widespread banditry, which gave the ambitious man's earnings to the robber. Thrift has been undermined by the national lottery system, and morals by the masculine sex domination inherited from the Middle Ages. The Mexican Indian peon has had a Sinbad on his back heavy enough to crush a giant.

Travelers agree that the Mexican Indian has an unusual love of beauty, an aesthetic sense superior to that of many European peoples. He loves flowers and music, and displays marked ability in painting, sculpture, and handicrafts. Given a full stomach, a comfortable house, security for his savings, and an education, he may surprise the world.

I do not know the answer to the question I have raised. I do not know what are the possibilities of the Mexican Indian under American environmental conditions. I think that there is a sufficient burden of evidence indicating his inferiority at present to what this country wants in its immigrants to justify us in checking Mexican immigration by appropriate legislation until we have studied more carefully the degree of promise shown by the Mexicans of Los Angeles and other cities where a real effort is being made to help them to become real Americans. Two duties, therefore, seem to me to lie immediately before us, two separate tasks: to promote the education, assimilation, and guidance of the Mexican in the United States so that we may see what he can

accomplish under American conditions; and to check the flow of fresh Mexican immigration until Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona have mastered the problems they now have. And if employers in the Southwest complain because they cannot get an unlimited supply of fresh, cheap peons, let them complain.

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### THE AMERICAN MIGRANT: THE NEGRO

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It has now been long enough since the first precipitate onrush of Negroes from sections of the south to industrial centers of the north to isolate for study at least certain of the outstanding factors involved, as well as to observe more clearly the characteristics of mass changes in the Negro population. The first almost certain conviction forcing itself is that the migration of Negroes are economic at base; more than this, that the gross fluctuations in the Negro population occur promptly in response to changing national industrial fortunes.

The reasons given by Richard T. Greener for the migration of Negroes from Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama in 1879 (nearly fifty years ago) could be used, with scarcely a change of wording, in 1927. Too much cheap labor in the south; bad treatment, which they could not but see was closely related to the harsh competitive phases of life; and better wages and living conditions.

At this point it may be well to cite a natural parallel in the immigration of Jews from Russia. Prior to the eighties, immigration from Russia was negligible. It increased from 5,000 in 1881 to 17,000 in 1882. There were prosperous conditions in the United States and persecution in Russia. But although persecution continued, this migration slumped after 1882, and, with increasing prosperity in the United States, rose to 81,511 in 1892. Despite the fact that the Jews were expelled in 1891 from Russia by imperial edict, in 1893 the numbers were declining, due to depression in this country. With the industrial development in this country, occurring along with depression in Russia, this immigration began to take on vast proportions, and in 1906 there were 263,000 arrivals.

With but few surface differences, Negro migration and European and Mexican immigration are, in features and motivation, quite the same; the differences, where they exist, appear most conspicuously in community reaction on the question of assimilability. In this sense Negro and immigrant labor find themselves in an important relationship with each other. It is about these relationships that this paper will deal, briefly.

A great deal was heard, about the time of the heavy Negro movements in 1918 and 1923, of the restlessness of the Negro population in the south. The interpretation was a bit narrow. They were, indeed, restless; but there was

needed a broader view of this fermentation. It seems more sensible now to regard this Negro restlessness as a part of the whole picture of the changing economic life of the South. When cotton became important this population was shifted from the Middle Atlantic states to the delta stretches of the South. When these lands were exhausted and it became impossible to support an increasing population on diminishing returns from the soil, when, with the release of the white laboring classes, competition became acute in the older sections of the South, and death rates mounted, there was movement to the cities and movement further south to new lands. This was economic, almost purely; they were moving blindly in response to the economic urge. They did not go north to a nominal freedom, for there was no sufficient promise of sustenance there. They were not leaving alone, for, as has been pointed out many times before, the white population was moving just as rapidly. But when the current of foreign immigration, which had been yielding in its later years a million workers annually, suddenly checked, the tides turned northward. Since 1917 about 1,200,000 Negroes have moved north.

Some of what I have mentioned is known information. The point is merely to stress the almost purely economic character at bottom in probably every Negro movement. It rules out promptly many wild speculations: first, that a Negro migration can be caused by a fiat; second, that Negro migration has no checks or controls; third, that this migration necessarily increased the burden of a city. At the same time it suggests certain new possibilities: first, that, as in any general population movement, it is likely to indicate a stirring in the direction of increased returns for itself, and thus, indirectly, an improvement in living standards, a wholesome progress; second, that it throws itself into relief as a somewhat vital part of the national industrial economy. In the third place, as an economic phenomenon primarily it has qualities more readily predictable. For example, we may expect, as a result of the floods through the Mississippi Valley, an increased movement of southern negroes to those centers affording work of any sort.

Professor Harry Jerome has just completed for the National Bureau of Economic Research a valuable study of migration and business cycles with which I am taking the liberty of making certain comparisons with Negro labor, and certain interpretations. These facts are mentioned because what is true of general migrations is true of Negro migrations: first, emigration tends to be large in depression years and low in boom years. The peaks of Negro migration have been reached in 1878 and 1879, 1916-18, and 1923. In these years there were floods and crop failures coincidental with boom periods and with aggravated demands for workers. Second, unskilled labor shows the greatest fluctuations. There is a vast difference in the fluctuations between skilled and unskilled, skilled and professional workers throughout these periods and throughout the year. Similarly, there is a vast fluctuation in the migration between



north and south Europeans, the latter contributing the unskilled workers in greatest proportion. Negroes, the American migrants, are used first and generally as unskilled laborers, and show the fluctuations characteristic of the unskilled workers. Third, there is, with unrestricted immigration, a rough approximation to seasonal demand and to periods of increased business activity. A significant difference appears between long and short distance migration. With the first, adjustment is more difficult; with the second a reduction in immigration more quickly follows a reduction in actual demand for workers. Fourth, the high periods of immigration occur during March, April, and May, and the low periods in the fall. This is precisely the case with Negro migrants, except that we have been accustomed to saying that they were waiting for spring and warm weather before moving north, and that they went home in the late fall because they feared the rigor of northern winters; fifth, immigration tends to increase the intensity of boom periods by making possible an "intensified expansion" of industry and at the same time checking the regularization of industry. Finally, the easy availability of reserve labor leads or tends to lead to reduction in wages through competition, to large turnover, to changed attitudes of employers toward workers of a class or race, and to changed workers' attitudes toward these new workers. On this last it is necessary only to refer to the fairly common practice, during the first Negro migrations, of a carrying of a double wage scale for white and Negro workers, and the frequent practice now of carrying a double wage scale for Negroes and Mexicans; to the extraordinary charges against Negro turnover in industry, which in itself is very little different, if at all, from the turnover of unskilled workers generally; to the vast and frequent contradiction in employers' judgments about the abilities of Negro workers, which follow the swift changes of demand and its corollary of desirability; to the welcome of new workers by labor when these accessions are for the less desirable unskilled work which automatically lifts white labor into a higher grade, and the fierce objection—sometimes outbreaks—when their intrenchments are endangered.

These facts sketch roughly the currents in the three types of immigrant workers for industries which are more or less identical. It is possible to observe the Negro phase most clearly in its cross relationship with Mexican labor and the situation created by the forcible restriction of European labor.

The old immigrants went principally to the farms and to trades; they came before the feverish expansion of industry, with its yearly demand for hundreds of thousands of new recruits. The new immigrants went to the new industrial centers, built roads and railroads, carted steel and killed cattle. Four countries, in 1920—Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Russia—had 1,400,309 in New York, 361,701 in New Jersey, 633,038 in Pennsylvania, 213,062 in Michigan. Less than 5 per cent of the immigrants went south. Between 1900 and 1910 from all countries there were 8,795,386 immigrant aliens, of which number

5,788,449, or 65 per cent, were from four south European countries. The immigration legislation cut down the number of south Europeans from 600,000 to about 11,300. Two sources of labor have responded, and with such uniformity that it seems almost useless to point it out. The Negroes from the South have filled the first gaps made by the receding Europeans, and the Mexicans have filled the gaps created by the Negroes. These waves have more than a single meaning. In the first place, the Negro population, being nearer at hand, was the first to be used. They went in largest numbers to Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut—truly where the European migrants had most recently been. They did the work reserved for the rawest recruits to industry, the work done first by the Irish, then the Italians, then the Poles, and in the Far West in large part by Chinese coolies. But as positions were created in semiskilled and skilled work through the natural depletion of these places by promotion, death, and retirement, Negroes moved into these, and it became difficult again to get the wide selection of workers from the Negro group for the first positions in industry. Moreover, there were two other gaps created: first, in those very sections which Negroes had left precipitously, and second, in those sections remote from the centers of the Negro population. Mexican laborers have been recently used in railroad construction work for unskilled work, in brick yards, and in iron and steel works—this first work of the new Negro migrants.

They have gone into the agricultural sections of the South vacated by both Negro and white tenants, and being most accessible, they have gone into California. These figures indicate the response: between 1920 and 1927 there have come into this country 353,721 Mexcans; Texas, on the border and an agricultural state, has received 234,492, or 66.3 per cent, of these; California, 55,090, or 15.6 per cent; and Arizona, 37,878, or 10.7 per cent. The states of foreign immigrants—Michigan, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania—have received so far a total of 9,031; but on the other hand have received nearly half a billion new Negroes since 1910. In the years of depression, particularly 1922, Mexican immigration was comparatively low: 12,572 came to Texas in that year; there was little movement northward either of Negroes or whites; the number of Mexicans coming into the state jumped from 12,572 to 43,537, and in the next year to 55,191. It is increasing gradually in California; rapidly in Illinois and Indiana; remaining about the same year by year in Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and Pennsylvania; it is decreasing slowly in New York, Missouri, and Texas, and rapidly in Louisiana. Except in certain new centers like Illinois and Michigan, Negro and Mexican labor do not meet serious competition.

A net result of the Negro movement has been a deposit of several questions and problems, none of which is as simple as our treatment of them would indicate that we accept them to be. These I shall merely mention without elab-

oration. First, the exposure of Negro workers to industry for about ten years has carried them closer to skilled work and its provision for organization, so that we have now as a most acute question: that of the admission of Negroes to labor unions. The question does not yet seem as serious with Mexican workers. Second, the periods of demand are favorable to employers' attitudes toward Negroes, while the inevitable depression brings mental reaction which reflects itself not merely in Negro work, but in other phases of their life. Third, there is the question of a possible saturation point for a group which does not, like the European immigrant, lose itself and its racial identity after the first or second generation. Fourth, increased standards bring increased demands which become extremely irritating, particularly with the ability to rent or buy properties outside the old established Negro residence areas. Fifth, the release of white workers in the South from the pressure of cheap Negro labor is making possible a new labor consciousness which is reflecting itself in the increasing exclusion of Negroes from their town trades. It is a situation similar to the first release of these white workers after emancipation. Last year the white bricklayers of Nashville petitioned the city council to stop permitting Negro boys to be taught trades in the schools. Seventy-five years ago the white carpenters of Atlanta petitioned the city council on the same grounds. Sixth, over half a million new voters have been enfranchised; seventh, there is the possibility that Mexican labor can be used as a whip for Negro labor as Negro labor was used as a whip for white labor. Eighth, the resident alien labor supply since the years of reduction are approaching the age limits which mark the end of active labor and more accelerated mortality. The demand for both Negro and Mexican labor will be increased. Ninth, along with this there is an effort under way to place Mexican labor on the quota basis, restricting the reserve supply still further. Tenth, exposure to the North has increased health care, literacy for children, and cultural contacts for both children and adults. Finally, it is not at all improbable that, despite the demonstrable advantages to the Negro migrant in the North, the greatest effects of the movement will be felt in the South itself.

## AMERICAN DEPORTATION PROCEDURE: AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL PROBLEM

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The 1921 immigration act created the difficulty of the full quota, by which many people reached the gates of America after all who were admissible at a given time had been let in. To prevent the tragedy of the person who perforce returned whence he came for no other reason than that he arrived a bit too late for admission under his quota, the 1924 immigration act by its rulings provides for allotment of quota numbers before the immigrants set sail.

However, if an immigrant does not qualify in certain mental, physical, economic, or moral respects, he may be turned back. That is, if found on examination to be a pauper, criminal, polygamist, anarchist, prostitute, procurer, contract laborer, stowaway, illiterate, person liable to become a public charge, or an alien ineligible to citizenship, or to have certain physical or mental defects or disease, the immigrant must return. A new plan of complete examination abroad lessens the chance of exclusion from the United States.

Thus the immigration law and its administrative machinery are gradually succeeding in reducing exclusions. Yet our ever tightening restrictionist policy means that many people, here by fair means or foul, should not be in the country according to the immigration laws. The United States is accordingly turning its attention to sending them out. There is considerable confusion as to terms, but there is wide difference as to fact between sending away a person once in the country and turning him back before he has entered.

"'Deportation,' as distinguished from 'exclusion,' is depriving a person already in the United States of a privilege which he . . . is enjoying; whereas 'exclusion' is denial of entry and does not deprive one of any liberties he had theretofore enjoyed."<sup>1</sup> Deportation is also called expulsion, and in Bureau of Immigration parlance, deportation cases are termed "warrants." Let us avoid confusion by following the definition of the United States Supreme Court in the *Fong Yue Ting* case, where it is stated, "deportation is the removal of an alien out of the country, simply because his presence is deemed inconsistent with the public welfare, and without any punishment being imposed or contemplated, either under the laws of the country out of which he is sent or those of the country to which he is taken."<sup>2</sup>

That case decided, despite three vigorous dissenting opinions, that the United States, constitutionally and under international law, can send aliens out of the country. Since then the number of causes for which they may be sent has been increasing, as has the length of time after entry within which they

<sup>1</sup> *Ex Parte Domingo Corypus*, 6 Fed. (2d) 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Fong Mue Ting v. United States*, 149 U. S. 709.

may go, and the number sent. In 1920, 2,762 were reported and by 1926 a total of 10,904 was reached; the number will still further be increased as soon as the budget of the immigration service permits. The vast increase in deportation is due in some measure to the many persons smuggled in across the Canadian or Mexican border or along the stretches of seacoast; also, the reduction in exclusions has freed the time of the inspectors in large degree for deportation work. The result of the increase is that the Commissioner-General of Immigration feels deportation has become one of the most important functions of the immigration service.

The emphasis on deportation as a feature of American immigration policy makes it imperative for social workers to take increased cognizance of the question. In a study of 550 cases of deportation from the United States to Europe, it was found that 19.3 per cent of the total number were known to social agencies, even though many cases were located at border points ill equipped with agencies. From the points of view of case treatment and of social policy social workers need more than nebulous knowledge of deportation procedure.

Let us consider who are deportable and how deportation is accomplished. There are three categories of possible deportation: first, those who may be deported within three years after entry; second, those who may be sent out within five years after their entrance; and third, those whose deportation may be accomplished at any time whatsoever after they have come into the country. The tendency in legislation and interpretation of the law is toward lengthening the period within which deportation may take place.

In the first class, those who come in the three year period, are seamen who desert their ships and stay on land more than sixty days, if apprehended and examined and found to come within one of the excludable categories. In the second class, those within the five year period, are any who are excludable on entry, such as contract laborers, persons liable to become public charges, etc. (as before enumerated), but who somehow succeed in getting into the country. Thus, a man admitted with a cough and not discovered until several months later to be tuberculous may be deported within five years after he was admitted. Those in the third class, who are liable for deportation at any time after their entrance, are apt to be of especial interest to social workers because of the many and complex social problems involved. Anyone connected with prostitution or brought to the United States for an immoral purpose may be deported any time after entry, as may anarchists and extreme radicals, very specifically defined in the law as to shades of meaning, those in the notorious "moral turpitude" category, persons who have become public charges within five years after entry, and any who have entered the country illegally since July 1, 1924.

Unfortunately the three classifications are not as simple as they seem, for

there is much difficulty in terminology and interpretation of the law. Who is "liable to become a public charge" at the time of entry? What does "moral turpitude" mean? These are among the most mooted questions. It is almost impossible to get order out of the chaos of definition of "l.p.c." A woman of forty-two, self supporting and the owner of property, was thought to have alienated the affections of a married man; she was held by the immigration inspector as "l.p.c." because of the possibility of being deprived of her property in a suit which the wife of the man might have brought against her, but which was never brought.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of "liable to become a public charge" has ranged in interpretation from one extreme to the other, and the Supreme Court has never given the seal of its verdict to an exact definition. The tendency is to use the term as a generic expression for possible appearance before public officials, and it does not of necessity refer to financial status; yet, due to many reversals by the courts, the inspectors use this blanket charge a little more sparingly than formerly.

It is almost as hard to find out who is a public charge as who is liable to become one. Nothing could seem much clearer on the surface than "any alien who within five years after entry becomes a public charge from causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen subsequent to landing . . . shall . . . be deported." Yet almost each word has been contested as to what it means. For instance, the question arose as to what "entry" meant, and the courts have held that "entry" means last entry to the United States. A Greek, living twenty years in Detroit, and crossing the river for a few hours' legal visit to Canada, became insane within two years after that visit. So, as he had become insane within five years after his last entry, he became deportable to Greece, whence he had come twenty-two years before. Formerly it was held that actual deportation must take place within five years after that last entry, but now the courts have decided that deportation proceedings must be begun within five years, but the actual deportation may take place any time afterward.

Is a person a public charge if he or his relatives pay his expenses in a public institution?<sup>4</sup> The practice has been to consider anyone a public charge if none or only part of his expenses were privately paid; if all his charges were completely met, he has not been thought a public charge. However, Dr. Spencer Dawes, of the New York State Hospital Commission, feels that no individual payment for an individual can cover the total cost of his public maintenance, so he is still a public charge even though he is paid for in the institution. However, there are so many deportable aliens in institutions where no part of hospital charges is being met that in general they can be deported first. Yet it is significant that the question has already arisen in some cases. The

<sup>3</sup> *Ex parte Mitchell*, 256 Fed. 229. However, the court did not sustain the charge.

<sup>4</sup> By "public institutions" is meant one whose support is derived in whole or in part from taxation.



last has not been heard of it, because the states feel now, as in earlier days, that they are bearing more than their share of expenses in caring for aliens in public institutions.

It is often charged that some private social agencies will keep an alien in a private institution until five years have elapsed, so that it then is too late for deportation. No figures are available on the prevalence of this practice, nor is there analysis of the social problems which would give rise to such situations. There is, however, a question of social work ethics involved here which merits attention. A man who entered a public tuberculosis hospital three years after coming into the country might find it difficult to secure proof that his condition arose in this country, but the burden of proof as to the time of onset would be on him; if it cannot be definitely shown that the cause of becoming a public charge arose after landing, it is assumed by the law to have arisen before.

I have given somewhat detailed consideration to the preceding questions, as social workers must frequently deal with them. The person looking for social solution finds other baffling problems in the cases of those who may be deported any time after entry, as, for example, in questions of prostitution. In the cases studied, a girl, brought to this country from England as a baby of two, lived in a midwestern city in the United States until she was twenty. At that age she became a prostitute and was deported to England, where she had not been since she could remember. Legally she was an alien and a prostitute; socially she was in large measure the product of conditions in the city where she had lived.

Now let us consider those in the too famous "moral turpitude" category, others to whose deportation there is no time limit after entry. "Moral turpitude" was originally inserted in the law to prevent exclusion of those who had been convicted of purely political offenses before emigration; because of its ill defined meaning, it has long since come to be a stumbling-block in the way of immigration officials. Again and again attempt has been made to reach a degree of clarity in its definition, but without success, so that Will Rogers' facetious explanation of moral turpitude as "telling the truth when you ought not to" is perhaps little more fantastic than the attempts at real explicitness.

Anyone who, before coming to this country, was convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, or who admits committing such an offense even if not convicted, may be deported any time his criminal record comes to light. If a man commits an offense in his first five years here and in consequence is sentenced to imprisonment for a year or more, he will be deported at the end of his prison sentence. As deportation is not a punishment in itself, the minimum sentence is supposedly served before the offender can be sent away. In practice, the criminal is often paroled for deportation, and so he may have a shorter sentence than otherwise—plus an ocean voyage—for his punishment. Any alien twice convicted of a crime involving

moral turpitude and sentenced each time to imprisonment for a year or more may be deported (supposedly at the expiration of his second term), even though the sentences occur after he has been five years or more in the country.

Since the famous deportations of 1920, the number of persons deported for radical activity has greatly decreased, so that the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1926 contains no deportations for this cause. The "red" hysteria has subsided, but the legislation passed in the heat of war is still on the books and could be revived should the cool days of peace come to an end.

The last group of those whose deportation may take place without time limit after entry are the very large number of those who entered the country illegally after July 1, 1924. Discouraged over the apparently endless wait to secure places in the quota, or afraid of exclusion on many grounds, many luckless aliens cannot resist the temptation of the long stretches of land and sea border of the United States and the blandishments of the ever busy smugglers. The immigration border patrol, after several years of active work, has succeeded in greatly reducing the "bootlegging" of aliens, but it can never make the United States into an entirely tight compartment.

By far the largest number of deportations occur among the illegal category, with public charges, "l.p.c.," and criminals follow after. It is easy to understand the immense temptation to sneak in illegally. Thus an ill fated Greek, overpersuaded to go to Cuba in the hope of entering the United States speedily, would probably have to wait several lifetimes for legal admission from Cuba, as the annual Greek quota is one hundred, of which ninety places are given out in Greece, leaving ten places a year throughout the world for all other Greeks desirous of coming to America. In the 550 cases studied, 69.9 per cent had other than legal entry, whether by land or water. It is worthy of note that of this number 29 per cent lived in the United States before, and on return from a visit in the old country had found difficulty in re-entering America. Of those who slipped in illegally and who had not been here before, a large majority gave lack of work in Canada, Mexico, or Cuba as their reason for coming. Several instances were noted of men who had paid to be taken where there was work and who were unwittingly taken over the border.

The strong and able-bodied man sent from the country may find it comparatively easy to return. Legally, he may come back to the United States at the end of a year from the date of his deportation if he fulfils all the qualifications, and in some instances permission is given him to apply for re-entry earlier. Criminals, prostitutes, procurers, mentally diseased or deficient, or physically incurably ill, radicals, polygamists may never return legally, but the number who succeed in re-entering illegally raise questions as to the actual accomplishment of many deportations. From the social point of view is apparent the waste of such cases as that of an Irish girl, excluded as an unmarried

mother "l.p.c.," who did not leave the boat at Queenstown, as she was supposed to do, but went on to Liverpool for a year. Returning to the United States, she was admitted at a different port, and, once here, had a second illegitimate child, so was deported to Ireland, leaving the child here.

Of the group of cases studied, 18 per cent had their so called "first papers," which do not affect deportation, as they merely declare the intention of becoming an American citizen when the requirements shall have been fulfilled. Eight individuals among those studied had served in the American army, but neglected to secure their citizenship papers with their honorable discharge; one man was in the army when arrested for deportation.

We have now seen the various categories of deportable aliens. Let us consider the method by which they are sent out of the country. In all cases the procedure is purely administrative, highly centralized within the Department of Labor in Washington. The immigration inspectors throughout the thirty-five immigration districts into which the United States is divided have no power to decide questions of deportability, nor do the district directors or commissioners of immigration, as the secretary of labor is the final authority. However, when deportability is mandatory, as in cases of insanity or prostitution, even he is without authority to change an order for deportation, though he may grant a stay. The case of a Yugoslav woman living in an Illinois mining town with her husband and two children illustrates this difficulty. Committed to a state institution as a public charge with dementia praecox, she was ordered deported. Just as the order for deportation came, a tornado struck the town where she had lived, killing her husband and one child. The story was published in the newspapers, who raised a sum large enough to pay the expenses of the woman in an institution for years to come rather than deport her then. The woman was clearly deportable as an insane public charge, and the Secretary of Labor felt that he was without power to change the order, so she was deported. Once deportation is started, it is difficult to stop, and this social agencies must realize. They sometimes report in haste a case of possible deportation, and then repent at leisure. There is necessity for thorough investigation and weighing of evidence before a case is reported.

The local immigration offices receive reports of cases of suspected deportability. All types of communication are received, whether anonymous, by mail or telephone, or if made in person. A large number of cases reported are sent in by someone who is angry at the alien and who knows his possible deportability. So many more reports come in to the offices than it is possible to investigate with the present staff of the immigration service that in some of the local offices there may be a list of about two hundred uninvestigated cases on file, despite overtime work of the inspectors. At certain intervals, trips are made to such institutions as state hospitals and prisons for examination of alien inmates there.

First of all a preliminary statement is taken from the person held as a possible deportee. At that time an attempt is made to secure all the necessary information on the case, which may later be complicated for the officials by the appearance of a lawyer. As soon as the preliminary statement is taken, the inspector applies to the Bureau of Immigration in Washington for a warrant of arrest, and if there is danger of escape, the application goes by wire. Usually the local police will hold the alien as a suspicious character until the warrant is received, unless he is in an institution. When the warrant comes, opportunity is given for a lawyer to be secured by the alien. In the cases studied, 12 per cent of the total secured legal representation, 13 per cent said they could afford none, and the rest refused with no expression of opinion.

The hearing then given is informal, with the inspector, interpreter (if necessary), clerk, and lawyer, if there is one. As deportation is not a punishment for crime, the hearing is conducted without the usual safeguards relating to criminal procedure, such as the due process of law requirement. This very informality may deprive an ignorant alien of every safeguard and give him a minimum of opportunity for defense. After the hearing is over, the inspector forwards the record, together with recommendations for cancellation of the warrant or issuance of a warrant of deportation, to the Bureau of Immigration in Washington. There each case is gone over by the Board of Review, a piece of departmental organization to aid the secretary of labor and the assistant secretaries in decisions as to deportability. Sitting in a courtroom with official appearance, the Board goes over the record and recommends deportation or cancellation of proceedings, but the secretary or one of the assistants must give the final verdict. A lawyer, social agency, or friend of the alien may appear before the Board to request cancellation of the proceedings or a stay of deportation. It is of note that out of the 550 cases, less than 1 per cent had appeals by any social agency, while in 12 per cent of the total, congressmen or senators appealed.

When deportation is ordered, a warrant of deportation is sent to the local officials. Meanwhile the alien waits in jail or in an institution or out on bond. He may apply to the nearest federal court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which will be granted if he can show he is illegally detained. In discussing the question of detention, the court often discusses the terms of the law pertaining to deportation, and the immigration inspectors follow the decisions of the courts rather closely. A very small proportion of cases ever reach the courts, as in but few instances can anything which the courts consider irregular be shown about the detention, and in but few cases can the alien afford a long and expensive court trial. None of the 550 cases studied came to court at all. Unless the alien can afford to raise the question of detention and can prove his custody illegal, the procedure continues to be purely administrative.

No one is supposed to be deported without a valid passport, and cannot

be sent until one is secured. Often an investigation must be made in the home country, which may take months. Then the request for a passport may go from the Department of Labor to the Department of State, to the legation, to the foreign office in the home country, to the local town, and back again through the same channel before authority is granted for the passport to be issued. Meanwhile the luckless alien waits and cannot understand why he is held in jail, if he is in jail. He is not a criminal, yet he is detained with criminals awaiting trial, often for months. In the cases studied, the average length of time in jail between the issuance of the warrant of arrest to the date of deportation was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months, the shortest time being seven days and the longest thirteen months. The records contain many letters from men in jail begging for speed and worrying about their inability to earn a living during detention.

In the question of securing passports we begin to see deportation in its international aspects. The United States has decided whom she does not want; yet she cannot send them away until other countries have signified their willingness to take them back. It is of note that we cannot deport to Russia, as we have no diplomatic relations with that country and so cannot secure passports. The deportee goes to the country which will give him a passport, and this varies with the differing laws of different countries. Thus a case was studied of a German girl born in Germany of Austrian parents; the girl became insane in the United States at the age of eighteen and was sent to Austria, where she had never been, because of the German and Austrian laws by which she took the citizenship of her parents. A Czech woman living twenty years in America and there married to a Cuban could not be deported to Czechoslovakia on becoming tuberculous, but went to Cuba because she had taken the citizenship of her husband on marriage, according to Czechoslovak and Cuban law. The cruel complications of the varying citizenship laws of different countries call for international adjudication, as they are the fault of the differences between nations rather than of any one country. Complications arise with Canada over the border situation. An English subject may come to the United States from Canada before he has acquired Canadian domicile, so Canada will not take him back. One case was noted where an Englishman had lived in Canada from 1890 to 1925, but after two years in the United States had lost his Canadian domicile and was deported to England, where he had not been for thirty-five years.

Once arrangements for deportation are complete, the person to be deported is joined to one of the great deportation trains which go through the country, picking up aliens who are to be sent. Different sexes, ages, and types of trouble start forth together for the ports from which they are to be deported by the first possible ship after arrangements are complete. Canadians or Mexicans are returned across the border, but the others arrive at the ports by the trainload, which is cheaper than sending them singly. If for any reason a train

is missed, the alien may have to wait several months for the next party to come through.

If deportation is within five years of entry, the steamship company which brought the alien in must pay the expenses of return, but persons who entered illegally or those who have been here more than five years go at government expense. Many men who entered illegally are allowed to work their way back home, if a position may be secured for them on a steamship leaving the United States. For these men deportation may be no especial hardship, and male illegal entries constitute a large number of those sent out of the country.

Those ill mentally or physically may present tragic problems. Before they leave this country they must have a certificate from the institution where they have been that they are able to travel without danger to life. Then a report must be sent back by the master of the boat on which they travel as to their daily condition during the whole voyage; furthermore, there must be a report sent to the United States government files as to arrival at the final destination, and this report must be signed by the relative, police official, or director of the institution to whom the person is turned over by the attendant provided by the steamship company.

The rest is silence. The many people who have been sent from the United States are like the first instalment of a continued story, but until follow up is undertaken abroad of a number of cases of deportation from this country, there is no "continued in our next," for the deportee, however interesting the social problems presented, drops into the void. There is need for study in Europe to obtain light on repatriation procedure and the social problems coming in the course of it. When such study is made, it will be interesting to note, not only what has happened to the aliens deported, but to the many American born children who go with them. American citizens cannot be deported, but many of the aliens sent from the country take with them children born here, and whose passage they or a friend or a social agency pays. Such children sometimes may be entered on the passport of their parents, and according to the laws of many countries minor children take the citizenship of their parents; so here is the complicated question of dual citizenship.

Addison tells in his day of a montebank who traveled from country fair to country fair selling pills good for the earthquake. Unfortunately here there is no one pill which will effect a cure, for the factors are too many and too varied. We can say neither that all deportations should be stopped, nor that all non-citizens should be deported. There is further need for unbiased study of facts which must not be lopped or stretched to fit the Procrustean bed of propaganda.

Social agencies should make thorough investigation before reporting cases for deportation; they should work for increasing definiteness in the now vague law pertaining to deportation, and should beware that further legislation does



not protect the strong at the expense of the weak; they should, by their knowledge of social problems, work for the appointment of immigration inspectors who have had training in social work methods; last of all, they should be leaders in the realization that the problems involved in deportation are more than the legal questions of one country alone. It seems increasingly clear that from the point of view of social problems involved, deportation is "passing the buck," and in itself offers no real solution. A boy of twelve was sent from England by his family, overburdened with children, to his grandfather on a farm in Canada. The grandfather drank and abused him, so off he ran across the American border to Portland, where he soon found himself with no money and no food. Taken to the juvenile court for stealing from a grocery store, he was soon deported to England. A man with a wife and four children in Montreal and a wife and two children in New York was deported to France, leaving both families behind. A fourteen-year-old girl of borderline mentality was cast out by the family who had cared for her since babyhood but who had never legally adopted her, and was sent back to Scotland, where she had not been since she was a baby.

Such problems are of much deeper import than the question of saving money for one particular country, and call for effort toward solution rather than mere passing on. Social workers are beginning to realize the challenge of such difficulties, as the development of international case work indicates, and as was shown by the first General Child Welfare Congress in 1925, with its resolutions against the indiscriminate dumping of alien children from one country to another. But nations are still in a day of international "law of settlement," when the socially inadequate are passed from country to country as they formerly were from town to town. The time must come when the desideratum on the part of all nations will be international social responsibility, so the problems will be met where they can best be treated. In that day the individual will be regarded internationally and will be thought of as the product of more than the country where he happens to have his legal citizenship, and nations themselves will cooperate in his care. By then, it seems, the millennium may have come.

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#### FAMILY PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE PRESENT DEPORTATION SYSTEM

*Mrs. Gudrun Rom, United Charities, Chicago*

We hear that over a thousand persons a month are being deported. We know that hundreds of deportations have been held up, and that action is deferred in the case of many others. How far do these situations penetrate to the knowledge of others than those who specialize in the problem of the immigrant?

A questionnaire as to their experience with deportation was directed to the family welfare societies in the largest cities, and to those in the fifteen cities which had the highest ratio of foreign born to native born. The questionnaire brought very few instances of family problems as a result of the present deportation system. To be sure, all experience in the past has gone to show that the newly arrived immigrant did not go to a family agency any more than he appealed for public poor relief. He was aware that he must avoid dependency. However, the present deportation laws can affect almost any resident alien. Somewhere I have read that our list of deportable classes has become, by reason of meticulous additions thereto, the most inclusive catalogue of human frailties to be found in the English language. It seemed inevitable that we should have met some of these men of original sin.

A total unacquaintance was revealed in many organizations. The secretary of the Boston society asked for fourteen more copies of the questionnaire, and intimated that he thought it would require a great deal of time to fill them out. He expressed his surprise later that upon inquiry none of the districts had a single example. An inland society pointed out that they keep no treatment statistics and that there is not in the memory of any case worker there a single instance of deportation. Mr. de Schweinitz answered immediately that he thought undoubtedly instances would be found in Philadelphia, but finally sent only two. The United Charities of Chicago, probably because of the active functioning of the Immigrant's Protective League, had only one case.

A second group of answers revealed, without going into detail, an attitude of letter adherence to the law. These agencies had not initiated deportation procedure in the cases they cited, but gave it as their opinion that no injustice had been perpetrated. I quote: "Deportation was justified, if not desired"; or "was the happy solution of the problem here." These answers might lend themselves to critical inquiry. Happy for whom? The family?

Into another division fall those agencies which seem to have taken the initiative in reporting families for deportation. Two are on the western and southern border, where Mexicans come and go in great numbers. El Paso writes:

We cannot fill out the questionnaire, as your form does not meet our conditions of deportation on this border. We have no data regarding anyone being deported except those which we ourselves report to the immigration officer. This is never done except in cases of pronounced conditions, showing they would not make citizens of the United States and also that they had smuggled themselves into the United States. In these cases the entire family is returned, and not only certain members. As they are returned to their own country, the cases are not followed up, as we do not know what effect it has on their family life. We know of no injustice having been perpetrated by returning people to their own country when their act of entrance into the United States is a violation of the law of this country.

The County of Los Angeles Department of Charities sent back a list which they said did not represent all instances known. There were 37 cases of deportation cited, the County Charities being the source of 29 of these. Among them were only five instances of separated families; 33 had been in the United States 2 years or more, one 4 years, one 7 years; 19 were deported because of illness. There were 4 illegal entries, one case of contract labor, one smuggler, one situation listed as "man, a radical, would not work." I talked with a case worker who was with the County Charities during the deportation drive in the spring of 1925, who told me that an immigration officer with his stenographer installed himself for weeks in their office; that in each instance provision was made by the department with a private society, usually Catholic, to pay the fare of the deportee from the border to the place of residence in Mexico, and that the case workers made every effort to diminish hardships of travel.

Cleveland sent a very careful reply, giving twenty instances of deportation, in twelve of which the society had initiated proceedings. Their analysis seemed to reveal that deportation worked no hardships, except in one case which the society had protested.

A number of agencies reported active participation in preventing deportation. The Seattle Hebrew Benevolent Society writes that they do not know of any family deported and that they make every effort so that they will not be deported. Miss Ida Hull, of the Seattle Social Welfare League, sends the story of one case in which deportation was being held up by political influence only. "While we do not anticipate deportation," she says, "it seems quite possible that it may take place unexpectedly some time in the future." The Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago had many instances among Russians who suffer acute mental distress, knowing that they are in danger of deportation in the future. The Bureau works actively with the Immigrants' Protective League and the Council of Jewish Women in efforts to protect their clients. Buffalo writes the following: "I have gone over quite carefully the matter of your letter of March 14 and find that I have no data that have any significance. There of course has been a lot of deportation from Buffalo, but so far as I am concerned we have been able to get around the breaking up of families through actual contact with the immigration authorities themselves. As a matter of fact, I know of only one instance, and the burden of credit most certainly lies with the immigration officials rather than with our client." Mr. Parker, of the Bridgeport Family Welfare Society, sent me a copy of a letter he had written the Bureau of Immigration in regard to a young Italian girl:

Supplementing our night letter telegram of yesterday, I want to add a word about Lena Castellani. This family has been known to the Charity Organization Society of this city for some time and we feel very strongly that the immigration officers should be informed in full regarding the necessity of sending Lena back to Italy. In the family there are, in addition to the father and mother, seven children. Lena, who is 14 years old, was born in Italy, where she was taken care of by her grandparents, both of whom are now

over eighty years of age. Mr. and Mrs. Castellani have both been in this country for more than 5 years and cannot, therefore, legally be subject to deportation. All the children with the exception of Lena are likewise incapable of deportation because they were all born in this country. Lena, as you know, has been in the Bridgeport Hospital and has been suffering from kidney trouble. We have received, however, a letter from her doctor to the effect that she has been making very good progress; and from what we know of her we can see no reason to suppose that she is likely to become a public charge. While of course there is always this possibility, nevertheless we can see no more reason to expect this than any one of one hundred other children who are permitted to remain in this and other communities although technically they have not acquired the right to remain here as citizens. What we particularly desire to emphasize, however, is the fact that a tremendous hardship upon the girl will be involved if through enforcement of the law in its strictest construction she is sent away from her parents. It will mean that she will be sent away from her mother and father, her brothers and sisters, to be placed in the hands of two very venerable grandparents, one of whom is dying and the other of whom, being over eighty years of age, is likely not to live much longer. Contrary to what you had perhaps supposed, the girl has no other relatives in Italy in addition to her grandparents; all the other members of the Castellani family are now in the United States, and in case of death of the grandparents the child will be absolutely without blood connections or friends in the old country. I do not see why, under these circumstances, the matter should be pressed by the Immigration Bureau, especially when the danger of her becoming a public charge would appear so slight. Her father is at the present time working at Salts Textile Company in this city and is averaging about \$25 a week. Our society is at the present time furnishing this family with milk, but save for this slight assistance, they are entirely self-supporting. In any case may we request that you do all possible to hold up this deportation procedure and not take action on the warrant? This seems to me both humanitarian and the common sense point of view. May we hear from you directly in this regard? If we can do anything further to prevent deportation without, as an organization, pledging ourselves to raise a large bond, I shall be very grateful if you will let us hear from you directly. We believe we can, if necessary, support all the statements above made.

Mr. Parker goes on to say:

The action of the federal authorities seems to me the more unforgivable because every step humanly possible was taken to check the abuse, to explain the circumstances fully, and to give the public authorities the exact type of information which should have convinced them, first, that a great injustice to an individual and a family would be involved; second, that the public charge idea was a pure technicality; and third, that the likelihood of further expense by the city or town seemed no more existent than in the case of hundreds of individuals where the question is not raised. We call to your attention that the following letters of protest were written: October 2, 1923, letter to the Inspector of Migration in Providence; October 4, similar letter to Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island in New York. Again further, the matter was taken up with the Young Women's Christian Association in its branches both in New York City and again on Ellis Island. Doctors' certificates were forwarded showing that the medical care furnished (being at public expense, the cause of deportation) had produced satisfactory results and that at date of writing the girl was in excellent physical condition. The doctor furthermore wrote that he saw no probability of a return of the disease in question. Certificates were sent substantiating the girl's moral character, and proof was furnished that she was neither a degenerate for a mental defective. Various letters and telegrams were dispatched to officials in Washington and to Ellis Island. Despite all this nothing could be done with the public officials, and the girl, hurried off with insufficient clothing, was sent to her aged grand-

parents in Italy. A better example of stupid and heartless bureaucratic method could hardly be found. At least it is the worst case of abuse of public power that has yet been called to my attention.

This slight material would indicate that the family welfare societies have not been called upon to function in many cases and that for the most part where they have functioned at all, their practice with the deportable cases has been in conformity with their theory as to the promotion of family life. We all know that the law is mandatory in theory but discretionary in practice. Hence with such cases that come to the attention of family agencies there is abundant opportunity to mitigate unnecessary practice of severity.

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### IS THERE UNDUE CRIME AMONG IMMIGRANTS?

*E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis*

Do immigrants commit an undue proportion of crimes? I am not sure but that the best way to answer this question is to say that I do not know; you do not know; nobody knows; nobody can know in the present state of our statistics of crime. If you want to guess at the answer it would be better to guess from general observations rather than from the available statistics.

For four reasons the statistics are questionable. First, we must assume that if arrests increase, crimes have increased by the same proportion, or if the immigrants have more arrests than the native born, it is because they have committed a larger number of crimes than the native born. This assumption of a constant ratio between crimes and arrests, or convictions, or commitments to prison, is questionable for various reasons; but we must take the assumption if we use the statistics. Secondly, the only statistics we have for the United States in general are the enumerations of prisoners. We do not even have statistics of arrests and convictions, except for separate states and separate municipalities. Third, these enumerations of prisoners are made only once in a decade, and of the last three enumerations, two have been made on other years than the three of the regular decennial enumeration of population, which makes it necessary, in order to secure ratios between prisoners and population, to make estimates of the population. It is possible to make fairly accurate estimates of the total population of the United States for any intercensal year, but not of the immigrant population, and especially of immigrant population of particular ages, of particular nationalities, in particular states or cities. Finally, the practically universal method of securing information regarding the place of birth of a prisoner is by asking him and recording the answer. He may tell the truth or he may not tell the truth. A summation of such statements may be a close approximation to truth or it may be decidedly different from truth. In spite of these difficulties it seems to be desirable to determine what

the statistics do show. But it is desirable, also, to regard any quantitative statements regarding criminals or crime with a fair amount of doubt.

Three methods have been used by different persons in the effort to reach quantitative conclusions regarding the proportion of crimes committed by immigrants. The first method is a comparison of absolute numbers, not of rates. Judge Kavanagh, of Chicago, used this method in a series of newspaper articles on crime last year, in which he stated that "Aside from crimes committed by Negroes, two-thirds of the crime of the United States is committed by persons born in Europe or by their immediate descendants." This statement is correct except that the proportion is somewhat exaggerated. A more accurate statement would be 55 per cent, of which the first generation of immigrants constitute 30 per cent and their descendants 25 per cent. With this modification the statement is correct. It is correct, but misleading. For it carries the impression of greater criminality of immigrants, and that is not justified by the figures. The figures are really meaningless until they are stated in proportion to the population in each group.

A second method is to state the arrests, or convictions, or commitments to prison as a rate, that is, in proportion to the population in each group. We find by doing this that out of 100,000 immigrants, 489 are committed to penal or reformatory institutions in a year; while out of 100,000 native white persons, 239 are committed in a year, or a ratio of about two immigrants to one native born white person. This may be called the crude rate of commitment, or, for convenience, the crude crime rate. This crude rate also is misleading. It fails to take into account the fact that the foreign born group differs from the native born group in age, sex, and urban-rural distribution. This is very important, since young adult males in cities have a comparatively high rate, and immigrants have an excess of young adult males who settle in cities.

Third, a corrected crime rate is determined by making comparisons between native born whites and foreign born in the same age groups, the same sex groups, and the same territorial groups. This gives results decidedly different in many cases from the crude crime rates. If we use the statistics of 1923 and compare prisoners of male sex and adult age we find that the rate for immigrants is only 1.2 times as high as the rate of the native born. If we restrict the comparison to adult males in territory somewhat homogeneous we find the advantage entirely on the side of the immigrants. Let us take New York State in 1920 as an illustration. Immigrants are committed to prison 1.1 times as frequently as native born whites in proportion to total population of all ages, but only 65 per cent as frequently in proportion to adult males. When we further restrict the comparison to New York City, and the commitments to the municipal penal institutions, we find only 59 per cent as many immigrants as native born in proportion to the adult male population in each group. Similarly in Minnesota, the rate of commitment to the state prison is 145 for for-



eign born and 100 for native born, if all ages are included; but the corrected rate makes the foreign born only 65 per cent as criminalistic as the native born. In Iowa the foreign born have only 65 per cent as many commitments as native born, in proportion to adult male population.

Thus, in general, the answer to the question is that if we consider absolute numbers, about 30 per cent of the persons committed to prisons are immigrants; if we consider ratios this means that in proportion to total population, foreign born are committed to prison twice as frequently as native born whites. But this is primarily because immigrants are young adult males living in cities rather than because they are immigrants. If adult immigrant males living in cities are compared with adult native born males living in cities they are found to have rates of commitments approximately two-thirds as high as the native born. The last statement is the real and proper answer to the question, namely, that immigrants have about two-thirds of their quota, or about two-thirds of the crime rate, of the native born whites.

This conclusion seems to be unanimous. Everyone who has studied the statistics carefully agrees on this. This was the conclusion of the United States Immigration Commission in 1910, of Professor Hourwich in 1912, of Miss Edith Abbott in 1913, and of Professor Kelsey in 1926. To be sure, Mr. Laughlin, in his analysis of America's melting pot, for the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, at first reached the opposite conclusion; but when critics pointed out that he had failed to take into consideration the differences in age composition, sex composition, and rural-urban distribution, he made corrections in his statistics which enabled him to reach the same conclusion so far as foreign born and native born in general were concerned.

It is sometimes argued that immigrants commit an undue proportion of the serious crimes, such as burglary, robbery, rape, and homicide. Restriction of the discussion to these serious crimes is justified, but this does not alter the general conclusion. If corrected rates are compared, the immigrants are below the native born whites both in felonies and misdemeanors, and somewhat further below for felonies than for misdemeanors. For instance, in Chicago in 1920, in proportion to adult male population, only 47 per cent as many foreign born as native born were convicted of felonies in the municipal court, while 62 per cent as many were convicted of misdemeanors.

Again, it is often asserted that the second generation of immigrants, at any rate, commit more crimes than the older native stock. The census report of 1923 does not give statistics on this point. The report for 1910 shows that the rate of commitment of the old native stock is about two-thirds as high as that of the second generation of immigrants; also that the rate of commitment for juvenile delinquencies in proportion to population aged 10-17 is in the ratio of 100 for the old native stock; 153 for the native born of foreign or mixed parentage (that is, the second immigrant generations). The report of

1910 shows further that the rates of the second generation and of the older native stock are exactly equal for the group in the age period 20-24, but very much higher for the second generation in the age period 10-14 and in the group over 45 years of age. I suspect that these variations by ages represent economic differences rather than differences in criminality, but the point is not clear. The statistics seem to agree in general with the well known belief that the second generation is more delinquent than the old native stock or than the foreign born parents; but the report just cited shows that immigrant children have a juvenile delinquency rate almost twice as high (176 per cent) as the second generation children. The statistics for some of the central western states, moreover, do not agree with the general belief. In Iowa the rate of commitment of the second generation is only 81 per cent of the rate of the old native white stock, and in Minnesota only 47 per cent as high.

While immigrants in general have a lower rate than the native born, certain immigrant nationalities stand out with rates far above the native born and far above the average of the foreign born. Another warning should be issued, however, at this point. The decennial census does not furnish the information necessary for compiling a correct rate for separate nationalities. Consequently the differences in rank to be mentioned may be due to differences in age composition, or sex composition, or in urban-rural distribution.

When we consider all crimes together, we find that the Finns have the highest rate of commitment, and then, in order of rank, come Mexicans, Irish, Austrians, Greeks, Norwegians, Swedes, Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, all of these being above the average of the foreign born groups. This does not substantiate the popular belief in the undue criminality of the eastern and southeastern Europeans. But these figures, because they include all crimes, are perhaps unduly affected by the large number of commitments for drunkenness, violation of liquor laws, and disorderly conduct. The Finns, who have the highest rate of commitment of any foreign group, suffer 85 per cent of their commitments for drunkenness, violation of liquor laws, and disorderly conduct; the Irish have the same percentage as the Finns. In contrast stand the Greeks, who have only 39 per cent of their commitments for these three offenses, and the Italians, with only 43 per cent.

If we compare only the serious offenses we find a somewhat different group of nationalities listed. The groups with the highest rates of commitment to state prisons and state reformatories, which correspond rather closely with the groups committed for felonies, are, in order of rank: Mexicans, Yugoslavians, Greeks, Italians, Rumanians, English-Canadians, and Austrians. It is probable that the general enumeration of the Mexicans and Yugoslavians is not entirely accurate, and their position is therefore doubtful. This list does show a considerable preponderance of eastern and southeastern Europeans. If we exclude the Mexicans, we find that the Italians in 1910 took first place for three of the

four most serious offenses, and that in 1923 the Greeks took first place for three of the four most serious offenses, the Italians having dropped to third and fourth positions. It is significant, however, that the Scotch come near the top for burglary and robbery.

Some people may derive consolation from the fact that the crimes of violence committed by the Italians and Greeks are committed principally upon other members of the same nationality. When Italians commit murder, they generally murder other Italians. According to the police report of Chicago, 55 Italians were murdered in Chicago in 1925, of whom 45 were murdered by other Italians. Police reports of other cities give similar statistics. On the other hand, when the Scotch commit burglary or robbery, they do not limit their activities to people of their own native group.

It is sometimes asserted that immigrants, even if they have lower crime rates in this country than the native born, have higher rates here than in their home countries. I cannot find sufficient comparable data to justify a definite conclusion on this point. One writer has recently asserted that the United States has three times as many homicides in proportion to population as does Italy. Italian immigrants to the United States are committed to prison for homicide about three times as frequently in proportion to population as the native whites. If these figures are correct, Italians in this country commit murder more than nine times as frequently as in their own country. This, however, is probably explained by the variations in homicide rates in different parts of Italy, and the fact that Italians who come to this country come from the parts of Italy where homicidal tendencies are more developed. It would be rather surprising if foreign born persons in this country did not commit more crimes than in their own country. *A priori*, we may believe that both selection and mobility would tend to produce this result. Mobility seems to be related very intimately to crime and delinquency. It produces its effect principally by causing conflict of cultural values, disruption of habits when old adjustments are destroyed, and maladjustment in the new situation. The contempt of the native born for the old country habits tends to break down those habits, resulting in personal demoralization. The external symbols of personality and of group membership and status become objects of humiliation in this country. The immigrants come in contact with the elements in our population which we generally call the worst. The helplessness of immigrants makes them tempting prey to native born and foreign born exploiters and this exploitation often results in crime as a means of defense or retaliation.

Even when cultures are not greatly different from an external point of view, mobility is attended by greater criminality. Persons who are born in the United States and who migrate into Canada have a rate of conviction for indictable offenses in Canada nearly twice as high as the natives of Canada. Natives of Canada who migrate to the United States have a rate of commit-

ment to prisons in the United States one and a half times as high as the native white population of the United States. Natives of Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, and Missouri who migrate into Iowa are committed to the state prison of Iowa four times as frequently in proportion to their population as are persons who are born in Iowa and remain in the state.

The real problem, however, is why immigrants in this country, in spite of their mobility, commit fewer crimes than the native born white population. Laughlin has attempted to explain this as due to the weeding out of criminals by immigration officials, and he feels so much confidence in his explanation that he goes to the trouble of congratulating the immigration officials on their efficiency. But it is difficult to harmonize the facts with this view. If we accept this explanation, we should congratulate the immigration officials for their efficiency in weeding out the inebriates from among the Greeks, but berate them for failing to weed out the murderers and burglars. We should congratulate them for their efficiency in weeding out the murderers and burglars from among the Finns, but berate them for their inefficiency in dealing with Finnish inebriates. The fact is that these national groups differ in their crimes, not because of differential selection by immigration officials, but because of differences in habits formed in their home countries. They commit fewer crimes than native born as a whole because of the strength and consistency of the traditions which they assimilated in their home communities. There they developed respect for the police, the judges, the courts, the legislatures, for law in general. In their homogenous, stable groups they were controlled by the traditions which had come to them through the generations, and by which their little primary groups were welded together into a general community unity. The persistence of their habits, codes, and ideals is the explanation of their comparative freedom from crime in this country.

Similarly, the persistence of habits, codes, and ideals is the explanation of the differences in the criminality of different groups. It is not because the Italians or Greeks are hot blooded, innately incapable of inhibiting rage or lust in provocative situations, that they commit crimes of heinous nature more frequently than the native born do. The Italian women, with the same heredity, do not commit such crimes; in six months of 1923 only one Italian woman in the United States was committed to prison for homicide, while 95 Italian men were so committed. If this were an innate racial trait we should expect it to appear with fair equality in both sexes. Furthermore, their particular national crimes appear to be abandoned in one generation. Adult male Italian immigrants between the years 1914 and 1925 were committed to the state prison or state reformatory of Massachusetts for murder, manslaughter, and assault more than six times as frequently as native born sons of native parents, in proportion to the population of each group. But the sons of these Italian immigrants in Massachusetts were committed only three-fourths as frequently

as the native born sons of native parents. If the rate of the old native stock is taken as 100, the proportionate rate of Italian immigrants would be 600, and of the second generation, only 75. The hot blood, assumed to be an innate race trait and to be responsible for violent crimes of Italians, has cooled off in Massachusetts culture in one generation until it has a temperature lower than that of the native born of native parentage. This is characteristic of second generation crime in general. The second generation tends to abandon the crimes characteristic of their parents in favor of the crimes of the native stock. They assimilate crime as they assimilate the language of this country.

Other facts substantiate this view of the difference between the immigrant and the native groups. The group which has the highest rate of commitment is that which is native born with one parent native and one parent foreign born. According to Laughlin's statistics, the ratios are 100 for the native white of native parentage, 108 for native white of foreign parentage, and 159 for the native white of mixed parentage. This difference seems to be due to the variety in the traditions which impinge upon the child. A few minutes ago I stated that the young immigrants of the first generation have much more juvenile delinquency than the children of the second generation. This seems to be due to the fact that the children, who do not get a fixation of habits in foreign countries and are then introduced to the conflict of traditions in this country at an early age, become more delinquent than the second generation, whose cultural environment is relatively more consistent. Similarly, it has been found in Chicago that the highest rates of juvenile delinquency are not in the heart of a particular foreign section but on the borderline between sections.

This, in fact, seems to be the fundamental or basic factor in the explanation of crime in general. In the preliterate community the population was uniform; the codes, techniques, and ideals were harmonious. An even pressure was exerted upon every child to develop in accordance with the traditions and standards of the group. The Chinese expressed this sentiment in the saying "So live that your ancestors shall be proud of you." But in modern life children get away from ancestors at an early age and the ancestors soon become a dim memory. The solidarity of general community life has been reduced by the general mobility, by the detachment of people from any particular group, by the rapidly shifting membership of groups, and by the conflict of cultural values. The spontaneous and natural pressures have been weakened, and the consequence is that we have an immense amount of law to take the place of the spontaneous controls, but that the law does not have the support of the group interests and evaluations. The popular explanation of crime asserted or assumed in much of the popular literature of the day is that crime is due to the loopholes through which people escape punishment for their crimes. This is not a satisfactory explanation, in my opinion. Rather, crime and the lax administration of justice grow in the same soil and are products of the same con-

ditions, namely, the mobility of the people, the conflict of cultural values, and the constant flux in group membership. This may be called social disorganization, and it is social disorganization that is the explanation of both crime and the loopholes in justice. Dr. Van Waters has made it clear to us that conflict in the home is a fundamental process leading to delinquency. Similarly, conflict outside of the home is fundamental in the formation of attitudes of crime and delinquency.

This variety in cultural patterns and this mobility are also basic factors in the inventions of America. The constant impinging upon members of a group of a variety of patterns inevitably creates an expectation that things may be different from what they are; that they can be changed; that variant acts are possible. Progress and inventions therefore grow from the same soil as crime and delinquency. Consequently we cannot solve our problems of crime by retrogression to the isolated static life of the early community. We must work through the present disorganization until we reach a knowledge of the social and mental processes sufficient to enable us to control the behavior even when there is variety in cultural patterns. Most of us come in contact with various cultural patterns without becoming professional criminals. The problem is to secure such a knowledge of processes that we can facilitate the adjustment of others.

In general, then, we may conclude that immigrants do not commit an undue proportion of crimes or of serious crimes, but that some national groups of immigrants do have crimes in which for one generation they specialize to some extent. These variant types of behavior are due primarily to the persistence of special codes and traditions learned in Europe and imported to America. Such variations as occur are cultural rather than biological. The principal effect of immigration upon the crime of this country is the production of a conflict of cultural values which breaks tradition, gives freedom, and produces variant behavior, sometimes in the form of crime, sometimes in the form of other and more desired inventions.

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#### HINDUS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

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Under Section 2169 of the United States Revised Statutes only "aliens being free white persons, and aliens of African nativity or African descent" may be naturalized. Consequently a number of races or peoples have been declared ineligible to American citizenship. By act of Congress the Chinese were so declared in 1882. Since then court decisions have barred Japanese, Koreans, and, with certain exceptions, Filipinos from citizenship. The Hindus were likewise declared ineligible to citizenship by a decision of the Supreme Court



in 1923 (*U.S. vs. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 261 U.S. 204). They alone of the peoples or races referred to lay claim to being "aliens being free white persons," and have protested vigorously against the decision. They contend that Hindus are Aryan and of the Caucasian race, and that a high caste Hindu is, because of the caste system, probably of purer race than are many European peoples to whom American citizenship is granted without question.

The subject of race, as is well known, is one of great complication and one on which authorities differ widely. In 1911, however, the United States Immigration Commission, which included many of the foremost students on immigration and kindred matters, held that Hindus of northern India are of Aryan stock. In the *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, which formed part of the famous report, occur the following statements: "Three-fourths of India, however, is, like ourselves, Aryan. . . . In greatest contrast with these are the Aryan Hindus of the north, more closely related in language, if not in physical appearance, to our northern Europeans than are the Turks, Magyars, and various peoples of Eastern Europe." However, Justice Sutherland, of the Supreme Court, who delivered the opinion of the Court in the case of *Bhagat Singh Thind*, rejected this classification. He declared that "free white persons," the words used in the statute, are the words of common speech and should be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man. Under such circumstances he held that Hindus would not and should not be classed as Caucasians as that word is popularly understood, or classed as "white persons."

Since this decision was rendered, in 1923, Hindus and their wives have been refused American citizenship. A serious feature of the situation is that because of the decision a number of Hindus who before that date had been granted American citizenship have had their certificates canceled. According to a report submitted last December by the Commissioner of Naturalization to the Senate Immigration Committee, 43 Hindus had by then been deprived of their citizenship (acquired between 1908 and 1923), and 12 suits for cancellation were pending. These cancellations are based on a provision in the Naturalization Act of 1906 which authorizes such action where certificates have been procured illegally or by fraud. It is not contended that the Hindu holders of these certificates have deliberately planned fraud or have given misinformation; the certificates are held to be illegally secured in that a Hindu was at no time eligible to citizenship.

This situation has produced much dismay among the Hindus in this country, of whom there are about 3,000, and especially among such of their wives as are American born. Under the Cable Act an American woman citizen does not, since September 22, 1922, lose citizenship by marriage to an alien, "unless such alien happens to be ineligible to citizenship." Furthermore, an American born

woman who prior to 1922 lost citizenship by marriage to an alien cannot regain it under the Cable Act if her husband is ineligible to naturalization.

In the case of the forty-three who have been deprived of citizenship the following is the situation. These men renounced British citizenship to become American citizens. When they are deprived of American citizenship they do not automatically regain British citizenship, but become truly men and women without a country. To regain British citizenship they must become naturalized under the requirements of the law of that country. In some cases they would undoubtedly be refused citizenship; certain of the Hindus in question have been accused of working against the interests of Great Britain during the World War. It will readily be seen how unsatisfactory and difficult the situation of these people is.

At the present time, however, the Hindus have reason to feel more hopeful. In California the federal court recently denied the petition for the cancellation of the citizenship certificate of Sakharem Ganesh Pandit, a Hindu lawyer. This case was not argued along the lines that a Hindu is a "white person," and as such eligible to citizenship. The court proceeded on the ground that the applicant for naturalization made no false or fraudulent statements; that the government was itself represented at the hearing; that though it opposed his being granted citizenship, it did not appeal from the decision of the judge within the proper time; and that 1924 was too late to bring suit for cancellation of a certificate granted in 1914. On March 14, 1927, the Supreme Court of the United States, by refusing the government's application for certiorari, sustained the decision of the lower court. It seems, therefore, likely that no further attempts will be made to cancel the citizenship certificates still held by Hindus or by persons of other races considered ineligible to naturalization.

As stated above, the Pandit decision has no bearing on the controversy as to whether a Hindu is a "white person." During the last Congress Senator Copeland (New York) introduced a bill for the purpose of settling the question. This bill lists Hindus as among the white persons eligible to citizenship. It is reported that Senator Copeland intends to press the matter vigorously during the coming session of Congress.

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## WHAT OTHER THAN SOCIAL AGENCIES ARE DOING IN THE FIELD OF IMMIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

### REPORT OF A SYMPOSIUM

The purpose of this meeting, arranged by Mr. Read Lewis, director of the Foreign Language Information Service, New York, was to give the members of the Conference some idea of what is being done by organizations whose work, to greater or less extent, deals with the problems of immigration and assimilation, but which are not social work agencies. It was hoped that a better

understanding of their programs might lead to mutually helpful contacts and cooperation. With this end in view representatives of a number of such organizations were requested to speak for five minutes on the aims and scope of their work with the foreign born, or, if it was impossible to be present in person, to send a written report instead.

Owing to lack of space the speeches and reports cannot be printed here. It is possible to include only a list of the participating organizations and the persons representing them and a brief summary of their reports.

*The Migration Section of the International Labor Office.*—Mr. Leifur Magnusson, Washington representative of the International Labor Office, spoke of what that organization is doing in the field of immigration. He described the efforts made to secure uniform procedure in collecting migration statistics. He told of the *Migration Monthly*, and other publications of similar character which have been or are being issued by the Labor Office and which are of great value to the student of immigration. He also told of the various measures for the protection of migrants which the Labor Office is promoting. He emphasized the international aspects of migration and the necessity for international viewpoint and treatment.

*The Public Schools.*—Mr. Robert C. Demming, president of the Adult Education Department of the National Education Association, could not be present, but sent a report as to the program of the public schools for the assimilation of the immigrant. The following quotations are of interest: The educational work with adults, illiterate or foreign born, is based on "the fact and the knowledge that in 300 hours of education the average uneducated adult can learn what it has taken the average fourth grade child 2,800 hours to learn—that he learns nine times as quickly—and that above all he honestly desires, once educated, to participate in an intelligent citizenship." Educational work is of vital importance, because "lack of education is the cause of a great number of the social problems with which we all here are concerned—social, economic, hygienic, parental, etc. The rift between the parents and the child, the retardation in the schools, community welfare, sanitary conditions, living standards—all these and more, and the aspiration for better things, depend upon educational vision both in the uneducated and the educated." The Adult Education Department, Mr. Demming stated, is seeking three things: first, a law, a program, and an appropriation; second, a test for reading English with understanding in our 1930 United States census, and educational census for a functioning citizenship; and third, better standards and procedure in naturalization.

*The Public Library.*—Miss Grace D. Rose, librarian at the public library of Des Moines, spoke of what the public library is doing for the immigrant. The American Library Association has created a standing committee for work among the foreign born. Public libraries as a rule make determined efforts to bring in foreign born readers. To this end they provide books in foreign lan-

guages, lectures, concerts, exhibitions of various sorts. They also endeavor to promote better understanding in the community of the contributions which the different immigrant groups have made to civilization; for instance, by exhibition of Italian lace, or Russian paintings, etc. Miss Rose said it was the experience of librarians that the foreign born are more anxious to read about America than to acquire further knowledge about their own national heritage. She finds a great lack of, and need for, interesting books in simple English through which the newcomers may gain acquaintance with the history and customs of the United States.

*The General Federation of Women's Clubs.*—Mrs. J. C. Pearson, chairman of the Americanization Division, sent a report of the work of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in the field of immigration and assimilation. Outstanding features are the following: With a view to promoting mutual understanding, the majority of the clubs include in their programs studies of racial backgrounds, contributions of the immigrant to America, and the foreign born in America. They aim by pageants, concerts, exhibitions, etc., to create interest in the foreign born, not only among club members, but throughout the community. An important branch of their work has been the promotion of adult education. They have done much to create the public sentiment which has resulted in the addition of adult education to the curricula of the school systems in most places where there is a large group of foreign born. They also have stimulated greatly the interest in the home teacher movement.

*The Foreign Language Press.*—Miss Marian Schibsy, Foreign Language Information Service, New York, spoke of the importance of the foreign language press in the assimilation and education of the immigrant. When the immigrant arrives in the United States, usually ignorant of English and the ways and customs of this country, he is confronted by a multitude of problems which cannot wait till he has learned to speak or to read English, as they are vitally important to his welfare, livelihood, and safety. The newspapers in his own language are of the greatest importance to him in the difficult situation. There are about 1,200 foreign born language newspapers in the United States, and they have a combined circulation of about eleven million. With few exceptions, the editors of these papers strive to the best of their ability to help their fellow countrymen in their problems of adjustment and reorientation. A survey made a few years ago of the editorials in the newspapers of the sixteen largest immigrant groups showed that comparatively small space (25 per cent) was given to the affairs of the homeland and to the group interests in that country. On the other hand about 50 per cent was devoted to purely American matters: American government, American history, American laws, etc. It would be to the selfish advantage of the editors of foreign language newspapers to keep their group isolated and un-Americanized. It is very rarely that such a tendency is noticed, however.

*The Foreign Language Organizations.*—Dr. Smetanka, consul for Czechoslovakia, Chicago, spoke of the work of the foreign language organizations. He considers them an extremely important factor for the assimilation and education of the foreign born. They are numerous and their activities are of many kinds. Some societies provide for sickness, death, and burial; some reflect the immigrant's social needs, some his artistic interests; some are political in purpose, some purely educational. The great majority of foreign language organizations have declared education to be their principal aim, or one of the principal means of achieving their specific purposes. Most of these organizations are of the greatest value in promoting the general education of their members and in encouraging their citizenship and participation in American life.

*The United States Chamber of Commerce.*—Mr. John Ihlder, Civic Development Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, sent a report on what the chambers of commerce are contributing to the adjustment of the immigrant. Because of the nature and purpose of a chamber of commerce, it has a vital interest in the problem. It is an organization of business men, concerned primarily with the business life of the community. As employers of labor, the immigrant's health, his ability to understand English, and to know his job are matters of concern to business men. As members of a community, business men are interested in an intelligent and contented citizenship. It is therefore not surprising that in the last few years chambers of commerce in cities with predominant groups of foreign born have given serious attention to the problem of adjusting the immigrant to the community in which he settles. They have done this in recognition of the complex character of the process of "Americanization" and the inadequacy of state action, through classes and naturalization courts, to interpret American institutions and living habits to the immigrant who lives in a colony of foreign born and is exposed only to occasional and accidental contacts with American life. In order to put the social resources of the community at the disposal of the immigrant and to make these resources as adequate as possible for his needs, they have attempted to map out comprehensive programs of work. They have made surveys of the foreign born to determine the extent and character of the problem; they have brought together representatives of all organizations working with immigrants so that programs could be coordinated; and they have sought to arrange for the performance of necessary services that were not undertaken by existing organizations.

*International Conference of Private Organizations for the Protection of Migrants.*—Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer described the aims of this organization in the following words:

The purposes for which the representatives of some sixty-six different agencies gathered in Geneva decided to organize are . . . to promote cooperation when practicable between every kind of society for the furthering of the protection and welfare of migrants; to bring to the fore the efforts of private, or non-official, groups in the differ-

ent countries concerned with emigration or immigration; to strengthen the force of the private efforts which formerly were scattered, having no common bond between them, so that these might be competent to arouse and focus public opinion in their respective countries to an active interest in the policies of their governments on immigration matters, particularly as to the humanity rights and needs of the migrants themselves. Also to see that the migrants' own point of view, in so far as the private welfare society is able to interpret them, is brought to bear on both national and international discussions on the control and direction of migration; to provide an instrument through which studies on a subject with a bearing in many countries can be pursued in all those countries at the same time through the initiative of these private societies. Lastly, to bring together the people who are the practical workers on behalf of emigrants and immigrants, that they may become personally acquainted, and that their work may receive the stimulus of meeting each other; so that they may benefit from learning about different standards of work prevailing in the various countries; and further, that they may exchange opinions on the general philosophy underlying national attitudes toward migration and treatment of immigrants, and thus spread understanding of the feelings and ideas on these questions prevailing in other countries than their own.

Two annual meetings have been held in Geneva, and a third will be held in August, 1927.

Two studies have been made: the first on "Simplification of Inspection of Emigrants on Board Ship"; the second on "Separation of Families of Migrants," and the results submitted to the International Labor Office. An *International Directory of Private Organizations for the Protection of Migrants* has been published.

Membership at present consists of fifty-five agencies from thirteen nations, with affiliations in sixty-four countries. All American agencies having immigration problems were urged to join the Conference.

*The Union: the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.*—Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, sent a report about the work this union, which has a membership of approximately 150,000 men and women from about thirty nationalities, is doing in the field of immigration and assimilation. After years of struggle the union has abolished the sweatshop, has established the forty-four hour week, has obtained for its members much better wages and security from arbitrary discharge. As a result of these improved working conditions, it has made it possible for its members to keep their children in school instead of sending them to the factories at an early age, and therefore has contributed greatly to the quality of American citizenship. By providing a degree of leisure and security, it has given the worker time for self education. To meet the demand thus created, the union has established classes, held lectures, given concerts, etc., frequently employing in this connection some of the best known educators and artists in the country. As a result, the immigrant members of the union take a live interest in American affairs and acquire command of the English language, and they show eagerness to become American citizens. There are not



many clothing workers who are eligible to citizenship who are not yet naturalized.

Mr. Schlossberg described the modern cooperative apartments which the clothing workers in New York, under the guidance of the Amalgamated, are at the present time building, and which will provide good homes for the workers, immigrant or native born, at a moderate rental.

Before the workers were organized, Mr. Schlossberg stated, they frequently had to become objects of charity. Today not only are they self supporting, but, through their organization and individually, they are able to give large sums to aid other workers, and to contribute to hospitals and other philanthropic enterprises.

## XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

### EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY—INDISPENSABLE OR MERELY DESIRABLE?

*Jesse Frederick Steiner, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

The transition from the apprenticeship type of training for social work to that offered by the professional school under university auspices has been marked by a great deal of confusion and uncertainty concerning the rôle of the social sciences in this relatively new field of professional education. In common with the other professions during their early stages of development, social work has been characterized by a distrust of academic points of view and methods of work. This has often found expression in the cynical comments of the social worker upon the futility of armchair theory in dealing with practical social problems. To a large degree this conflict between the social worker and the social scientist has centered about the field of sociology, perhaps because this phase of social science seems most closely related to the programs of the social worker. During the past decade the relation between sociology and social work has been a favorite topic for discussion at various meetings and conferences without apparently leading to any generally accepted principles or policies for the guidance of curriculum makers.

More recently, with the new emphasis upon the development of a rural social work training program, there have arisen similar questions concerning the value of rural sociology as a part of the equipment of the rural social worker. Obviously the whole controversy has grown out of misapprehensions of the precise nature of the interdependence of these two methods of approach to a common problem. Both the sociologist and the social worker tend to pass judgment on each other's methods and programs in terms of their own immediate interests, instead of emphasizing their larger aspects and relationships. The social worker has no time to give to sociology if it does not provide direct aid in solving the specific problems he faces. The sociologist, in his turn, ignores the social worker because the latter seems to be wrapped up entirely in the matter of securing practical results. Back of all this misunderstanding are two different types of mind made divergent through the kind of training received and inclined to be somewhat hostile because their very closely related

interests make their fields at least potentially competitive. The whole situation has been still further clouded by the too common fallacy of basing conclusions upon worst instances and assuming the continued existence of defects long since outgrown. The sociologist, for example, too frequently retains his early and biased impressions of social work as sentimental patchwork, while the social worker thinks that the barren sociology with which he may have come in contact a decade ago is typical of its present status.

Fortunately the whole trend at the present time is in the direction of a better integration of social science and social work. The old misunderstandings and prejudices do not loom up as large as formerly, and in some instances have almost entirely disappeared. In the fields of rural sociology and rural social work, where as yet there is no overcrowding of competitive workers and where the social situation as compared with that in cities is relatively simple, it ought to be possible to bring together these two groups and find common ground upon which they can stand. Perhaps a restatement of some of the more fundamental problems faced by the rural social worker may make clear the vital interrelationships of rural sociology and rural social work and pave the way for a better coordination of their forces.

In the first place the rural social work situation is beset by difficulties which the experience gained in urban social work has thus far not shown how to overcome. The great distances and the resulting difficulties of transportation, the scattered population often living in places not easily accessible, the lack of adequate economic resources, the small number of cooperating agencies, and the individualistic attitudes of the people are among the problems that account for the slow spread of social work in rural communities. Furthermore, some understanding must be reached concerning the proper unit of administration and the plan of organization before much headway can be made in building up efficient rural social agencies. It is not merely a matter of arbitrarily enlarging the boundaries and budgets of existing city agencies so that the traditional forms of social work can be extended into the open country. Unless new policies are worked out in accord with the demands of the rural situation, the results of this more comprehensive social work program may prove to be disappointing.

In planning a program of rural social work it must be recognized that its problems are closely bound up with the vast changes now going on with such rapidity in the whole rural situation. The social problems of the open country cannot be understood apart from such phenomena as the drift to cities, the improved means of transportation, the raising of educational standards, the wider use of farm machinery, the hard struggle for adequate economic returns, the decline of the rural and small town population, and similar factors that are transforming the whole nature of rural life. Under these circumstances, to in-trust the development of rural social work to persons whose training makes

them primarily interested in extending to rural sections the particular technique of social work in which they are skilled is a policy not likely to lead to the best results. In this pioneer stage of development of social work in the open country, leaders are required who, through profound study as well as practical experience, are fitted to establish policies and adopt methods in accord with actual needs.

The preparation of rural social workers competent to do work of this nature is a difficult undertaking. Only a few of the professional schools give particular attention to the training of rural social workers, and these are not agreed concerning the subjects of study to be emphasized nor the type of work experience that would be most valuable. Certainly the well prepared rural worker should possess, in addition to social work technique, a keen insight into the characteristics of rural life and a well rounded knowledge of rural people. While many elements must enter into the acquirement of this thorough understanding of rural situations, the study of rural sociology would seem to be indispensable, for it represents that aspect of social science which during the past twenty-five years has attempted to organize in a systematic manner our constantly growing knowledge of the social forces at work in rural communities. Admittedly, this body of knowledge is not yet adequately organized, for rural sociology is one of the most recently developed phases of social science. Nevertheless, great progress has been made in this field, especially during the past decade, and the rural social worker can afford no longer to ignore the researches of this group of students who are throwing new light on rural social problems. Technical skill, to be effective in the long run, must go hand in hand with theory. Through careful study of the work of the rural sociologists, the social worker will become familiar with concepts useful in social analysis and will acquire a point of view and a method of approach of distinct value in formulating his social programs. While this may seem to bear more directly upon his intellectual equipment, out of this study may come profound modifications of his technique in handling actual situations. In order to make clear the precise nature of the help that should come through rural sociology, let us examine more closely some of the important factors that should enter into this intellectual equipment of the rural social worker.

In the first place there must be an understanding of the nature and significance of rural social attitudes. The farmer is commonly said to be individualistic and conservative. His reaction to proposed schemes of community improvement is likely to be unfavorable even though it seems clear that the changes would be in accord with his own best interests. New methods of farming, the building up of cooperative marketing, reforms in local government, the consolidation of schools, and in fact all matters that involve a distinct break with the past, are likely when first proposed to meet with his determined opposition. All this the social worker may be familiar with, but the first step in

dealing with this problem of conservatism is a clear understanding of the way these attitudes have been developed and the rôle they play in the lives of the people. The social worker who is not familiar with what Galpin, Groves, Gillette, Hawthorn, and Williams have said about the nature and significance of the attitudes of rural people has closed an important door of knowledge which must have its effect upon the quality of his work. Without doubt, a part of the technique of rural social work must be concerned with the changing of attitudes, for unless this can be accomplished, social work programs cannot make much headway. Some means must be devised for building up new rural attitudes concerning relief work, juvenile delinquency, care of dependent children, and supervised recreation. In the effort to bring this about all the resources of the sociologists and social psychologists should be utilized, for there we may find clues of real value in building up a more adequate technique.

Of equal importance in this intellectual equipment of the rural social worker is familiarity with sociological concepts that facilitate social analysis. Concepts are intellectual tools without which constructive thinking is impossible. Every science builds up its own concepts with very definite connotations and meanings that are the outgrowth of study and experience. In sociology such concepts as social contact, isolation, competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, social forces, social control, and socialization have become familiar to students in this field and are constantly being used in the investigation and interpretation of concrete situations. For the social worker to be unable to make adequate use of this means of approach to a better understanding of social problems is to cut himself off from a source of help that is becoming increasingly important. Rural sociology, it is true, has in its earlier development been mainly a descriptive science in which emphasis has been placed on the presentation of facts concerning the rural population, rural institutions, and rural conditions. It is significant, however, that the most recent book in this field, Hawthorn's *Sociology of Rural Life*, is built up around the concept of socialization. In this book the rural institutions and the various factors that enter into the rural situations are set forth from the point of view of their bearing upon the social contacts of the people. Looked at in this way, rural social problems take on a new meaning and clues are furnished which open up more fruitful means of investigation and interpretation. The rural social worker who has become accustomed to think in terms of the various sociological concepts possesses a more secure foundation upon which to build constructive programs vitally related to existing needs.

Again, in the planning of rural social work there should be full knowledge of the recent studies of the nature and significance of the community as a social unit. Among the rural sociologists, Galpin was the first to make a searching analysis of the rural community in order to determine its natural boundaries, the actual territory served by its various institutions, and its interrelations

with neighboring towns and cities. More recently the urban sociologists have directed attention to the ecological aspects of the city community and have pointed out the rôle of topography and other physical characteristics in the development of natural communities, the significance of which has too often been ignored by those interested in community organization. In these days of more rapid transportation old neighborhood lines are breaking down and now forces are at work conditioning the natural organization of communities in the open country as well as in the city. All this has an important bearing upon the problem of the organization and administration of rural social work. In the selection of the most suitable administrative unit, due consideration must be given to the fact that our politically determined communities do not always coincide with natural and cultural communities. Before going far in the promotion of rural social work programs, there should be careful study of the interrelations of city and country and of the nature of the enlarged community relationships made inevitable by existing conditions. Here is an important field of investigation which the rural sociologists have been cultivating during the past decade. While no reliable conclusions are as yet available, this bears so directly upon the success of practical programs that the rural social worker should keep himself informed as to the theories advanced and work hand in hand with the sociologists in further elucidation of the points at issue.

Another contribution which comes to the social worker through the study of rural sociology is the conception of the complex nature of rural social problems, and therefore the futility of remedying the situation by concentration upon any single program. From the point of view of sociology, the constellation of social forces in a community are constantly interacting upon all phases of community life. The breakdown of one institution is reflected in the status of other institutions. Poverty of tenant farmers may seem to grow out of low productivity of the soil, but is associated also with an incompetent class of people, low educational standards, poor living conditions, inadequacy of neighborhood institutions, and a bad system of farm management. A program adequate to deal with this problem of poverty would need to comprise more than the usual technique of an Associated Charities. This suggests that a social work program of a rural community should be simply one aspect of a comprehensive plan covering all the needs of the community. For rural social workers to proceed with the organization of social agencies without adequate steps being taken to improve the economic and educational situation may prove to be a shortsighted policy with no lasting good results. In the large city where the various civic interests are well organized, the social worker may with some justification confine his attention to the particular social problems with which he is concerned. Under such circumstances he may very well assume that adequate financial resources can be made available for his program and that properly equipped groups of people are taking an interest in other related and



equally vital problems of civic improvement. But in the rural community every step in the development of a social work program must be considered in relation to other community interests. Will the proposed undertaking draw too heavily upon available economic resources? Will the leadership required in directing this new social agency divert leadership from other important community enterprises? Perhaps a more careful study of the whole rural situation may lead to the conclusion that the urban methods of organization to deal with social problems are unnecessary as well as inadvisable in the open country. At any rate students in the field of rural sociology are becoming more convinced of the wide reaching nature of the problems of our rural civilization and are skeptical of programs that seem to deal primarily with superficial conditions. Here again is needed the cooperation of the social worker in developing sound theory. Instead of standing aloof with little apparent appreciation of the efforts of the academic group to develop a social science upon which to base social programs, the social worker should continually evaluate the results of his practical experiments and endeavor to place his work on a more scientific basis.

In conclusion, it would seem that the closely related interests of rural sociology and rural social work would bring about general acceptance of the necessity of cooperation between the two fields. Since sociology is definitely interested in such topics of vital import to the social worker as the nature of rural attitudes, methods of social analysis, the community as a social unit, the complexity of social problems, and similar matters of mutual concern, it seems absurd to raise the question whether rural sociology is indispensable in the preparation for rural social work. Even granting that the present sociological discussions of these problems are disappointing from the point of view of the practical worker, the latter cannot afford to be ignorant of the current trends of academic thought concerning matters in which he has profound interest. During the past few years there has appeared evidence in some quarters that the wide gulf that has separated the social scientists and the social workers is being bridged to the mutual benefit of both groups. In a recent official statement by the psychiatric social workers published under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers there is set forth in the following words their conception of the place of the social sciences in their training courses:

Psychiatric social work requires such a specialized background of psychiatric and psychological knowledge, in addition to thorough training in sociology and the technique of social case work, that entrance into the field is practically limited to those who have had graduate training courses in psychiatric social work in a recognized school of social work. . . . An A.B. degree is usually required for admission to such schools, and undergraduate majors in sociology and psychology and courses in biology, physiology, economics, and political science will be found helpful.

Unfortunately, this statement is offset by a still more recent pronouncement, issued under the same auspices, by the family social work group, who seem to find small place for the social sciences in training programs. The following quotation makes clear their position: "A well rounded college curriculum affording broad cultural education is regarded as the best training in family case work, rather than a course of studies too closely related to the social sciences." If this represents the point of view of the oldest and most influential group of social workers, then the outlook is discouraging for a closer alliance between social science and social work. Those whose business it is to deal with the problems of society are advised to avoid "a course of studies too closely related to the social sciences." This policy of indifference to the value of the social sciences is postponing the day when social work can successfully establish its professional status and make true its claims to scientific procedure. One of the next steps to be taken in the field of education for social work is a reorganization of the curricula of the professional schools so as to bring about a better integration of graduate courses in the social sciences with the usual technical courses of instruction.

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#### FIELD PRACTICE IN EDUCATION FOR RURAL SOCIAL WORK

*E. L. Morgan, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia*

During the past few years there has been much discussion concerning the difference between urban and rural social work. It is our opinion that the difference lies, not in the nature of the task to be done, but rather in a difference in the technique of organization and administration.

There is also a difference of opinion concerning who should do rural social work. There are those who hold that all persons going into social work should be trained in a city and then be allowed to find themselves if their work takes them into a rural environment. Others contend that the rural social worker should be trained in a small town to avoid the "contamination of the city." It is my opinion that any social worker needs contact and experience with both city and small town or rural conditions. In the city the trainee will probably get a more diversified form of case problem and will become skilled in dealing with a larger number of specialized agencies. In the smaller town and in the open country the student meets country life as it is, relatively simple in set up as to number of agencies, and not such a large number of extreme problems. One of the difficulties to be guarded against in training people in cities for rural work is that the student may get the idea that without diversified agencies they will not be able to do their work. This is likely to discourage the social worker when starting in a small town where the number of agencies is few.

Another question frequently raised is who should do rural social work. I

am convinced that it makes very little difference whether a person is brought up in the city or in a small town or open country. The chief essential is one of point of view. To be successful in rural social work one must have a genuine love for the open country and a respect for its general system of living, its institutions, and its general mannerisms. Such a point of view is frequently found in city people and sometimes entirely lacking in rural people. While I think the rural born person has some advantages over the city person, still I do not believe we should close the rural social work door to those with an urban background. It should be understood, of course, that unless they approach a rural job in a thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative manner they will probably do more harm than good.

Field work practice for rural social work should give the student a few very definite things. First, the technique of family treatment at its best. This is more difficult to get in a rural environment than in the city, and usually deals with a different type of family, at least in part. Second, an appreciation of the significance and use of rural agencies. It frequently arises that in rural work one agency is called upon to perform a number of services each of which would in a city be performed by separate agencies. The student needs to become familiar with the means of using these institutions to their fullest capacity. Third, an appreciation of the community in relation to social work. Cities are too large to develop much of a social consciousness concerning family problems. In the village and open country, however, the community unit is sufficiently small so that very definite social values may be developed on a community basis. Social work here becomes a very intimate thing, with "everybody knowing everybody's business." In some respects this makes the task more difficult; but when it is properly approached this neighborliness and interest become a decided asset. Fourth, the nature of the rural family needs to be made clear. Here is the most self sufficing and independent type of family we have. It escapes many of the fears of the urban family which are due to dangers of loss of employment on the part of the wage earner and other factors which are practically urban in character. The average farmer has a managerial psychology and is in the habit of running his own affairs. This makes social work within the farm family far more difficult than with a similar type of family under urban conditions. The student must become skilled in dealing with social work problems in the midst of this general farmer point of view. Fifth, there must be developed an appreciation of the farm home as such. There are many who would measure the farm home by city home standards. This is obviously unfair, because the rural home is an integral part of the industry, which means that many of its arrangements and functions, as well as the task it is called upon to perform, are of necessity different from those of the city. It is the storehouse of the farm for fruit, vegetables, etc. In it the various agricultural products, such as milk, fruit, vegetables, etc., are processed. All of this

makes a large demand upon the home as an institution as well as upon the time of the housewife. Sixth, there needs to be developed an appreciation of the lesser independence of farm women. It is more difficult for them to get away from home than for city women. This makes difficult such work as clinics, prenatal care conferences, and general gatherings to consider social work problems. Seventh, the rural family still has a hangover of the patriarchal form of family in which the man does most of the planning and assumes the larger portion of managerial responsibility. The student needs to understand that in most cases involving children the farmer himself will need to be consulted. He is not as liable to take the opinion of his wife as the city man.

Rural attitudes are no doubt responsible for the lack of development of many sorts of work needed in the open country. In the conduct of his business the farmer has found that abrupt changes are disastrous. His business requires careful planning, caution, and discrimination. This becomes so much a part of his thinking that he is very apt to resent the new in whatever field it may be presented to him. The student needs to understand that this is not mere stupidity, but that it is a by-product of environment.

The farmer and his family alone are responsible for the conduct of their personal affairs. They live in the midst of isolation and are in the habit of living a more self sufficing life than the city family, i.e., they run their own affairs and are responsible to no one. Because of this the farm family may tend to resent what it may call interference with its personal affairs. Superior tact and good sense are therefore necessary in all forms of approach by the social worker.

The student needs to appreciate the remarkable spirit of neighborliness, good will and hospitality which is to be found among farm people. This is a decided asset in social work. As a human trait it has almost entirely disappeared in the city. Direct contact with it is necessary in order that an appreciation of its value may be fully realized.

For a number of years layer after layer of education in relation to solving social problems has been spread over the city, so that today every city has a large number of people who are somewhat conversant with general social work problems and procedures. Because of isolation the farm family has not been the recipient of such forms of education in relation to social work. Because of this there is a lack of what may be called social knowledge. This being true, the planning and conduct of social work needs to be approached with an understanding that social knowledge needs to be developed.

In the doing of city social work there are numerous agencies which may be called upon for assistance. While rural institutions and agencies are antiquated and are performing functions never intended for them, still it is true that they may be with us for some time to come, and the best possible must be made of the situation. Most enforcement officers in small towns and in the open coun-

try are personally known to the entire community. The social worker often finds these officers reticent about law enforcement, not because of a lack of interest, but because they can go no farther nor faster than the majority of the people see and believe. A city social worker, without definite rural contacts, in meeting this situation is liable to become discouraged and assume that nothing can be done, when the thing usually needed is a bit of sympathetic urging by one who understands the real causes of the difficulty.

The student should understand the basis of social control in the open country. Prestige in the country is based upon one's ability to accumulate and conserve wealth. In the city it is more largely based upon the spectacular. The sway of custom is far stronger in the open country, which means that the new has to win its way slowly. Good will, sympathy, and sense of justice represent attitudes which the rural social worker can use to great advantage. Probably the outstanding need of rural social work is that we graft a modern social work technique on these positive human traits. The student needs to see clearly the extent to which the rural social worker is alone with her work. She is a general practitioner, which calls forth great resourcefulness, poise, and self confidence.

Especially in small towns the future of social work lies about the idea of group action. Here the group is more democratic. It is small enough so that there is intimate acquaintanceship. The planning idea is very largely present and can be capitalized. In the city the community knows or cares very little for what is going on in social work. In a small community interest in others is very direct. Everyone is known to everyone else, which means that every activity of the social worker becomes public property.

Training for rural social work involves some handicaps which are not to be found under urban conditions. The distance to be traveled, the means of transportation, and the necessary expense involved is in some cases almost prohibitive. Supervision is much more difficult, owing to the time element, than in city work. As was pointed out above, there is little opportunity to interest the average person in the city in social work. With the development of modern rural organization, of which social work is a part, it is possible to secure general support and extended participation for rural social work on the part of the community.

The field of rural social work is a distinct challenge of our entire movement. There are in the country 104,000 communities having a population above 100; 802 having a population above 10,000, this leaving 103,198 communities having a population under 10,000 and above 100. We cannot think of the social work movement as occupying its field until far greater progress has been made in getting social work organized on a firm financial and supervisory basis in these small town and country communities.

It appears, therefore, that field practice in education for rural social or-

ganization is a thing rather distinct, which must be in part at least built up on the basis of the student's contacts with actual village and country life conditions as they are.

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### SOCIAL WORK JOBS ANALYZED

*Louise C. Odencrantz, American Association of Social Workers, New York City*

One of the main purposes of the American Association of Social Workers, to quote from its by-laws, is "to formulate and seek to establish professional ideals and standards, encourage proper and adequate preparation and training, and disseminate information concerning social work." Early in its career, however, it found that basic to such a program is adequate information about what constitutes the work of the social worker. What does he do? What skill and knowledge does he use in his work? What qualities and habits of work does he have? What education and preparation has he had?

It has been easier to ask these questions than to answer them. For some time members of the association have felt that only through a detailed analysis of individual positions would it be possible to get at any adequate answer. This method, generally called job analysis, has become an important tool in industry and business for working out policies of methods and procedure, selection and training, promotion and salary adjustment. That it can be of use in the professional field has been demonstrated by engineers and librarians, who have made such analyses in their own field of work.

During the past year the American Association of Social Workers has made a beginning of such an analysis of positions in social work. The study has been carried on with an advisory committee composed of representatives from various fields of social work. In this first year the committee decided to cover the principal positions in family welfare work, medical social work, and psychiatric social work. Due to limited funds and time, the study was restricted to selected organizations in the east. As the "job analysis" method differs essentially from the questionnaire method in the study of individual positions through personal interviews and observation, it is time consuming and necessarily must be limited.

The general method followed was outlined in a report to the American Association of Social Workers at its meeting yesterday; but for those who were not present, I will outline the method briefly. Information was secured through interviews with executives, supervisors, and staff members; workers were observed "on the job"; case records were read; staff conferences were attended, and handbooks, annual reports, and studies gone over; workers kept "logs" over various periods. In gathering the information, no general questionnaire was used, but an outline was followed to secure the essential facts of the organization as a background for the position, and information about the position



from the person holding it as well as from the person supervising it. In addition there has been available comparative material about larger groups, such as information gathered in the vocational analysis made by the American Association of Social Workers several years ago and its more recent study on personnel practices in social organizations. The national organizations in these fields have also been consulted, as well as the schools of social work. Another source were the pamphlets on the vocational aspects of the work in these three fields, which had been prepared by committees of the American Association of Social Workers.

A preliminary draft of the report was sent to the organizations visited and also to people in each field, throughout the country, for criticism and comments as to how far it represented conditions elsewhere. After revision, these three studies will be issued as Volume I of a report on "Social Workers and What They Do." When the study is completed of positions in the other fields of social work, the final results will make a voluminous report of some three or four books.

What is to be included in an analysis depends to some extent upon the purposes for which it is made. The committee which made the plans for this analysis summarized the purposes that it might serve, as follows: first, it will furnish an accurate definition of social workers' occupations which will help in defining the field of social work; second, it will furnish a classification of social workers by means of which to make accurate wage comparisons and establish wage standards and schedules; third, it will furnish standard specifications of jobs for use in placement of personnel; fourth, it will tend to standardize terminology of positions and to some extent it may be expected to standardize the positions themselves; fifth, it will be used in the training of personnel, both in organizations and in schools of social work, in so far as it will give a more adequate and accurate indication of the duties associated with the typical social work positions. In this analysis there has been no attempt to describe the job as we think it ought to be, or as we would like it to be, but as it actually is. Nor is it an attempt to set any standards or conditions as ideal, or to determine what constitutes the best technique or best method of work. Out of the mass of variations we have tried to select for the picture the most usual practices and conditions, at the same time pointing out variations which are not necessarily representative, but which may be of interest as experiments and possible lines of development.

A job analysis in professional work must recognize the fact that the limitations of the job are not hard and fast, but that the person who holds the job is a factor in determining its nature. This is especially true in social work, where objectives and technique are modified by the interpretation of the individual worker and create differences in emphasis; and where success depends not alone upon the elements in the job, but upon their proper coordination and variation

according to the individual situation. The general outline of each position includes four general headings: objective, duties and responsibilities, requirements, and conditions of work.

While the major part of the analysis is included under the heading "Duties and Responsibilities," it is not possible to draw up at the present time a more detailed outline under this heading that would cover all positions. Subdivisions in each group vary so much that one can scarcely go beyond the general question, "What do you do?" Even in the case work jobs in these fields there is so much variation in the duties and responsibilities that, until all the case work positions in the different groups have been analyzed, it is not possible to draw up a general outline of the duties and responsibilities common to them all. In fact, the value of an analysis lies in the setting down "of every item involved in a piece of work itself and its relation to other jobs in the organization," and not attempting beforehand to make any selection or classification of items, a method which almost precludes the use of a questionnaire.

As an illustration of how an analysis of a position in social work has been interpreted in this study, a description of the position of district secretary in family welfare work is included.

I. *Objective.*—Under administrative direction, but with wide opportunity for independent judgment and procedure, to be responsible for the family case work of an organization in a special district of the city, and supervising a staff of visitors. She may have charge of an office located within the district, or conduct her work from the central office.

II. *Duties and responsibilities.*—If the district secretary has an associate or an assistant district secretary, she may delegate all direct case work supervision and training to the associate or assistant, and she herself carry the office administration, community work, and a case load; or vice versa, but retaining all final responsibilities for the work of the office. How the work is divided varies even within the same organization, depending largely upon the interests of the individual district secretary.

A. Relationships with main office and whole organization: The district secretary is the representative of the district office to the main office, interpreting its work, needs, and program, and in turn interpreting the work of the general organization to the district staff (details omitted).

B. Duties relating directly to the case work in the district: **First**, responsibility for the supervision of the case load of the office. This varied from 130 to 500 cases per month. The district secretary receives and assigns cases, sees that they are followed up without undue delay, and that proper records are kept; maintains general oversight of all contacts with the clients; answers inquiries concerning cases in the district; approves all relief expenditures and budgets, subject to final approval from the central office; approves transfer or

referral of cases to other agencies; approves all closing and reopening of cases; second, raising of funds for relief (details omitted).

C. Supervision of case workers: The number of visitors, including visitors in training, under her supervision varied from one to nine in the organizations visited.

General methods of supervision included the following: regular periods of consultation, and also when difficulties arise for immediate decision; arranging case conferences of the staff or of representatives of agencies or individuals interested in special cases; reading of records (she may select records at random, perhaps to study some special part of the procedure, such as the first interview—as to the visitor's ability to discover the main difficulties, to establish friendly contacts, and what are her objectives and plans—or “to see how the visitor commonly builds up her case study and interprets the material.” Or she may study a group of records having the same problem, such as unemployment, or problem children. Some district secretaries attempt to read all records as soon as they are typed, or at least to go through all records to see if certain routine tasks are carried out. Others read them when a diagnostic summary is made); reading of statistical or case accounting cards (which give a summary of essential facts of the family, problems, and services rendered); assisting the case workers in organizing their field work, dictation, and general planning of their program; helping visitors to keep a perspective upon their work; developing standards of work (a function of the district secretary is to stimulate the staff to high standards of case work, and to this end to develop a sense of responsibility, to encourage the development of special abilities, and to stimulate them to further professional study, using such methods as the following: arranging time for case workers to attend lectures or classes on subjects relating to their work, to attend local, state, or national conferences on social work, and to attend meetings in the district, to get acquainted with the neighborhood people, their problems, and to work with them; organizing weekly or monthly office staff meetings for discussion of policies, changes in resources, new developments, neighborhood problems, individual cases, presiding and planning meetings herself or arranging for the workers to do this; detailed supervision of the work of visitors on selected cases, such as “Plan” or “A” families (see position of visitor—opportunity for application of special attention to a few cases); maintaining an up to date office professional library, and otherwise helping to keep the staff informed of the developments in social work and their special field.

D. Training of visitors in training: The aim is to give visitors in training an understanding of the objectives of social work; to instruct them in the technique of case work, especially in dealing with family groups; to develop qualities and habits of work essential for case work; and to familiarize them with the organization, the neighborhood, and the resources of the community.

Typical tasks: first, working out a plan of training, in cooperation with the case supervisor or other members of the staff (the number of visitors in training under one district secretary varied from one to four); second, introducing the new worker to the organization, giving her information about the organization, such as its history, aims, policies, activities, and about the district—its history, make up, and characteristics—and the important cooperating agencies and resources; third, preparing list of books and articles and discussing such reading with him; fourth, selecting cases for him to read, and cases with which he may begin to make contact; fifth, conferences, of half an hour or longer, with each worker until he requires less close supervision (the secretary goes over the details of each case; the problems and what worker hopes to accomplish; value of information secured; sources to be consulted; assists in making diagnosis and discusses plans, budget, possible treatment, special services, or other specialists to be used. She follows the progress on each case by reading records or through conferences. She corrects longhand records of worker until he is able to dictate, and then reads records after dictation, over a considerable period); sixth, arranging time for them to take courses, and attend lectures, and conducting group discussions if there are several visitors in training on the staff; seventh, periodic report on worker at end of probation period and at other times, with recommendations as to retention or discharge. Such reports cover personality and essential qualifications for the work (full details given under position of visitor—evaluation of the worker).

E. Training in field work of students from schools of social work and other educational institutions: The number of students assigned to offices varied from three to nine. A definite plan of field work is usually worked out with the school of social work. Two classes of students are assigned for field work: first, prevocational, to whom field work in family social work will give a background for general social work; second, vocational students who plan to enter the social case work field.

The purpose is to give them the fundamental subject matter through practice, and the general plan of training follows along the lines of those for visitors in training. The district secretary selects cases with varied problems, and gradually turns over to the student the responsibility of a selected number of cases. In addition to supervising the work on such cases, the district secretary carries the cases while the student is not available, and carries out such parts of the treatment which the student is not sufficiently experienced to handle. In some cases the students do not make any records, but the district secretary dictates the records from the student's notes.

The district secretary may arrange group meetings, one or two a week, with the students, to discuss case work principles and technique, especially using the actual case work experience of the students as illustration or as a basis for discussion.

The district secretary usually attends staff meetings at the school or conferences of the district secretaries, giving field work experience for short periods to workers in other fields—public health nurses and home economists—as a basis for better understanding of social work. In one office the district secretary was giving field work experience to five such workers at one time.

In some large organizations district secretaries also give training, for periods of one to three months or longer, to workers from other organizations which do not have organized methods of training.

F. Supervision of volunteers (details omitted).

G. Case load: The number of cases that a district secretary herself carried varied from none to a full case load. Many carry a few cases "from the desk," inactive cases, or specially difficult cases. A district secretary carried usually at least five or ten cases, but the number is variable, as, for example, when an experienced case worker leaves, the district secretary may take over the major part of the case load, gradually transferring it to a new worker.

H. Personnel responsibilities: First, selection of workers. She may interview prospective case workers and make recommendations to case supervisor. Second, preparing reports on workers periodically, or at request of case supervisor, covering such points as general qualifications, understanding and skill in case work technique, relationship of efforts to progress. In one organization the district secretary goes over the written report first with the worker. Some organizations have worked out outlines for such reports. Discharges, increases, and promotions depend largely upon the reports of the district secretary. She bases her judgment on the worker's case records, her method of presenting and discussing cases at case conferences or in consultation; her relationships with other visitors and with other agencies; reaction of clients; letters written; general organization of her work and time, etc. Third, general oversight of attendance, arrangements of vacation schedules and hours, and general assignment of work.

I. Office management (details omitted).

J. Community contacts: The purpose is to interpret the work of the organization to the community and to secure the interest and cooperation of the community. It presupposes an understanding of the community and its problems. Methods of developing such community contacts by the district secretary are as follows: First, district committee. The district secretary elects the personnel, interests them in the work of the office, and usually acts as secretary to the committee. She usually plans the programs of the meetings, secures attendance at the meetings, prepares reports to the committee, selects and prepares outlines of cases to be presented for discussion. She may also suggest neighborhood problems for advice and cooperation in meeting them; such as, for example, a lack of recreational activities for boys, or the need of a nutrition clinic, etc. Such meetings are held monthly or at less frequent inter-

vals. Second, securing the interest and services of individuals on special cases or problems; third, organization of case conferences of people interested in a special case; fourth, serving on local committees, such as community councils and school committees; fifth, participating in neighborhood movements, such as the elimination of beggars, securing better school facilities, developing recreation facilities; sixth, public speaking and giving material to the newspapers.

### III. Requirements.—

**Qualities:** The district secretary must have the qualities essential for a case worker (see position), with special emphasis upon leadership, organization sense, and ability to work under pressure without irritation or excitement. These qualities are essential in relationships with clients and staff workers.

**Knowledge:** (details omitted).

**Skill:** In addition to the skill needed by a visitor, first, skill in teaching; second, skill in constructing supervision and adjustment of individual workers and in evaluating their ability and effort. "Ability to put yourself in the worker's place," said one supervisor, "in order to deal tolerantly and sympathetically with the things she does when under the pressure of a case load."

**Educational:** Graduation from a college of recognized standing. Desirable prerequisites: sociology, psychology, economics, biology.

**Training and experience:** Same as for visitor, with two additional years' experience doing family case work, with preferably one year of this as assistant district secretary. If duties include training of new workers it is desirable that the district secretary has had organized professional training for a year in a school of social work or in an agency with organized training methods.

**Age:** Minimum age, twenty-four years.

**Sex:** Practically only women employed.

**Physical:** Good health and physical endurance (same as for visitor).

### IV. Conditions of Work.—

**Supervision:** The district secretary is directly responsible to the general secretary or the case supervisor, who assists her on difficult problems and judges of her work through the quality of work done in the district, the community interest and contact she makes, and the reactions of clients and the workers on the staff. In one agency the district secretaries themselves have worked out a basis for evaluating their work (details omitted).

**Opportunity for professional development:** First, provision for studying and attending conferences (details omitted); second, membership in professional organizations, such as the American Association of Social Workers, and participating in the work of committees.

**Salaries:** Range, \$125-\$275 a month. Most usual salary, \$150-\$175 a month. Range of minimum salaries paid in various organizations, \$125-\$170 a month. Range of maximum, \$150-\$275 a month. Increases are made accord-



ing to ability and experience. As a rule, there is no general schedule of increases for district secretaries.

**Promotion:** To case supervisor (or assistant general secretary), case consultant, general secretary in a smaller organization, research secretary, or statistician. The general policy is to promote persons within the organization, if necessary giving a person the opportunity to qualify by attending special courses. In some instances agencies have paid a worker while she was attending a six weeks' course at an institute or school of social work.

**Vacations:** Usually the same as for visitors, namely, four weeks or a month. In some instances an additional week is given in the spring.

**Holidays:** All legal holidays are given with full pay.

**Sick leave:** (details omitted).

**Pensions:** No provision made. Some agencies carry group insurance with a disability clause providing payments after a 3 or 6 months' illness.

**Hours:** (1) **Regular:** The accepted work day is from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., with an hour for lunch. The closing hour on Saturday varies from 12 to 1 o'clock, so that the daily schedule is 7 hours and weekly schedule is between 38 and 39 hours. The majority of the organizations have also made provisions for shorter hours in the summer months, by closing daily at 4 P.M. and on Saturdays at 12 M., or by working only one or two Saturdays a month, the office maintaining only an emergency staff on Saturdays (or Sundays in Jewish organizations). In some instances the week is not shortened, but the hours rearranged in the summer to an 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. day. One organization has arranged for one Saturday off during the entire year, as a "preventive sick leave." The nature of the work, however, sometimes requires work outside the regular hours: for example, seeing a client after his working hours, and emergency calls. Some organizations have recognized these necessary variations by providing for workers' taking off the equivalent time. In order to insure that the time is taken, one organization requires that the time must be taken off the following day; and another, that it must be taken off within the month in which the extra time occurred. Two other organizations arrange that workers take off Saturday mornings as an equivalent. **Overtime:** Usually the position of district secretary requires frequent overtime, which may vary from a few hours a month to nine or ten hours a week. Some district secretaries find it necessary to do record reading at home, away from the interruptions of the office, and this they are likely to do at night. Time studies in four agencies showed an average working day ranging from 7 hours and 58 minutes in one organization to 9 hours and 4 minutes in another (with 7 hours as the regular day).

**Turnover:** (Details omitted).

**Factors influencing effectiveness of the work:** (Details omitted).

This outlines the general plan followed in the analysis of each position

in the fields of work covered. But, as was pointed out before, considerable variation occurs in the description of the duties and responsibilities of each.

When one considers the range of problems that are included in the task of a social worker—a range usually as wide as human experience—and then turns for example to the recent analysis made of the comparatively simple position of a secretary or stenographer, showing some 871 duties, we can scarcely hope to limit the description of the job of the social worker to a few lines or pages. Some premonition of the complexity of the work must come to the new worker in a family agency when she is faced with a 3-volume policy book about the organization.

This report does not attempt to set down a final analysis of positions in these fields of social work. Rather it is hoped that in trying to work out a method and making a beginning of setting down the various elements that go to make up a job—the purpose of the job, how it is done, the equipment and tools of the person doing it, and conditions under which he does it—it may serve as a starting point for further analysis and comparison of such elements, thus building up continuously a body of information about social work.

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## PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK IN A METHODICAL COUNTRY

### THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN GERMANY

*Dr. Emmy Wagner, Exchange Student from Germany at Western Reserve University, Cleveland*

*The political background.*—After having had the privilege of studying social conditions and social work during the last seven months in Cleveland, I realize that there is a great difference between the field of social work in your country and mine.

It seems to me that in the United States, compared with Germany, the greatest advantage for social workers lies in the application of scientific methods to their work, and in the freedom from partisan interference. In Germany we have to consider the different political, social, and religious backgrounds, which have resulted in an almost continual civil war and built up a complicated system of twenty-seven political parties in the Reichstag and nearly the same number of parties in the parliaments of the single states, cities, and countries. These political parties, although they are very often a hindrance to unified reform, include most of the national life. They all have their own traditions, ideals, and philosophical backgrounds: liberalism, nationalism, socialism, etc. (the socialists, for instance, have at the present time one-third or two-thirds and even more of the seats in almost all parliaments).

If any economic, social, or cultural group desires to become effective to a large extent, it can do so only by bringing about cooperation among these parties. In recent times many idealistic movements started a new way, trying to break down this dangerous antagonism of political parties, but they are not yet powerful enough. Since social work has to do with reality, it seems that in the present time it has to use this machinery of political parties to find a majority of deputies who are willing and able to work out its purposes through legislation.

Germany is still a country of legislation. A great deal of work which is done in the United States by social agencies or private initiative is done in Germany by social insurance which is regulated by the state and provides relief for sick, injured, old, and unemployed persons throughout the country. It is supported by weekly payments of employers and employees, and partly by the state. Bismarck started this system in 1879, after having consulted many administrative, scientific, and political experts, even the socialistic leaders, Bebel and Lassalle. During the whole nineteenth century, with its extreme individualism, there were also many anti-individualistic movements in Germany, such as socialism, catholicism, and especially the extremely conservative historical law school, which is based on Hegel. They all emphasized cohesion among the people, especially among certain groups or classes, and favored the building of a system of social insurance by the state.

Since social insurance gives only a scanty economic relief in routinized cases of sickness, injury, old age, and unemployment, social work has to supplement it (naturally, only if necessary) and to contribute the personal contact, that is, the educational factor, individual guidance, and research.

If we consider the historical background, we will find that social work is as old as human culture, and each epoch has brought forth a different scheme. But during the last thirty years, since we began to realize that we have entered a new era of civilization, social work has shown an entirely new development. Dr. Marie Baum, a member of parliament in the state of Baden and a pioneer of social work in Germany, writes:

The modern social worker lives in a cold atmosphere, without relationships, while her predecessors in former times, namely, the pastor's wife and the daughter of the patriarchal employer, had a natural contact with the poor people of the community among whom they worked. But modern social workers can no longer tolerate that feeling of superiority displayed by former social workers. To break down those old forms and to create new ones we need the assistance of religious and morally powerful personalities, as well as the liberated forces of the formerly suppressed classes. We still are far away from the *Volksstaat*, the true democracy, still unrealized throughout the world. Nearly no book of economics as yet considers the human being as the highest value. . . . Social politics are the battlefield where the contending parties fight over labor's influence and the distribution of goods. The social worker has to know about this struggle, but cannot participate in it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zehn Jahre Soziale Berufsarbeit* (Berlin, 1926).

This neutrality of the social worker in Germany is of course observed only toward the client, no matter what his political viewpoint may be, while the whole idea of modern social work and the movement of changing social conditions and social aptitudes is extremely political. The most successful and the most advanced leaders of social work are at once leaders in the democratic parties of the parliaments or members of the cultural sections of other political parties. There is fine cooperation among the women of the different parties in parliaments of all kinds, and there we find the real headquarters of the organization of social workers in Germany.

*The beginnings of the organization of social workers in Germany.*—The oldest organization of this kind is the Association of Protestant Women Social Workers (Verband Evangelischer Wohlfahrtspflegerinnen). It was founded in 1903. The president is Graefin von der Schulenburg, who is also director of the School of Social Work of the Inner Mission (Soziale Frauenschule der Innern Mission), Berlin. The Inner Mission is a social and philanthropic movement of the Protestant church; it started in 1848 and began to train social workers about the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time Alice Salomon and Gertrude Baeumer began to gather groups of girls and women for social work, whom they trained at the Soziale Frauenschule, Berlin. In 1916 they founded the German Association of Women Social Workers (Deutscher Verband der Sozialbeamtinnen), the business manager of which is Adele Beerensson, and the managing editor, Dr. Ruth Weiland. In 1918 these associations were combined into the Joint Society of Professional Associations of Women Social Workers (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berufsverbände der Wohlfahrtspflegerinnen), called A.B.W. The A.B.W. is now the chief organization of social workers in Germany. In 1922 the Association of Catholic Women Social Workers was founded (Verband Katholischer Wohlfahrtspflegerinnen); it was the third association to join the A.B.W. The President is Helene Weber, M.D.R. Since there is a strong feeling of cohesion among the members of each individual organization, it has not yet been possible to bring about a complete union of those three organizations, although they all have the same aim, in regard to social work. The executive of their joint society is chosen in turn from the three organizations.

*The development of the welfare work since the war.*—During the last thirteen years, war, revolution, inflation of currency, and very bad economic conditions have created many new and very serious social problems. During this trying period social work has been greatly developed and organized as a branch of the social administration of state and community. The first step in this direction was the founding of an organization called the Bureau for War Family Welfare Work, which, during the war, received adequate support by state, community, and private funds. This war family welfare work was in many places combined with the poor relief organization, with the result that

this latter organization lost its narrow outlook and odium of disrepute, and became a modernized, forward looking welfare organization.

The heritage of this war time period is the family welfare work. Family welfare work is now a method. It does not consider the client as an isolated individual, but tries to investigate the whole social background, especially the family. It emphasizes the indirect influence by changing the environment and the social conditions in the whole. The principles for the single case are comprehensive hygienic, educational, and economic relief, as well as follow up and preventive work. The family social worker has to cooperate with the family as well as with the social agencies, volunteer workers, doctors, public nurses, teachers, churches, juvenile courts, community officials, city councils represented, and so on. The basis of her work is calling in the homes. Besides this she has office hours and assists during the consultation hours of the public physician, especially in the schools. At the beginning, the family welfare organizations required specialized social workers in one of these three divisions of hygienic, educational, and economic welfare work. Now training and experience in all three fields, especially in the field of nursing, in the field of kindergarten teaching, and a specialized training at a school of social work, are required.

The ideal form of a family welfare organization is the general welfare bureau, called *Wohlfahrtsamt*, which in most of the big cities has been established as a municipal organization with special offices in each ward. It covers the following fields: child care (baby, preschool, school, adolescent, orphanage, and foster home welfare work), rehabilitation of the home (protective, drunkards, tuberculosis), and housing welfare work. The unification of the *Wohlfahrtsamt* has not yet been accomplished everywhere. There is still much dissension in many places. Child care is frequently carried on by a Youth Welfare Bureau, called *Jugendamt*, which is based on a general child welfare law. The protective work for the criminal cases of minors is developing more and more as a special welfare bureau at the police stations, called *Pflegeamt*. Many rural districts are not yet organized at all. They have only certain phases of the whole field of social work developed. However, the tendency is observed everywhere that the strongest welfare organization (which in many places is the Youth Welfare Bureau) becomes automatically the center for the whole field of social work in a community, and then we have the *Wohlfahrtsamt*.

Public and private welfare work has been coordinated in the modern family welfare work. This cooperation is indorsed by the legislature. The general child welfare law (*Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz*) states that the official welfare bureau is responsible for the way in which the welfare work is carried through, but it may transfer the executive for the single case to private organizations or persons of experience and responsibility. While the official welfare work has a broader outlook, the private one is more personal, deepening, and original. The associations of social workers have established special divisions

for family social work, in which the methods and problems continually are discussed and developed.

Very difficult are the problems of the social workers in the employment service. After many attempts at organization, a special division of the German Association of Social Workers was established in 1924 by Dr. Kaete Gaebel, to deal exclusively with industrial social problems. This division includes only 136 members, many of whom are doing vocational guidance work, others are in industrial commissions or in the labor administration of the Reich and the states. But besides these trained social workers, there are in the same work, especially at the state employment bureaus, many members of the trade unions or religious associations who are concerned chiefly with the problems for a special group of workers (e.g., tailors, masons, Catholic tailors, Catholic masons, etc.). Many of the men in this work were formerly agents of trade unions and socialistic parties, or clerks in the administration, or craftsmen in the respective industries in which they now do the employment service. There is dissension and a pronounced rivalry between these untrained employment workers and trained social workers in this field, who generally have a broader outlook, a much more neutral viewpoint, and a deeper cultural background. There are a great number of smaller associations and groups which are all trying to bring their members to positions of power and influence in order to achieve their (partisan) aims. Long and hard struggles will be carried on among the workers in this field of employment service before union and understanding will be possible.

Our problems became very serious because of bad conditions in industry. The taxes for reparation, levied on every single enterprise, are enormous. Besides this, many countries impose special tariffs on goods coming from Germany. But Germany has to export, if she is to meet the payments demanded by the reparation commission under the Versailles treaty. Therefore industry has to produce at the lowest possible price, which reflects itself in sadly low wages paid throughout the country in nearly all industries. While before and during the war many industrial organizations and enterprises began to build up their own staff of social workers for their employees, this movement has suffered an enormous setback during the last years. All that—but especially the extreme poverty—is favoring the influence of trade unions and labor parties, which are trying to bring social work under their partisan viewpoints.

The most fortunate and progressive are the social workers in police and protective work. In 1918 they organized a special division of the German Association of Women Social Workers. The president is Irmgard Jaeger. This division is now reaping the harvest of the pioneer work which had been carried on for years by Anna Pappritz and several associations for the promotion of morality and social justice.

In 1925 there were only 157 official social workers at police stations in



Germany, but the work which they do is remarkable, and it will be built up much more during the next years. The necessity of furthering the protective work at the police stations and the introduction of the policewomen has been increasingly recognized because of the bad moral conditions near the occupation camps in the Ruhr and Rhine district in the first years after the war. At this time even women of other countries appealed to the League of Nations to change these conditions and to establish a special protective service.

The members of the division of social workers at the police stations are closely cooperating. They have worked out fine principles and methods, and a good office technique. They are also seeking a way out of the confusion in the prevalent ideas of morality. Their chief legal problems are the abolition of relementation, probation, medical supervision, and venereal disease control. In 1922 they appealed to the Reichstag for the passage of a law for controlling venereal diseases. As a representative of the division of social workers at the police station, Irmgard Jaeger was invited to give her opinion to the committee on population study of the Reichstag. The Prussian Welfare Ministry has officially recognized the division of social workers at the police station by annual appropriations. It also has ordered that the division share in and contribute to the International Police Technical Exhibition at Frankfurt.

The Ministry is also paying the traveling expenses to the conferences of the division. These conferences are most important for the development of the work and the continuation training of the members of the division. Leading psychiatrists are demonstrating and discussing the relationship between crime and environment, heritage, and the methods of changing certain types of delinquents. These specialized social workers take their continuation training in psychology and psychiatry very seriously. And it is not so easy for them, since the technical and practical application is not as thoroughly developed and promoted as in this country. Unfortunately the German universities are only in isolated cases interested in the education of social workers and in the development of theories and principles of social work. But they are beginning to recognize the need for cooperation with schools for training social workers and with social agencies.

Administrative and professional problems are also discussed at these conferences; for instance, the relation between the protective work of the welfare office at the police station (*Pflegeamt*) and the regular police work, the health council, the family welfare organizations, and, furthermore, the establishment of new welfare bureaus, the introduction of policewomen, which is now going on, etc. Such conferences are held as district, state, and national conferences. Frequently they are combined with those of the German Association of Social Workers, or the A.B.W., and the German Federation of Women's Clubs (*Bund deutscher Frauenvereine*), which includes the whole corps of leading women in Germany, a great number of whom are members of parliaments (the socialistic

women, of course, due to their rigid party regulations, are not allowed to co-operate closely with the *bourgeois* women in the same organization). The more important problems of every association and of every division are brought before the forum of the Bund and discussed in special committees. They then take their way through the legislature. At those big conferences there are generally also some lectures given by women like Gertrude Baeumer, Marianne Weber, and others, in which the sociological, ethical, and philosophical backgrounds of those problems are discussed.

*Professional conditions and activities which promote improvements.*—The professional conditions in Germany are generally very trying for social workers. However, there is some difference, depending on whether state, community, or private organizations are employers.

The different types of official positions are: first, substitute welfare worker; second, welfare worker (*Fuersorgerin*); third, executive welfare worker; fourth, social referent; fifth, social decernent. The last two of these are positions in governmental administration and are mostly occupied by women or men who have been trained at a university in law or political economy. Very few of them come from a school of social work (*Soziale Frauenschule*).

The regular social worker, who has been trained at the school of social work, is the *Fuersorgerin*. Her salary varies from M. 200 to M. 350, that is, \$50.00–\$85.00 monthly; but it corresponds to about \$80.00–\$120.00, since the cost of living is not as high in Germany as in this country. This is a rather low salary, for a well trained social worker has to have several years of experience before she gets her state certificate.

Still more trying than the financial conditions is the service itself. Frequent physical breakdowns of social workers prove that they are overburdened. Officials in administration have little conception of the difference between practical welfare work (including follow up and preventive work) and mere administrative service. Every social worker has too many cases and must therefore conform to the routine outlined by administration, which creates the danger of bureaucratic and schematic administration.

Great efforts have been made by the organizations of social workers to meet these problems, to preserve the wide individual character of social work, and also to protect the life, health, and ability of the individual social worker. The chief methods of the Joint Society of Professional Associations of Women Social Workers, as well as of each individual organization to achieve these aims are as follows:

First, standardization of contracts for social workers with communities and organizations which are employing them, as regards salaries, vacations, pensions, insurance, promotions, hours and conditions of work, supervision, responsibilities, etc. Results vary. Cities like Frankfurt, Karlsruhe, Mannheim, and others are very forward looking in their social administration and have

created for their social workers even better conditions than the associations demand.

Second, influence on legislation, administration, and public opinion to further interest in and understanding of the problems of social work and of the conditions of social workers. The state of Baden has been a model in this regard. Woerishoffer worked there for decades as a factory inspector and in connection with the government. Staatsminister Willy Hellpach and Marie Baum are also important promoters of the welfare legislation in Baden. The General Child Welfare Law is chiefly the work of the women deputies in the Reichstag.

Third, employment service and vocational guidance. A clearing house for positions in the whole social field, including nurses and kindergarten teachers, has been established. This is connected with the different schools of social work and also with the employment service for the officials of the whole country; that is, they have established a special exchange, called *Reichsausgleichsstelle*, at the *Reichsarbeitsamt*.

Fourth, cooperation with other organizations, such as the Association of German Economists, the German Federation of Women's Clubs, the Associations of Nurses and Kindergarten Teachers, and different groups of independent welfare workers, with trade unions, and associations of men social workers, who at the present time are in the great minority and as a rule have not been adequately trained.

Fifth, assistance and advice for the single social worker; for instance, an additional old age pension which has been started by the Association for Protestant Social Workers. Recreational homes have been established. Information and arrangements about special rates in other recreation homes have been disseminated, and so on. Much has been done during the last ten years. The social worker, as an official appointed by the government, can never be dismissed unless disciplinary charges have been preferred against her and she has been found guilty. The social worker is an important factor in public life today. But not all social workers are officials. Most of them are still in the position of private employees. The organizations of social workers have still much to do to create adequate conditions for their members in every type of position. It is hard and not at all pleasant for them to fight for their own advantage. Some people still hold to the belief that the "charity worker" should do his work "for the grace of God" or for pocket money. It is especially hard to fight, since the odium of mere trade unionism might adhere to this struggle, whereas in reality the social workers have the highest ideals.

Sixth, the associations of social workers have special divisions for promoting the initial and the advanced training. They help to work out plans and to carry them through at the Ministry, and also to develop the office technique and management. The graduate training which social workers are constantly taking proves how earnestly they try to improve the quality of social service.

Dr. Alice Salomon has established a social academy for women, in connection with the Soziale Frauenschule at Berlin, for courses in additional training over a period of one year or less. Single lectures are also given there in the evening. Such additional training in special courses, conferences, meetings, discussion groups, single lectures, etc., as well as other activities, are carried on by local and regional groups as well as by headquarters by the individual schools of social work, which, during the last ten years, have grown up mushroom-like in every great city, and by the divisions for different types of social workers, as previously described. The local groups try to work out plans with their communities; the regional groups, with the administrations and governments of their states; the central headquarters, for the whole country. The latter also assists the divisions and local groups to achieve their purposes. The various associations for social workers are sources of friendship and strength for their members. The qualifications for membership are professional training, at least two years of practical work in the social field, and a salaried position in social work. However, the students of schools of social work and the social workers without this training may be registered as associate members. In 1918 the German Association of Social Workers had 607 members in seven local groups; in 1926, 3,434 members in seventy-two local groups. The Association of Protestant Women Social Workers has 3,200 members. It has established divisions for city and rural family welfare work, for education and welfare service of church groups, for protective work, reformatories, institutions, industrial and vocational welfare work, hospital and infant welfare work. The Catholic Association of Women Social Workers has also its own system of organization.

Seventh, the magazine *Soziale Berufsarbeit* is edited by the Joint Society of the (Protestant, Catholic and German) Associations of Women Social Workers. It contains articles about legal, professional, and social problems from the different viewpoints, and it tells what is going on in the individual groups, divisions, and associations. The last number of the magazine contained an article about the first eight women police commissioners who just passed the examination at the police headquarters in Berlin after having had one year's training in police technique in addition to their training and experience as social workers of the protective service. The magazine and its supplements for Protestant and Catholic social workers reflect also the best of modern social and cultural thought. This is shown by the contributions of the forward looking scholars of psychology, pedagogy, theology, and medicine, who are cooperating with the social workers in conferences which indeed are of the highest spiritual level (*Lauensteinerkreis*). Instead of regular training in experimental sciences, the German social workers emphasize more the ethical, economic, and philosophical side of social problems. Instead of behaviorism, they study individual psychology (Adler, not Freud).

There is much interest in international friendship and exchange among the

social workers in Germany, who are trying to do their part in furthering the development of mankind.

If you allow me to conclude with a personal word, as I began, I wish to say that in addition to the many important things which I have learned in your interesting country, I am most of all impressed by the friendship, kindness, and thoughtfulness of the Americans. And I wish that we might build up a strong network of personal relationships for the exchange of ideas and for protection against all kinds of misunderstandings, so that together we may do a preventive social work for the mental hygiene of the world.

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### EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK AND STATE EXAMINATION IN GERMANY

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The well known promoter of the German women's movement, Dr. Helene Lange, once said that woman's task lies wherever a need presents itself. Women in all the world acted upon this principle when they began to organize social work and to strengthen the feeling of responsibility of society as well as of the legislator. There has always been a close relationship between social problems and those of women.

But there is a great variety in the development of social work in the different countries. The same standard is impossible at a time when economic, sociological, and social conditions vary so greatly, as they do everywhere at present. Therefore you will also find a great difference between our German training of social workers and your American system. Both result from a particular political and economic development; both are adapted to the needs of the population and to their mode of thinking.

A fact which has been of great importance for the system of German welfare work and all questions which are connected with it is that we have in Germany a class conscious and well educated workman population. It has always represented the opinion that the state and the local authorities should be responsible for the welfare of the people, and that the work of private welfare organizations could only be a supplementary one. The introduction of compulsory insurance at the close of the last century is the best illustration of this. A very swift development in this direction took place during the war and in the years after the war. The distress and poverty of wide classes of our people, temporary as well as continuous, rendered a well organized system of official welfare work necessary. Increased poverty and indigence on one side

and insufficient remedies on the other developed a close cooperation between the local authorities and the private welfare organizations.

Our legislation has in recent years created the general welfare bureau and the child welfare bureau as central points in every city and every rural district. The social worker, generally employed by the local authority, is the link between official and private welfare work. He has the difficult task of discovering indigence in all its phases, of tracing its causes and of knowing and summoning all means for help without wasting time, money, or forces, because that would mean to deprive others who also need help.

It is the task of our German social schools to educate men and women for this purpose, to train them for the practical work they have to carry on. It is not of primary importance to give them a general scientific education, though they must understand the outlines of development in all branches of civil, economic, and social life. They must have this larger and more comprehensive point of view, and yet the ability to help in each practical case, with all their human sympathy and devotion, the person the improvement of whose situation depends upon them.

The examinations for social workers vary in the different German states, but conventions have been established between those which are alike in their demands. Prussia has been typical of the system of state examinations with its ordinance of 1920. Nearly all other German states have followed Prussia's example. Practically, we have an almost identical standard of training and examination in all German states. Reciprocity in this case means that, for example, a social worker who got his education in Saxony has the right to apply for any official position as social worker in Prussia or Thuringia or anywhere else. It is rather difficult to say who started the state examinations, that is, to whose demands we owe them. Interest in them was manifest alike by the professional social workers, the social schools, and the state and municipal authorities who were the employers of social workers. There is no doubt that the professional organizations of social workers were seriously engaged in the preliminaries for these examinations.

The training of men for social work is still in its beginning. Only in a few German states men are admitted to social schools and to the state examinations. In the Welfare Ministry of Prussia, which has often been the pioneer in questions for training social workers, preliminary work for men's admission to the state examinations were made in recent time. Probably the particular demands for men, which must vary in some points from those for women, will be published this year. The organization of male social workers, which was founded only two years ago, is naturally greatly interested in it. We hope that then the membership in this organization will be bound by similar conditions regarding training as prevail in the professional women's organization. At present many officials with an administrative but no social training belong to this



organization and call themselves social workers, so that the untrained man in social work presents a rather difficult problem in our country.

As the system of administration varies in the different German states, different ministries are competent for the training of social workers. But the standard of the demands is not influenced by it. The welfare ministry in Prussia handles the state examination in the same way as does the Ministry for Labor in Saxony, the Home Office in Thuringia or the Board of Education in Baden. In most states the examinations take place at the social schools, and no one is admitted to the state examination without the training at a social school which has a special recognition by the state for training social workers. There were transient regulations for several years which enabled persons who had worked systematically and practically in social work for at least five years to get the state certificate without visiting a social school and passing an examination.

The board of examiners consists of a state official as president, a representative of the state board of education, and five teachers who are appointed by the director of the school. The examination is both written and oral. Four hours generally are allowed for the written examination, under close supervision. The oral part presents two groups of subjects. To the first group belong nine subjects which are of general importance for all welfare work. They are public health, special health problems, pedagogy, public instruction, economics, social politics and social insurance, political science and legal theory, welfare work problems. The second set of questions must be taken from one of the three following groups: first, hygiene, social hygiene, special hygiene (care of pregnant, children, tubercular persons, alcoholic individuals, people with venereal diseases, and cripples); second, welfare for children and young persons (including the statistical basis of child welfare work, psychology, organization of the German school system, institutions for children, juvenile delinquency and its treatment, child labor, the Youth movement); third, problems involving economic wellbeing, vocational guidance, and employment bureaus, including social politics and questions of labor conditions. Each student has to decide on one of these three groups in the beginning of his training, according to his previous education, which will be dealt with later. If a social school decides that a student is not fitted for practical work, he is not admitted to the examination.

The student who has passed the examination spends one year of probation in an extensive branch of welfare work. This practical work is supervised by state authority, and if it becomes evident that the candidate's work is acceptable, the state certification as social worker follows, but not before the applicant is twenty-five years of age. If the student has done practical work before entering the school, he may be excused from this year of probation. The state certificate can be withdrawn if the social worker at any time shows that he

lacks qualities which are necessary prerequisites for social work, or if he acts in opposition to state regulations.

The requirements of the other German states do not vary in essential points, so that the Prussian regulations can be regarded as the standard. The competent state official in this field in the Prussian welfare ministry is a university woman who has practical experience in social and educational work and is also a member of the Prussian parliament. Naturally the schools plan their work according to the requirements for state examination, though they show a greater variety beyond these requirements.

In order to answer the question Who is admitted to the examination for social workers in Germany? it is necessary to consider four different conditions. As to general education, the student must have completed a junior high school course, or a high school. If he has only completed the elementary school training, which takes eight years, he must pass a special examination to show that he has the necessary general education. But he is not examined in foreign languages, which are taught in our German junior high schools. There are seven types of professional or general education which are considered sufficient as a basis for the training in social schools. The student may have passed (a) the state examination as nurse, or (b) the state examination as kindergarten teacher, *Hortnerin* or *Jugendleiterin*. The *Hortnerin* receives a training similar to that of a kindergarten teacher, but specifically directed toward the extra-curricular education of school children. If she has worked practically for some years she can enter a course for *Jugendleiterinnen*. She can then become either a teacher who trains kindergarten teachers or she is eligible for a leading position in a children's home. She must have passed (c) the state examination as a teacher, or as a teacher of domestic science or of handicrafts, (d) the examination at the end of two years' women's college based on high school education, (e) the examination of an economic rural women's school, having had practical experience of at least one year before entering a social school, or (f) the examination of a commercial school, the training of which takes two years, having worked four years at her profession before entering a social school or having gathered practical experience in at least one year of welfare work. The last condition (g) which is possible is three years of practical field work. The student, however, who has passed her final examinations after having visited a gymnasium requires only one year of practical work.

The large variety of possibilities for social education is the best illustration of the widespread opinion in Germany that women of all classes of our people ought to have the opportunity to become social workers. We are not yet so democratic a country as America. Our high schools are not yet free. Children of the working class population generally cannot get the same education as children of more prosperous parents and even if scholarships for them were available, the parents very often would not be able to sacrifice the money

which the child would earn and which would pay the expenses of his or her living. The welfare organization of the social democratic party, Arbeiterwohl-fahrt, therefore, began some years ago to give scholarships to young persons belonging to their movement, for the purpose of education as social workers. Similar measures were taken by the trade unions, with notable success.

To the general education and the professional preschool training belong two more conditions as preliminaries to state examination: a health certificate in which a state physician attests that the student is fitted for the profession as social worker; two years' training in a social school, which cannot be begun before the student is twenty years old.

We have in Germany at present thirty-two social schools. None is connected with a university. Seven of them are municipal institutions; the others are private foundations. Many of them have a denominational character, and see their particular aim in the education of social workers for the welfare work of church organizations and denominational homes. But as neither the local authority of a Roman Catholic district nor a city where the greatest part of the population is Protestant will generally employ a social worker of a different religion, many of these students get official positions too. Twelve of the twenty-five private schools are undenominational. They were founded by organizations which were interested in women's education, social questions, and educational problems. One social school belongs to the Red Cross; it was founded in Weimar only a few years ago, and sees its particular aim in the training of social workers for rural districts. Because of the manifold regulations, difficult to get at a glance, the German Association of Social Workers published information pamphlets in which all the final requirements of the different states regarding state examination have been worked over. There is a joint organization of all German social schools, the name of which is Konferenz der Sozialen Frauenschulen, which has annual meetings to discuss questions of training as well as questions of general importance in welfare work.

Though we have an almost similar standard for state examination, the character of the schools varies greatly, not only in plans and particular aims, but also in influence upon welfare legislation and the development of social theories and new methods for practical work. That depends, of course, not only upon the head of the institution, but also upon the geographical location of the school and the possibility of securing good teachers.

Seventeen schools are situated in large cities with more than 150,000 inhabitants, eleven in middle sized towns, and four in small rural towns. Of these schools, nineteen have the opportunity of securing teachers from the university, but do not always make extensive use of it.

The number of the faculty varies greatly in the different schools. It depends upon the number of students, the particular conditions, and the budget. All schools, of course, have some educators, but generally more than half of

the lectures are given by people who are in other positions: physicians, judges, directors of public or private welfare centers, or professors in the universities. There are sometimes difficulties arising out of this system, and cooperation between the different teachers is not always so close as we think desirable. But in spite of it the directors of the schools as well as the organizations of social workers consider the training by teachers who are always touched by the practical problems to be of very great value and importance.

The sources of income of the schools generally are tuition of students, grants by the state authorities, and sometimes supports by the municipality. In exceptional cases the home office of the German Reich gives grants too, in cases of particular difficulties or of new foundations. There may be denominational schools which also receive private contributions, but generally these are not very great. The students have to pay about M. 200 a year. Most social schools also have scholarships from the competent ministry.

Some of the schools have dormitories of their own, which is regarded of great value for the spirit of the school in comradeship and exchange of opinions and experience. Four years ago the German Red Cross founded a dormitory, *Heimathaus*, for the social school of Dr. Alice Salomon in Berlin. The students there pay only M. 60-M. 100 a month for room and board.

The training of the students is both practical and theoretical. In the first year they generally do practical work one or two days weekly, or half a day four times a week. In the three months between semesters they are obliged to work in one place practically the whole time. Some schools have a still longer period of uninterrupted field work. During this time the student has a chance to get a summary review of the meaning and nature of social work, and he also has the opportunity of studying the details of one branch of it. We consider this continual work important because the attention of the student is fixed on the problems and demands of the day only in that time. At the end of these months the schools generally have a good idea of his fitness for practical work. For the second year most social schools prescribe still more practical work. In the school in Weimar they have in the second year six half-days weekly for practical work and three months again in the summer. Generally the students have about six weeks of vacation in every year. Most of the schools have some institutions of their own, where they can supervise the students in their practical work. Some of them have infants' homes, kindergartens, children's libraries, recuperation homes, clinics, camps, and other institutions. The social school of the Red Cross in Weimar often sends its students as assistants to the district nurses in the very poor rural districts of Thuringia and in the villages with home work. But as the municipal welfare work is predominant in Germany, most of the students are sent to the official welfare and child welfare bureaus to gain practical experience. The schools have very close cooperation with these places. The choice is made individually with regard to the profes-

sional preschool training, the main branch of welfare work the student is trained for (which of course depends upon his preschool training), and his special wishes and interests. In these places for practical training the student is always under the supervision of one person only, who is responsible for what he learns and what he does. After six weeks, generally, the first report about him is sent to the school, and at the end of the whole practical period, another. The students of some schools are also required to send a detailed report on all their practical work to the head of the school after three months. These reports are very characteristic.

If the student is not fitted for the work at one place—and that sometimes happens at the beginning of his training—or if he lacks the necessary theoretical or practical experience, the school will find another place for him. It is rather difficult to find enough places for the practical training, where the students get as much benefit as we wish they might. The intensity of the work in social agencies makes the assignment of candidates a hard burden. The situation is rendered still more difficult when the theoretical training and the scientific knowledge of the student is considered unnecessary by these agencies. In the first year of professional social education naturally there is no balance between theoretical knowledge and practical social experience. Only later years will bring it. A link between practical and theoretical training is the visit to social institutions, as well as to factories, or interviews with representatives of trade unions and social insurance. Most of the German social schools arrange such inspections once a fortnight or even once a week, and the students like them very much.

The theoretical plans of the schools vary too. They are identical in five subjects only: first, general and special hygiene; second, psychology and pedagogy; third, political science and legal theory; fourth, economics, social politics, and social insurance; fifth, welfare problems. But there are many other subjects in all social schools. What other courses are given depends upon the personal opinion of the head of the school, as well as upon the places which later employ the students, and which often have special wishes in this way.

A great difference between the American and German systems of professional education for social work is the fact that we have in Germany a fixed plan for all students in the two years of their training. In the first year most schools have lectures on the following subjects: economics and social politics, pedagogy, psychology, hygiene, child welfare problems, history of welfare work, ethics, political science, law, public administration. Many schools also have courses in social literature, philosophy, history, women's problems, statistics, stenography, folksongs, gymnastics, and others. The theoretical training generally takes 20–22 hours weekly in the first year. In the second year the students are divided into three groups, according to their professional preschool training: first, public and special hygiene; second, child welfare; third,

economical and vocational welfare work. These three groups receive a special training for their principal subjects whereas all groups come together for the general courses. In this second year they generally have not more than 14-15 hours weekly.

There has been a great lack of further training for social workers who had their state certificates and practical experience, and who wish to get a special training for leading positions or who wish only to deepen their knowledge. A social academy has been established therefore by Dr. Alice Salomon in Berlin. The German Association of Social Workers is greatly interested in this institute and has its representatives on the board. The courses are of university character and take one year. Several of the best known men of social science are lecturing there. But until now no special rights are connected with the academy, and it is the opinion of our organization of social workers that only the present condition guarantees the best selection of the students. Nobody is admitted who has not the state certificate and at least three years of practical experience.

The placing of the students who have gained their state certificate after having passed the social school is generally handled by the schools themselves, though students sometimes also make use of the employment registry for social work, which was for several years part of the German Association of Social Workers. It was made independent in order to get financial support from the state authorities, not possible and not desirable for a trade union.

The social schools work closely together with the professional organizations in every attempt to improve the economic conditions of social workers and to influence the content and methods of social work generally. We owe to this cooperation the fact that the Welfare Ministry in Prussia published the advice to pay all social workers salaries corresponding to the officials with a similar training, and also the fact that an agreement was made with all leading social journals not to publish any advertisements of public or private agencies which pay less. It is for the benefit of the schools, too, that, for example, the German Association of Social Workers publishes warnings against those positions in its own journal, and handles the professional affairs of its members as a registered trade union.

The German social schools do their best to give their students a good education for their difficult task. To give them theoretical knowledge and help them to a serious introduction into practical field work. They aim also to strengthen their feeling of responsibility toward the community and toward all those whom they seek to help.

However much the inner springs of the devotion of these men and women to their task may vary with the individual experiences and temperament, it is indisputably true that each must possess an inexhaustible fund of love and human sympathy to travel the path of loneliness and renunciation often necessary



in his ministry. The abiding foundation for the work must be a dynamic personality, which has been called the most precious gift of humanity by one of our greatest German poets: "Hoechstes Glueck der Erdenkinder ist doch die Persoenlichkeit."

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### THE USE BY SOCIAL WORKERS OF LEGAL RESOURCES IN THE PRACTICE OF CASE WORK

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It is no new thing to say that the lawyer and the social worker are engaged in fields of labor which are closely related and which cross and recross and overlap in countless situations. The ultimate purpose of these two groups concerns men, women, and children in actions of inconceivable variety and extent, such actions being often destructive in purpose, and, when not so, being frequently expressed in forms and according to methods which are against sound practice and experience.

The foundations of law and social work go back into the very beginnings of human relationships. The law had, however, professionalized its procedure generations before similar steps were taken in the field of social work. The interests of the latter have been expressed over long periods, not only by lawyers, but by the clergy, by physicians, teachers, public officials, and laymen. As social work began to engage the thought and time of certain people, and their numbers grew, it was found that the other fields of interest were more given to fixed and rigid rules of procedure and were not always based on a close knowledge of, or regard for, the effects of such procedure on those involved. Here was an opportunity for a more fluid treatment of people, based on an understanding of them which brought together what different and often widely separated groups knew.

So far as the field of the law was concerned, the forerunners of the social workers began, and the social workers later helped, to review much that the lawyers were doing and to suggest new or slightly different methods. There followed a series of widespread changes in legal action and in the treatment of those who had passed through the courts. Some of the many evidences of these are the giving up of numerous forms of cruel and barbarous punishment, the reduction of capital punishment, greater consideration for the child offender, a lengthening of the period of legal protection of children from full adult responsibility, the abandonment of the general practice of imprisonment for debt (although we still err greatly in this regard today), the separation of juvenile from adult offenders, the institution of the juvenile court, probation and parole, non-support laws, special laws for the protection of the child of unmarried parents, laws for the protection of children, the control of child labor, the entrance of

psychology and psychiatry into the court procedure, the better understanding of the special social work training needed by large numbers of court officials, and the organization of private and public legal aid services, not to mention many other developments.

While the influence of the law has always made itself felt in the social work field, the predominating influence during the last half century at least has been in the opposite direction, that is, from social work to law. We seem now to be on the eve of a change. The rapid expansion of social work has brought it to the place where it must, from a legal standpoint, dig in. Its many ill defined developments need to be defined in terms of sound legal philosophy. Some of the innovations adopted by the law under pressure from social workers will probably need to be reexamined and changed in the light of their results, and some of the practices and powers advised or followed and exercised by social workers will need to be brought under the law if full protection is to be afforded to both agencies and clients. We have come through a long period of expansion and growth, with the road pretty much to ourselves; but congested traffic conditions await us. With this brief preface, what are some of our present legal needs in terms of social work?

There is need of more and closer contacts between judges, lawyers, and social workers, both in the sessions of the court and in outside relations. The bar needs to get a social point of view, and social workers are in equal need of a good grounding in the philosophy of the law and the essentially simple principles which govern legal practice. Those who practice and administer the law are human beings: a fact not always seemingly realized by those of us in the social work field who propose so many of the enactments which have failed or will fail because of the amazing capacity of mankind for ineffective or faulty work. For example, the ideals back of our juvenile courts are of the best, but the present standards of work in the juvenile courts throughout the United States show a personnel generally not equal to these ideals and results, often no better than those of the old mixed adult and juvenile courts which they were created to correct, and without some protections which these older courts afforded.

There is a great common ground of the law and social work which needs a common and sympathetic consideration from both groups. These mutual relations can be without fear. There should be a readiness to question one another. There is nothing sacrosanct about the law, and no reason why we should not question the opinions and decisions of lawyers and judges, just as they question us. The methods followed, and the actions and decisions of the lower courts, are too generally accepted without question by social workers. There is great need of a more general testing out of the errors of the lower courts through appeals to the higher courts. That this is not more generally followed is due to the failure of social workers to have good and able counsel associated with

them when they enter upon any serious legal enterprise. We deign to enter the field of law as we have been taught not to enter other fields of professional effort.

The development of private legal aid bureaus, and later of public bureaus, is an expression of the widespread need of legal services in the field of social work. Every social welfare agency has a constant series of legal social situations fairly simple in character, yet involving the use of means and treatment which are not within the technique of the social worker who has had no legal training. These situations in brief represent eviction, dispossession, estates, simple contracts, small claims, instalment purchases, desertion, custody, abandonment, neglect, cruelty, improper guardianship, non-support, illegitimacy, debts, divorce, adoption, surrender, accident compensation, release of children, delinquency (both of children and adults), as well as many others. Each of these situations involves the cooperation of one or many different agencies, both public and private. Inadequate or faulty understanding and presentation may mean the loss of the case or the setting of a wrong precedent. The need of expert legal advice and assistance is so great that we should have, not only public bureaus, but also the practice, where the size of the agency warrants, of the addition of a lawyer to the paid staff, or the use of one or more lawyers as volunteer private counsel. No public bureau is equipped to handle all of the problems which arise in the legal aid field. Certain clients will be reluctant to be sent to a public agency; others may seek possible action against other public officials or appeals from inferior court decisions. Hence we need the same mixture of private and public service which has been found to be so helpful in other ways. Legal aid work will not attain to its best development if it is left entirely to public initiative.

The law and social work must cooperate more freely. The following are only a few out of the mass of legal social problems which is the basis of this whole field of thought. To what extent are social case work records private in the sense that a lawyer's, a physician's, or a clergyman's records are? Do the celebrated Baumes laws in New York indicate that from now on we will have adult courts giving weight to the juvenile court records of the accused, and using such against him? To what extent is a social agency or its staff members liable to civil or criminal action in giving out information about clients to other social agencies, or to employers? What safeguards should be exercised when the information goes through the mails? If the information relates to the physical condition or the character, or certain experiences of the client, and has been furnished by the client, how may we use it? If we give it out, may we distinguish between relatives and strangers? What legal obligations are assumed by an agency which provides foster care either in an institution or a family? Suppose the case given is one of neglect. Suppose the client contracts a venereal disease or has had sex experience with a member of the institution staff or

a member of his foster family; can the parent, especially if he is helping to support the child, sue for damages? Is the corporation liable to suit? Some may say one cannot sue a non-profit-making charitable agency under the circumstances. But many child caring agencies, as is true of hospitals, give care to clients or patients for whom the full cost of care is provided by the client. Does the agency cease, in such a situation, to be able to claim exemption on the ground that it is a charity? In matters of injury or punishment, or performing of operations, what are the legal considerations which enter in? To what extent may corporal punishment be given a child in a reformatory or foster family, or in a disciplinary class in a public school? Where does the authority of a parent begin and end?

Wide abuses exist in the field of adoptions, and there is grave need of assistance of able and courageous lawyers and judges to end them. To what extent is an adoption decree vitiated by the fact that the mother was told that failure to pay her child's board for a period of from three to six consecutive months would give the agency the power to place the child for adoption, and she believed this was legally sound? We are supposed not to imprison for debt; in like fashion we should not adopt for debt. In Oregon a child was removed from its parents because it had been taught as part of its religious faith to show or pay no allegiance to this country's flag. No other fault was found with the family, but for this one specific reason his parents were adjudged unfit and unsuitable and the court ordered the child placed in another family for adoption. The injustice of such a proceeding cries out for help. The ignorance of the child's point of view and the content of the adoption relationship shows how great is the need of social legal education. Children are accepted by agencies with the possibility of adoption without the fact being made sufficiently clear to the children's parents or other relatives. A case of this sort received wide publicity in New York City last year. The mother of the child, having remarried, asked for the return of her child from the agency, but was told that by agreement it had been placed for adoption. The question arises whether a more careful social inquiry by the society would not have revealed the fact that the mother truly did not want to give up her child, and a more careful inquiry by the court at the time of the petition would have revealed the fact that there was no meeting of minds, and therefore no contract, between mother and agency. Certainly a conference between the mother and the court would have helped to show her the solemn step she was taking. As it was, she refused to agree with the agency plan, made repeated efforts to find the child, succeeded, tried to kidnap it, was arrested, escaped, rearrested, petitioned for release of child. This was denied, and she departed to her birthplace, Scotland. The identity of the child and her relationship to it were revealed to the adopting family and their neighbors, with the certainty that the child would be told by someone of the meaning of this legal struggle. Possibly a greater blending of

legal social procedure would have at least saved the adopting family such an ordeal.

The field of foster family care presents other special legal problems. What are the rights of a foster family which has provided free care for a child for a number of years when the agency which placed the child seeks to remove it for no other reason than that it wishes to place the child in another family? Would the situation be different if remuneration had been paid by the family? Suppose a child, long in a free foster home where he has become well rooted, objects to being removed, although the man of the house now drinks, which he did not do at the time of placement. What rights has the child under these circumstances?

Is an agency liable to action for sending a child, placed voluntarily by the parents, to a state or a district where the school standards are so low that in the course of five years the child suffers a loss of five hundred school days over what he would have received in a school community of high grade? What action would be suggested against a court which persisted in the removal of a difficult child from a fair grade of home to a low grade foster institution where there was so much neglect that the society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children closed it after action in another court? If a parent can sue for physical injuries to his child, why not for neglect and social injuries? If an unmarried mother regrets the giving up of her baby, can she sue the doctors and nurses of the state hospital who, mistakenly or by design or ignorance, told her that she could not possibly succeed in keeping her baby; that no one ever kept her baby under such circumstances? Later she finds that many others do, and that it is a well accepted and wise social policy. What sum of money could possibly compensate her in such a plight?

In the late seventies the societies to protect children from cruelty came into being, and, from a few, multiplied by the dozens all over the eastern half of the United States. The humane movement, first for animals, then for children, achieved great prominence. The first society, the New York City Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, was built into the statutory law of New York State, a situation not true of any other private welfare agency in the United States. The parent organization set the pace for a development of police powers by private agencies which gave great concern to welfare workers. The movement reached its height in the period 1900-1905. Then, shortly afterward, there came into this field men and women with a new point of view. Carl C. Carstens led off with the Massachusetts S.P.C.C., putting that organization in the very front rank of child welfare agencies and making it, in its exercise of its special powers, conform to social legal procedure. The agencies in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Buffalo, and a few other cities developed a similar plan. The rise and sweep of the juvenile court, social work by school authorities, child labor laws, and better standards of living reduced in large part the

old problems of acute neglect and cruelty. A more complicated and penetrating social case work therefore became necessary and was adopted by the leading agencies, which ceased to stride through their respective communities like uncontrolled policemen. However, as an aftermath of the crest of the humane movement, we have certain agencies trying to operate as important factors in the field of child protection. For them lawyers and social workers feel there are many legal questions in need of answering.

To what extent is there an understanding and a recognition of the rights of parents to some association with their children? The right of entry to a man's house, if he is poor, is too easily asserted. In New York City recently an adolescent girl was removed from her father on the ground of neglect, the neglect being instanced as a refusal on his part to send his child to church, and not that he prevented her from going to church. In a community which guarantees freedom of thought and practice in the matter of religious beliefs, of what legal significance was this removal? How much should the father receive to reimburse him for the loss of his daughter's companionship during the month she was in the house of detention? What easy and yet efficient legal protection is available to the poor, of which people of more ample means do not appear to be in need? Mill, the economist, was reared by a father whose religious beliefs and his practices did not conform to those of his time and who refused to allow his son to be exposed to them. At least because of Mill's later influence in the whole field of liberal thought it was important that the local English S.P.C.C. of the time did not remove him from his own home after the fashion of the New York authorities.

How far or to what extent would many removals of children by private agencies or by the police from families on the lower wage scale be sustained if these same families could have made available for them forceful, efficient legal aid service? Because they cannot afford to pay very much, if anything, for such service, they simply go without it, and hence they frequently suffer great injustice. Many of them are arrested illegally, searched illegally, fined illegally, subjected to a form of slander which crushes in upon them; and they are committed to prison for debt, arising frequently out of their inability to pay the orders made by the courts for the support of their children in the care of public and private agencies. To imprison for debt should be a most extraordinary step for a court to take. It should never be lightly imposed; yet it is, with most demoralizing effects. It was put with a stab by Emerson when he said: "Great is the mischief of a legal crime."

These police powers of arrest, search, summary seizure, and a quasi-public status should be withdrawn from private agencies and left to properly designated and responsible public officials. Child protection should be practiced by all private forces with a deep respect for good legal procedure, and this implies an intelligent and courageous facing of the consequences of our decisions



and actions. A strong armed private social agency running amuck in this field is a good breeder of disregard of the law.

What is evidence? Social workers know that frequently that which passes for it in open court may give a wholly inaccurate picture of a person or event. They do not always know, however, that that which they consider evidence has little if any more value.

People need to be told how and when not to use the courts. Adults and juvenile courts are cluttered up with legal social problems which a more widespread use of legal aid services would tend to keep out. The juvenile courts and public prosecuting officers and adult courts must seek to reduce the amount of work which gets to full trial. Certainly in the juvenile courts a more careful selection of cases for court hearing, through the use of good referees, would be of the greatest help. We can keep thousands of superficial and ill-thought-out situations this side of court hearings. The open courtroom is not the place for a Jewish father, suddenly become orthodox in his old age, to compel his fourteen-year-old son, reared in the Catholic church by his mother of the same faith, to become an orthodox Jew.

The whole status of the juvenile court needs reconsideration. Frequently the wrong personnel, from judge down, unchecked in their power by a jury or the effect of appeals to the higher courts, leads to grave abuses. The juvenile court is not an unmixed good.

Dependency or poverty cases have no rightful place in a court. And the courts should, moreover, be freed from control over a child after he passes beyond probation or is committed to a public disciplinary training school. This modern practice of juvenile court judges playing the part of police court judges with their thirty, and sixty, and ninety, and a hundred and eighty day sentences is, in the words of the street gang, "all bunk." When probation has failed, let a new body give the treatment. It would seem as though the public defender is needed, not only in the adult court, but in the juvenile as well.

The commitment of the insane, especially the feeble-minded, needs new legal protections. It is still far too easy to deprive people of their normal civil powers and rights. The inaccuracies attending the general use of their psychometric tests leaves much to be desired in the way we use the courts to secure the commitment of the mentally defective.

A new type of legal care is needed for the delinquents between sixteen and eighteen. Most of them, although committing only minor offenses, receive the heavy unimaginative treatment accorded the average adult delinquent.

The spirit of good social work in the court procedure carries the aura of the old equity sessions. Where the person before the court is at least mentally ill or undeveloped the court can sit as a friendly protector and not an avenging public servant. Courts need not be like Cowper's ice palace, "a place that smiled and was cold."

A great opportunity awaits those who organize legal aid service in the workman's compensation field. Aside from a few of the larger labor unions which employ able and experienced counsel in this field of the law, the situation between the injured and the insured employer is most unequal. By a system of district counsel, operating under the direction of a central state committee, and using the services of social agencies for the making of certain inquiries, there could be built up a self supporting service which would save hundreds of thousands of dollars for low wage groups, keep down dishonest suits, and at the same time operate with the respectful cooperation of the employers. And this legal aid group could very quickly match the best minds on the employers' side.

We cannot hope to develop a private or public legal aid service that will duplicate all the existing legal machinery. But we can offer an escape in every community from the worst injustices. And the value of these services will be felt far afield. The law, in its broadest social sense, will breathe new life into existing charitable trusts, and thus give new powers to social agencies. The educational process must be furthered by social work courses in the law schools and legal courses in schools of social work. Research in the field of the law, that is, as to the effects of legal social innovations or legal practices which have become crystallized, is greatly needed if changes are to be brought about.

All law, all social work, at their best are summed up in their entirety in one line: "You must love your neighbor as yourself." To contribute in part to the realization of this old axiom of the law of the spirit is, I take it, the real reason for this part of our program. For it were better to have it said truthfully of others than of us: "I can vouch for their zeal, only it is not zeal with knowledge."

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#### THE USE BY SOCIAL WORKERS OF LEGAL RESOURCES IN CONSTRUCTING SOCIAL PROGRAMS

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The thesis of this paper is the value to social work of a closer contact with law, a statement of how much social work loses by failing to understand and use more fully legal resources in constructing social programs. There is a significant sentence by Robert W. Kelso in the March, 1926, volume of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*:

Federation is at full tide in social work. It is the method by which the disintegrated enterprises of yesterday are being knit into the social work program of tomorrow. It is the auspicious hour for legal aid to make itself known and understood, among social agencies and before the public. And let it not be supposed that in this process it will be helping only itself. With its superior training and its understanding of law and government, it has the opportunity to lead the less coherent elements in social work to a higher standard.

Let us begin, then, by the statement that law and social work are nothing more than the public mind endeavoring to solve human problems. The methods may be different, but in each problem the essential basis is the same. One cannot divorce the social from the legal element without doing violence to the individual. Judge Cardozo, in his book, *The Nature of the Judicial Process*, says, "It is true, I think, today in every department of the law that the social value of a rule has become a test of growing power and importance." Dean Pound, in the *Proceedings of the American Bar Association* (1919), says, "Perhaps the most significant advance in the modern science of law is the change from the analytical to the functional attitude." Robert W. Kelso, in his *History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts* (p. 1), says: "Though their emergence be sometimes quick, the abiding tenets by which man governs himself do not spring full armed from the mind of any one person, king or spiritual leader though he be; they are the sum total of the feelings and desires of generations in the mass. They are custom become law." So in discussing the use of legal resources in constructing social programs we must realize first of all that the law is something more than red tape and rules. Social workers have failed to some extent to realize this, and as a result their social programs are limited both in scope and effectiveness.

The law is custom crystallized. The purpose of the law is to protect rights and to assert duties. The law should not be partisan, but should provide a means of making and enforcing decisions. Social workers may make decisions as to their clients, but if their methods of conciliation fail, the ultimate question as to whether the social worker can force the individual to accept the decision depends upon what the law has to say on the subject. Most social workers do not see the large picture. The law to them is a particular decision of a juvenile court over a particular child. It is a decision of a criminal court over a particular defendant. It is an inspector who observes the public ordinances concerning housing or health. These are all aspects of the law, but they give only a part of the picture. One of the most important responsibilities of the social worker is to get this broader perspective on the law. The law is the ultimate depository of most of the worth while ideas of our social thinking. There is a tendency for all groups in the community to translate their ideas into legal form for permanent safe keeping in the annals of the race.

The second most important factor in this situation is the fear of law evidenced by so many social workers. It is true that social workers will support legislation and endeavor to secure its passage. But in the administration of the law they have been peculiarly timid. Laymen frequently comment upon the spectacle of two lawyers fighting bitterly in court and then going out to lunch together. The canons of ethics of the American Bar Association provide, "Clients, not lawyers, are the litigants. Whatever may be the ill feeling existing between clients, it should not be allowed to influence counsel in their con-

duct and demeanor toward each other or toward suitors in the case." If a similar rule were adopted by social workers generally, we might expect a more tolerant attitude by each agency toward others, and at the same time a greater willingness to test out the legal effect of certain social ideas. We have said that the court is a machinery for making decisions. It is in a sense a laboratory where the rights and duties of conflicting parties are evaluated. Social work as well as law tends to standardization. The great hope for the future is that the interplay between law and social work will ultimately break down outgrown standards and replace them with newer and better ideas without harming the fundamentals. Whether any standards are correct, whether they accord with other rights and duties in the community, whether they should supersede previous rules of social conduct, is only to be determined by an evaluating process. If there were no law, these standards could be set up outside the courts. As a matter of fact, every new social usage conflicts with prior social usage and with legal rights and duties. The only way to change many of the social usages between one man and another is by evaluation in open court. There all parties may be heard, and the decision will represent the same careful thinking that has produced rules of human conduct in other fields than social work. The contribution which social work may thus make to the law is enormous, and the result will be a corresponding clarification of many social principles which are now sensed rather than expressed.

Human welfare has been the aim of the law long before social work, as we now understand it, was invented. The savage in effect brought some kind of order out of the chaos that reigned in nature around him and devised a set of laws of a religious character which we now know under the head of taboos. The semicivilized man set up a series of rigid rules because certainty in such matters was the ultimate thing in the community. He did not care so much how the law operated as long as there was some law. Today we do not care whether everybody drives to the right or drives to the left, but we all recognize that some rule in such matters is infinitely better than no rule at all. The Romans under the rigid rules of the twelve tables finally became restive because they began to seek, not rigidity of rule, but a greater certainty in its application. There followed the rise of equity, where the conscience of the chancellor was the ultimate guide. Equity grew, and by the necessities of the case crystallized so that the pendulum swung back from law administered according to the whim of the individual to law based more definitely on rules. This step was known as the maturity of law, and is illustrated by two great principles which have been emphasized in our country and in continental jurisprudence for the past few centuries, namely, the absolute right of private property and the absolute sanctity of freedom of contract. These rules are individualism to an advanced degree. We are now noticing the pendulum swinging back, and the purpose of law and things legal is not so much to emphasize the individual as it is to em-

phasize the welfare of the community and the individual. It is this stage that Roscoe Pound calls "the socialization of the law."

At an early stage in the development of our race the social subject of the relation of husband and wife was taken over and made into law. So we now have laws telling who may marry and how they may marry, how the marriage may be terminated and what are the rights of the respective parties. We may disagree with some or all of the rules. We may contend that the age of marriage should be higher, or that there should or should not be freer divorce; but at all events the law has given us a set of social rules where before there were no rules. We are socially better off than if the law did not exist.

We have rules for determining the procedure in case a person is suspected of being mentally unsound. There have been cases where sane persons have been put into asylums because of the ruthless desire on the part of a relative to get control of money. But we are better off for having legal provisions to protect people, and what appears as red tape is seen on closer inspection to be really a set of rules to insure a fair trial. It may be that in a particular case we would wish that matters were less complicated; but if any one of us were given absolute power and were required to establish a set of rules for the conduct of human actions we would realize that it is impossible to satisfy every demand in the community—that we cannot have a separate law for every person to live by. If we have succeeded in protecting the majority, it is at least a desirable beginning. The law protects; and yet it only protects as the issues are made clear and a decision is reached. We cannot have lasting decisions in particular cases except by law. The human race has not devised other places of deposit.

We come now to consider what are the specific legal resources of which a social worker may make use. The words "remedial" and "preventive" are familiar to social workers, so we may apply them here. The remedial resources of the law are these: legislation to remedy an outstanding social evil, conciliation of individual disputes, arbitration of individual disputes, litigation of individual disputes. The preventive resources of the law are: legislation to prevent a social evil, conciliation to anticipate and prevent damage in individual cases, arbitration to anticipate and prevent damage in individual cases, equity to prevent by court order, and as a part of litigation, anticipated damage in individual cases. You will notice that legislation is for making rules in the mass. The other procedures are for settling individual cases. If social workers made more use of litigation there would be a final solution of many problems now outstanding. Conciliation is a method of settling a case where both parties voluntarily come together and agree. There is no compulsion, either in bringing the parties together or in enforcing the decision. In arbitration the parties voluntarily and without compulsion sign an agreement to be bound by the result of the decision. In both of these methods the lack of com-

pulsory machinery to bring the parties together makes it impracticable for use in cases where one party refuses to come in.

So we have litigation as a method of compelling the parties to attend and forcing them to submit to the result of the decision. Litigation may be remedial as for damages after the injury to the plaintiff has taken place. It may, on the other hand, be preventive, as in the case of injunctions to halt activity which it is believed will lead to injury. It is worth while to consider the value to social work of a greater use of litigation. In the field of child welfare, for instance, there are comparatively few decisions determining the rights of a child in the matter of its care and custody. The decisions made by juvenile courts are seldom appealed to the higher courts, because of poverty or fear. As a result, mistakes by the lower courts are not rectified, and, worst of all, some of the judges in the higher courts get no clear picture of the child welfare field. They are regarded as uninformed on the enormous changes that have taken place in the last seventy-five years. They are believed to think in terms of a bygone era. The fault is often with social workers who fail to bring up questions for decision and then complain that the courts are unsocial. When the courts are given a chance they are as much interested in child welfare as anyone. The Pennsylvania Child Welfare Commission has recently published a valuable study of the decisions in Pennsylvania on the subject of children. The book fairly bristles with good social viewpoints as stated by the judges in their decisions. This is a practice to be cultivated.

These methods of settling disputes are the tools of the law. Through them we enforce rights and duties. The task of social work is both to clarify and to enforce these rights and duties. When we come to apply these legal resources to constructing social programs we face a new set of problems. Social programs may be divided into three groups: securing funds for the work; developing the work itself; training new social workers. The law has a very definite bearing on programs by social agencies for raising money. Funds for social work come either from taxation or from voluntary gifts. One great class of voluntary gifts is by will. It is estimated that approximately once in a generation all the money, or property, in a community passes through the courts. Much of it is earmarked for charity or social work. Intelligent social programs will include this as one source of funds. It often happens that money thus left by will in trust for a charitable purpose is not capable of being administered usefully in the exact manner prescribed by the testator. The law provides a means whereby such funds may be made of use to the community, and thus increase social resources instead of leaving them hanging continually in the air and receding from usefulness. Among other things, in a zealous desire to visualize his plan on paper, or because he distrusts his trustees, or because he wants his charity to be immovable, no matter what the economic or social condition of the country may be, or for some other reason, many a testator loads his bequest with



administrative detail. The courts have commented bitterly upon this attitude on the part of testators. No one knows how much money there is unavailable in frozen endowments. There are no figures to show the extent of money in the clutch of the dead hand. But it is safe to say that if social workers made proper use of legal resources in financing their work, within a generation there would be more money to sustain all our social programs than we have any idea of at present. Social workers should see to it that judges who control wills, lawyers who draw wills, and persons who make wills for charity do so with an understanding of the social needs of a community in the broadest terms in which these needs can be expressed.

Social programs which have for their object the development of social work itself, as distinct from raising money to support it, are equally to be developed by the use of legal resources. Let us consider the legal social field in this respect. These are of three sorts: case work, group work, and organization work.

*Case work.*—The steps involved in doing legal social work on a case work basis are as follows: ascertaining by observation and inquiry from competent legal advisers whether the person needs legal attention; planning and arranging for the legal attention; personal instruction in gathering evidence and how to cooperate in the legal proceeding; correlating the legal proceeding with the other factors in the individual program of life; correlating the legal proceeding with the situation of other individuals affected; accumulating the records of the case.

To the lawyer much time and effort may be saved and the case more accurately developed if he can work in cooperation with someone who has the time and ability to do, outside of the four walls of his office and the courtroom, those things which are necessary in the development of a case but which often require more time and treatment than the lawyer can give. A social worker or investigator trained to understand legal problems in terms of social work will accomplish this task by concentrating upon the whole problem of the individual just as the lawyer concentrates upon the legal aspect.

*Group work.*—The steps in group work for legal social work are as follows: picking out considerable numbers of persons with legal problems; classifying people according to their legal problems, so as to adapt them to proper legal treatment; planning classes for instruction in legal subjects, such as immigration, the rights of married women, and also legal aid organizations in the broadest sense of the term for handling cases; providing information, facilities, leadership, and service for the group; keeping group records, legal aid records, showing results; correlating all groups interested in legal social problems.

Legal aid to groups of persons is becoming an established fact. Legal aid societies, specialized courts, administrative tribunals and officials are all functioning. There is nothing abnormal in the position of a person who must fight

for his rights or property in the courts. While the development of these agencies is legal rather than social, there is nevertheless an element of social work because the social agencies will use the established machinery.

Courses in law are given in several schools of social work. Instruction in the law is part of many Americanization programs. There is reason for many groups of people to receive knowledge of their legal rights. If people about to marry could have their legal status explained to them it would be a help. Deserted wives are another group. Recipients of workmen's compensation funds, and workmen generally, should have knowledge of their position, so that in a crisis they may do the right thing at the right time and establish a precedent for settling cases, rather than taking up a lot of lawsuits.

*Organization work.*—The following are the steps in doing organization work in the legal social field: making surveys and studies to determine just how effective certain laws are in administration; compiling and interpreting data and devising remedial laws or procedure; drafting the report; presenting the facts to the proper supporters; directing legislative campaigns or starting the new agencies required; correlating all the legal social agencies; checking up legal social conditions.

The opportunity for the social worker in this field is considerable. In smaller communities the legal aid work may well center in a family agency. In the cities the routine legal needs of the social agencies may require the establishment of specialized machinery. That the aid of social agencies has been involved in this sort of work is a precedent which should be continued.

The field of legal social work is largely uncharted. Both lawyers and social workers are to blame for this. Both professions have much to do, and it ought to be done if society as a whole is to benefit. Hon. Justice Holmes (*Southern Pacific v. Jensen*, 244 U.S. 205) says: "I recognize without hesitation that judges must and do legislate, but they do so only interstitially; they are confined from molar to molecular motions." Modern society apparently has reduced us all to this interstitial movement. But there is as much of interest, of adventure, and of human service in the operation of an electron as in the molecule or the atom. The field of legal social activities may be less broad than the adjoining fields of law and social work, but it is as important to the individual, and therefore to society at large, as any field of human activity. It still offers an opportunity for the pioneering spirit.

## SUMMARY OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

ROUND TABLE NO. I—THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS IN  
SOCIAL WORK<sup>1</sup>

Miss Lucy P. Carner, Executive, Industrial Department, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, New York, opened the discussion with the following statement: This paper is not a report of progress. It is an attempt to set forth, as a basis for discussion by the group, some of the elements of the problem of realizing democracy within social work agencies themselves. Democracy is one of the articles of faith of the leaders, certainly in the fields of social work and of education. That much is clear. The deeply religious challenge of Miss Addams in 1902 in *Democracy and Social Ethics* and the confession of faith of the most modern of educators are based upon it. As Professor Kilpatrick says, in *Education for a Changing Civilization*: "In spite of dictatorships, in spite of monopolistic selfishness, it seems safe to say that men will not permanently rest content with any social scheme which fundamentally denies essential democracy—the trend is too deep." It is also clear, as Mr. Pray so admirably pointed out in his paper last year, that the relation of case workers to one another increasingly reflects the fundamental democratic ideals of respect for personality and the desire for a harmonizing and unifying of varied experiences and points of view.

But it is not so clear, I think, that within the wheels of social work agencies themselves we have mastered the technique of democracy. There is nothing peculiar to social agencies in the raising of this question. Other organizations committed to democratic purposes have had to face the problem both of the ideal and the technique of democracy within their own administration. Trade unions have had to face the question of the relation between officials and the rank and file of the membership. The public schools have had to face it in the realm of the relation of the expert to policy: Is the teacher merely a hired servant or a citizen the nature of whose responsibility carries with it the right to participation in the decisions which affect his work? Here in the task of administering the jobs whose long-run purposes are democratic, may be found, it seems to me, some problems of technique as fascinating as the techniques of investigation, diagnosis, etc., to which social work has made such large contributions. Under the necessity of limiting the subject, I have selected two realms in which it seems profitable to discuss this technique: first, the relation of staff members to the policy of the organization, including policies affecting their own conditions of employment; and second, the relation of the membership to the program and policy of the organization.

<sup>1</sup> This round table was requested by members of Division XI following the presentation of a paper by Kenneth L. M. Pray on "Where in Social Work Can the Concept of Democracy be Applied?" at the Conference in Cleveland, 1926 (*Proceedings*, 1926, p. 625).

*The relation of staff members to the policy and program of this organization.*—You will remember Miss Vaile's presidential address at the 1926 Conference in which she spoke of the necessity for a group leadership if social agencies were to have both vision and adequate technique. That very ideal of group leadership involves responsibilities beyond the technical limitations of the staff member's job. It involves also the participation of the lay worker where his experience and point of view count the most. It involves the relation of the executive to both these groups. The working out of the idea involves an analysis of the relationships among persons in an organization on the basis of their function and their corresponding responsibilities. I am reminded here of the answer to a question about democracy given by Dr. Cabot at the meeting of the New York chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, when he said he did not believe the democratic principle applicable to a ship's crew in a storm, or to an orchestra. I hasten to repeat that, in order to avoid at the outset vain repetitions of the activities in social work agencies to which democracy does not apply. What I am eager for us to do in this part of our discussions is not to attempt the broad analysis I have just said to be necessary for the full study of the relation of the functional parts of an organization to the program or policy of the whole, but rather to bring out the problems of the technique of democratic procedure in one of the realms in which we should doubtless all agree upon the principle. The problem here, then, is: How can we effect democratic procedure in the relation of staff members to the program and policy of the organization, including policies affecting their own conditions of employment? Some of the questions such a problem raises are as follows:

First, How significant is this problem? Does the existence or lack of democratic relationships in this realm have anything to do with the personal development of staff members, with the question of turnover, with the soundness of the organization's policy and program from the standpoint of its relation to the problems arising in the day by day work of the organization with which the staff members have immediate contact? Second, What experiments have been made in the local or national agencies represented here in organization and procedure to effect participation by staff members in the policy and program of the organization as a whole? How and by whom are salaries and other conditions of employment determined? In a large staff, forms of organizations are used to insure that the staff member's experience shall be wrought into the policy of the organization as a whole. What provision is there for staff control of matters of immediate concern to staff members?

Third, in the experiments described, what elements stand out as essentials to democratic procedure? What devices have seemed most helpful? What problems emerge? What values are indicated? Fourth, which of these problems point to the need of further research or experimentation? Which point to limitations in the value of democratic procedure to be taken into account?

Fifth, do the solutions and problems listed indicate that further experimentation in this realm would be desirable?

*The relation of the membership to the program and policy of the organization.*—This problem doubtless is of primary concern to community and group work agencies, such as settlements and Young Women's Christian Associations, but it is also of concern, though in a somewhat different way, to case work agencies and others that have a constituency of members, such as lay workers or interested citizens, as distinguished from clients. I assume here again an agreement among us on a general principle, with probably varying degrees of enthusiasm over its application and varying philosophies over its possibilities. The belief I am assuming is a belief in the value of democracy in the sense of the fullest possible participation by the membership in the development of its own activities and in the policies of the organization, both for the sake of the organization itself, that it may truly bind people together and reflect in miniature something approaching a unified society, and also for the sake of the members, that they may have that most unparalleled opportunity for education that comes with responsibility.

First, What is the situation in the agencies represented here in the relation of the membership to the program and policy of the organization? What is the common practice in the degree of self government of membership groups? What is the relation of such groups to the directing bodies? To the staff? Second, What experiments are being made consciously to increase participation of membership groups in the affairs of the whole organization? There are certain questions I am particularly eager to have answered in the description of these experiments, to which you will, I am sure, have others to add. How can the varied experiences of boys and girls in the membership of our clubs, etc., be most effectively used? How can the rank-and-file member's experiences and information be enlarged? What (in the light of the member's other interests and of Walter Lippmann's skepticism) are the limits to his functioning in groupings too large or too remote for face to face contacts? What experiences have we in respect to annual meetings and conventions? What procedures have been developed in club and committee work more effective for genuine participation than parliamentary rules of order? How have great difficulties in the full participation of different social groups, due to inequalities in wealth, leisure and education, been overcome, both the difficulties due to actual limitations and those due to a sense of inferiority or dependence toward those in a stronger economic position?

The last question is a fundamental one in any honest consideration of democracy within a social work agency. Strongly as I believe that we must improve our technique and "increase our faith" in democratic procedure in our organizations as they exist in the undemocratic social order of our day, I think it is folly to hope that fully democratic relationships may be secured in the

midst of the tremendous economic inequalities of our day. The search for a democracy even within our own group must needs be accompanied by the effort for fundamental economic changes that will insure that no part of a fellowship shall be cut off from full participation by the economic handicaps that prevent his having the margin of leisure and economic security necessary for the demands of citizenship in our social agencies.

The discussion following this statement was confined to questions of the relation of staff members to executives and boards of directors, and to opportunities for staff participation in the development both of the program and the general policy of the organization.

The following summary reviews what were finally agreed upon as the main points of attack in the analysis of the democratic processes of an organization in a field of social work: first, staff discussions should include questions of fundamental importance to the agency and its program, definite issues of real concern which arise from time to time, and any or all subjects of which the staff members are competent to formulate a judgment; second, the process of staff participation should be educational and should spread accurate knowledge of the condition discussed, cultivate a sense of responsibility among staff members, in discussion, include the use of technical devices for securing a progressive treatment of the subject, and provide that an issue be stated in terms of possible forms of action and their probable results; third, the staff could well be organized into functional subgroups for working on various problems; fourth, the board of directors should be responsive to staff initiative and participation; fifth, it is necessary for the executive to cultivate a truly democratic spirit in staff relations; sixth, there should be opportunities for discussion between staff and executives.

#### ROUND TABLE NO. 2—PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS

E. Franklin Frazier, director of the School of Social Work, Atlanta, presented the following points: First, the demand for professionally trained colored social workers had tremendously increased with the migration of large masses of colored people to the north. Increase in opportunities for the professional education of colored workers had been due chiefly to the program of the National Urban League, which had made a part of its program from the beginning the offering of fellowships to colored students in the schools of social work in the North. Second, the number of available students for professional training is limited because of the economic position of Negro students. The financial strain upon students and parents of the cost of a preliminary college education generally means that the student must seek immediate employment. Third, the experience of the author of the paper as the director of the Atlanta School of Social Work was recited as a practical means of meeting the problem. This school had brought a new conception of the problems of social wel-



fare among Negroes both to the white and colored people. From an experiment which had begun in 1920 through the cooperation of the Negro colleges and social agencies in Atlanta, the School had grown to such a place that it was receiving financial support from two large foundations in the North as well as numerous individuals. While in the beginning the students had only received high school preparation and its equivalent, which was susceptible of very lenient interpretation, at the present time the students ranged in preparation from high school plus teaching experience to college graduation. The graduates of the school were filling acceptably places in the social agencies of the North as well as the South. In most instances the graduates were the first trained colored workers the agencies had employed. Fourth, the sources from which the prospective colored social worker could be recruited for professional training were four: colleges and normal schools, especially of the South; those who are in the teaching profession; those who are in welfare work, including nurses; and nurse training schools. Fifth, institutes were regarded as a menace to any real welfare work among Negroes, while the justification for the apprenticeship system in some places of the South was questionable. Sixth, it was thought that Negro colleges should send their graduates to professional schools of social work rather than undertake such with their limited financial support, lack of teaching staff and opportunities for field work. Seventh, the standards of admission for Negro students should be the same as for the whites, but in the Atlanta School of Social Work, where an attempt to meet a situation required the gradual raising of standards, the difference appeared justified. Eighth, it appeared to the author of the paper that the interracial committees of the South could help the professional training of colored social workers while carrying out their programs by affording local scholarships for colored students in their communities.

The discussion which followed the reading of the paper was participated in by most of the members of the round table. Miss Woolfolk, a member of the board of trustees of the Atlanta School of Social Work and executive secretary of the Atlanta Family Welfare Society, held that the main task of the social worker among Negroes was the individualization of treatment. She felt that the trained worker must learn this above all with Negro families. She cited the effect of the coming of the steam laundry on the Negro family. Miss Woolfolk held that standards for colored workers should be pushed, and felt that the remuneration would be commensurate. Mrs. Evans, a social worker from St. Louis, considered a knowledge of the Negro's past an indispensable part of the training of colored social workers, especially in border cities. She also stressed the place of humor and understanding. Miss Howell, of St. Louis, told of Dr. Bruno's class of colored students who are registered at the university. She also mentioned the fact that Dr. Bruno had found no racial variation in the students who showed the same social interests, and felt that if there were

any difference in the training it should come in the social agencies rather than the schools.

Mrs. Maxwell, a colored social worker from Minneapolis, thought that the technique was the same in working with all races. She was of the opinion, which she supported with figures, that the employment of a colored worker in a community would increase the number of cases coming to the attention of the social agency. Mr. John Clark, executive secretary of the St. Louis Urban League, took the position that social work education of an informal sort should be made available for such people as the members of women's clubs who are attempting as well as they can to do social work. Most of the members of the round table dissented from his position. Mr. Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, emphasized the fact of the importance of formal education in the Negro group. To him the college graduates were the most promising material for social work. In addition to this he showed that the demand for highly trained social workers far exceeded the present supply. The discussion was also participated in by Mr. Danley, Mr. Hubert, Mr. Conners, executive secretaries, respectively, of the Urban Leagues in Springfield, Illinois, New York City, and Cleveland, and Miss Mary Dickinson, secretary of the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association.

The opinions of the round table were summed up in the following points: first, that while all human psychology was essentially the same, the education of colored social workers should presume a knowledge of the conditions of Negro life or include it where possible; second, the standard for colored and white social workers should be the same, and progress in those schools which are preparing only Negro workers should be toward a college education as entrance requirement; third, the remuneration for colored and white social workers with the same education and experience should be the same; fourth, the standards in the agencies for both races should be the same, and that this would be a strong incentive to colored workers to take professional training; fifth, the encouragement of an informed public among colored people to assume responsibility for those among them needing the care of social agencies.

#### ROUND TABLE NO. 3—THE RECRUITING OF THE PROFESSION BY SOCIAL AGENCIES

This round table was a continuation of the discussion of "Recruiting of Students by Schools and Apprentices by Agencies," a paper by Mrs. Mary Clarke Burnett, at the 1926 Conference. The conclusions of that paper indicated that recruiting of these two groups is a hit or miss proposition; that there is need of a well thought out program and unified effort for attracting students and apprentices.

Mrs. Lillian Quinn, director of the Joint Vocational Service, Inc., New York City, acted as chairman, and stated that an inquiry made in 1927 of twenty-four national and a few local agencies in regard to recruiting programs

now in effect or definitely planned, yielded the greatest variety of answers, both as to the need of effort to secure more social workers and the degree of organized systematic effort made by the various agencies. With one exception (a local agency in a large eastern city) there was agreement that recruiting beyond that now being carried on was genuinely needed. Some national agencies were making a systematic, regular approach to colleges and some agencies were depending mainly on recruiting professional workers from a large group of volunteers (this is especially true of the Girl Scout and Boy Scout movements). Certain chapters of the American Association of Social Workers have carried on a "Come and See" day or week. "Junior Month," sponsored by the New York Charity Organization Society for several years, while not primarily a recruiting plan, has recruiting aspects and has been so effective an educational force that there is likelihood that similar plans will be organized in two other parts of the country. The Intercollegiate Community Service Association has carried on a "Come and See" program, and during the last year has systematically furnished colleges with information about national social agency programs, thereby stimulating students' interest in social work. Joint Vocational Service, Inc., while doing no direct recruiting other than that which is inseparable from vocational guidance, has been constantly in touch with the college personnel bureaus. Replies to this inquiry indicated that recruiting programs were almost wholly aimed at young college graduates. There was practically no evidence of any plan to interest mature men and women. While the recruiting programs described aimed at recruiting workers for training, with one exception this meant recruiting for special training courses offered by the given agency, and not primarily for training in one of the schools belonging to the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work. That one exception is the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which, with systematic work over a period of seven years, has built up the National Catholic School for Social Service. Those national agencies that have results to show in number of workers recruited and now in social work, have all had a definite plan in operation over a period of years, have had an item in their budget for recruiting, and have assigned the time of at least one well qualified staff member to recruiting. The experience of the Joint Vocational Service indicates that positions carrying salaries from \$1,500 to \$2,500 stay open too long, and that agencies are unable to get from any source consulted a sufficient group of well qualified candidates for such positions. Case work agencies increasingly ask for candidates with school of social work training.

The discussion centered first about the method of recruiting. The implication of the word recruiting itself seemed too narrow. The need felt was for a general spread of information about social work in a community as a whole. It was reiterated again and again that social workers must be more articulate about the objectives and methods of their work, and that appeals to special

groups with the immediate aim of attracting more personnel to the social work field must have back of them a growing understanding of social work in the community. This applied as well to appeals in colleges; that is, presentation of social work to as much of the student body as possible, rather than only personal interviews on the part of a social worker with those students already thinking of social work as a profession. The meeting warned against a clouding of the presentation of social work by the immediate needs of any particular organization. Representatives of both eastern agencies and Middle West agencies stressed the particular difficulties that the small town and rural community met in securing personnel. The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, with a view to providing trained personnel for rural county work, has, in cooperation with the New York School of Social Work, planned for a limited number of three-year fellowships through which a college graduate may complete the course at the New York School, and have carefully supervised field work experience in a county on salary. The indication from city agencies was that there was an ample supply of beginners for apprenticeship positions; that the need was for personnel with training. Those representing smaller communities were in agreement with this also, as the small community distant from a school of social work and without training facilities within its own agency cannot use the untrained beginner.

Discussion throughout the meeting assumed the need of an uninterrupted educational program about social work as a background for the more definite recruiting effort. It further assumed the need of each section of the country increasingly securing personnel for local programs from its own section. It was indicated that both schools of social work and social agencies would welcome more mature men and women than those just graduated from college as candidates for training. Conscious of the inadequacy of present recruiting programs, and of the wide divergence in plan in various parts of the social work field, the slight emphasis on training in the schools of social work as far as information received indicated, it was recommended that the American Association of Social Workers be asked to assume leadership in recruiting and to serve as a coordinating force by clearing the recruiting programs now in operation.

## XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

### HOW TO DIAGNOSE YOUR PUBLIC

*Edwin D. Starbuck, Professor of Philosophy, State University of Iowa,  
Iowa City*

The topic assigned me has seemed to me, as I have tried to think it through, rather abstract. I have begged the privilege to speak in concrete rather than general terms. It seems easier and perhaps more convincing to discuss principles of procedure in scientific work when they are embodied in actual researches.

I wish to report a research done under my direction by Dr. J. C. Manry, entitled "World Citizenship."<sup>1</sup> The topic is not unrelated to many of those that you are facing. The questions were these: To what extent are our institutions of higher learning bringing their students into effective contact with world affairs? What are the most practicable lines of further advance in the development of world citizenship? The entire dissertation was to get an answer to these two questions. The method employed was not that of the essayist nor of the psychological analyst, nor the easy way of massing quantities of data in support of a preformed notion, but of the true student who carries out his research on the basis of thoroughly representative data objectively controlled, who discovers standards or criteria of measurement, and consequently bases his conclusions on fact rather than on opinion.

I shall try to lift out and emphasize five essential principles of scientific procedure illustrated in Dr. Manry's research. They are essentially of universal application. The first of these is that every topic worthy of research should involve a vital situation, and that the data should be interpreted in accordance with some essential laws that entangle themselves with human thought and conduct. This is true of the problem we have before us. It involves the question of human happiness and well being. Can this planet become a place of residence of people of good will? In looking recently through a good many hundred of the studies of so called "researches in sociology," and particularly in education, it has seemed to me that many of the topics are curious rather than vital. Life is too short and the opportunity too precious to fritter any of it

<sup>1</sup> The dissertation by Dr. J. C. Manry, entitled "World Citizenship," of which this paper is a digest, will be published as Vol. I, No. 1, of a series of monographs, "Iowa Studies in Character Education," to be issued by the Institute of Character Research of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. The present writer is director of the Institute.

away with studies that do not bear vitally upon some of the episodes of this interesting human drama.

Dr. Manry's procedure was to prepare, after a half year of experimentation by the trial and error method, a test sheet of several pages that would reveal the degree of correct information students possess of international affairs and the faithfulness of their judgments about world problems. The techniques employed were the usual ones of true-false answers, multiple-choice judgments, scrambled questions, and the like. These tests were administered to students in more than a score of colleges and universities. The gross findings of the study are that certain sorts of college training and experience do influence international-mindedness as compared with the usual routine of academic life. It is possible to increase both information about world affairs and reliability of judgment concerning world problems. For example, in comparing, by the method of agreement and difference, the cross section picture of Freshmen and that of Seniors in representative colleges and universities, it is apparent that the orientation courses, such as were being given in 1922 at Harvard, Dartmouth, and Columbia, distinctly lifted the level of information and correct appreciation concerning world affairs. This is shown by the accompanying table indicating the comparative levels of attainment in this respect in several different colleges and universities. It was evident that the matter of geographical location is also a factor in international-mindedness. The institutions from the extreme West and the Atlantic seaboard make a better showing than do the colleges, by and large, of the Middle West. This conclusion is tempered, however, in that it may be a matter of selection. Forty-eight per cent of the men from Columbia, Dartmouth, and Harvard who stand above their group mean report their homes as in the same section in which they are attending college; while of the men in the colleges of the Middle West who are above their group mean, 92 per cent report their homes as in the same section. The contrast in this respect in the case of women is even more striking. The item of travel seems to be a factor in the situation which must finally be pulled apart and studied. More than twice the number of men have traveled outside the United States or Canada who stand above their group average in the eastern college as compared with the western.

It would be a fair hypothesis that the superiority in knowing and judging international affairs might be due to the accumulative effect of social studies, especially those pursued in secondary schools. The facts, however, do not support such a view, unless it be at the University of Missouri. By comparison of figures, as shown in Table I, it is made clear that the hypothesis is ill founded. The comparison with the first two figures alone in the table would seem to dispose of the possibility we have just been considering.

The question arises, How does one know that the facts on which the foregoing conclusion is based are trustworthy? This will depend in part upon the



other questions as to whether the data used are thoroughly representative. This question leads to a second principle involved in scientific procedure that we shall catalogue, namely, that there must be an exhaustive study of the data within the chosen field, or at least adequate samplings of data. This principle flies straight in the face of the tendency to get novel or interesting or easily available data in surveys, and also the usual use of questionnaires. The methods generally employed are so selective of facts that any conclusion from this is misleading. When, for example, Bernard Shaw and four of his friends put out recently through the *Nation*, and *Atheneum*, and *London News* a question-

TABLE I  
AMOUNT OF SOCIAL STUDY REPRESENTED IN VARIOUS GROUPS

Groups		Average Number of Social Studies Checked
Carthage, Coe, Drake, and Iowa Freshmen, men and women combined		5.86
Columbia, Dartmouth, and Harvard Freshmen		5.24
Davidson Seniors		8.57
Drake Seniors	men	10.54
	women	9.06
Harvard Seniors		12.13
Iowa Seniors	men	7.43
	women	6.56
Mills	Seniors	8.35
	Freshmen	5.32
Missouri	Junior men	9.57
	Junior women	7.17
	Sophomore men	7.76
	Sophomore women	5.65
Pomona Freshmen, men and women combined		5.77
South Dakota	Senior men and women combined	11.87
	Sophomore women	5.61
Wellesley	Junior women	5.92
	Sophomore women	5.19

naire to find the present attitude of Christendom on certain theological doctrines, no one can possibly tell what relationship there is between the thousands who reported and the millions who remained reticent. One cannot build a science of ichthyology upon a careless observation of the fish that jumped at a particular sort of bait. It is necessary to throw a net into the sea of intricacies and to allow none to escape, in order to understand its life; and, furthermore, to make enough casts in enough places to feel sure that the catch is representative. Then one must take fair samplings of the creatures that have happened to be circumvented by the net. In the study before us there was an effort in the first place to select a sufficient number of what seemed to be representative colleges, viewed from the standpoint of their geographic situation, their kind of financial support, the presence or absence of women in the

constituency, and the like. Again, classes of students among the Freshmen and Seniors were chosen that should be representative. This was done by selecting required courses among the Freshmen and a balanced and compensating selection of courses among the Seniors.

A still more serious question is this: What constitutes international-mindedness? In devising the test it was necessary to make certain that it really measured what it purported to measure. It would not be a valid measure if the questions concerned only one or two nations, or if the questions concerned only one or two aspects of the different nations. A study was accordingly made of the frequency of allusions in widely circulated periodicals in order to determine how large a proportion of the ideas in common circulation refer to different objects in the whole field of world affairs. The proportion of ideas in common circulation referring to the United States, referring to different nations, and to world affairs in general was determined. With these proportions as a guide, a test of information could be devised which would give a fair weight to all the geographical areas of the world, and thus make certain that the test measured general information on international affairs, and not merely some special aspect of world affairs.

Happily for Dr. Manry, the basis for such a determination had already been laid by the works of others. The foundation is Mr. Carleton W. Washburne's article in the *Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. The Winnetka Social Science Seminar had been at work for over two years on the question "What are the outstanding facts about 'this bourne of time and place' that are ordinarily labeled history and geography?" The Seminar had reached the decision that the most important facts of history and geography for the ordinary man or woman are those in most common use among fairly intelligent people. Periodicals were chosen for the purpose as on the whole most advantageous. The years covered by the Seminar's statistical work were from 1905 to 1918, and eighteen periodicals of quite different types were studied. No periodical was included that did not have a large circulation. It was found that during these years in the eighteen periodicals there were 96,000 geographical allusions. Of these 1,442 items had a frequency of six or more allusions in a single periodical in different years, or in six different periodicals for the same year. These items were arranged under thirty-six different geographical headings, such as Africa, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Asia, Australia, and so forth. It seems reasonable that this list of contemporary facts and their geographical setting fairly represent the fact perspective that a person needs in order to get the situation of comprehending the willy-nilly world that is being forced upon the young American as he grows up. This perspective furnishes also a background for the distribution of the sorts of items that must enter into a test sheet determining informations and judgments of students about world affairs.

In making out the test sheets the relative number of allusions found in periodical literature was not taken at face value. It was thought necessary to tone down the number of allusions to the United States from over one-third of the number to about one-fifth. The relative position of European nations was left essentially at its face value, while Asia, Russia, the Pacific, Australia, and South America were played up. This was done deliberately, since the issues and interests of those parts are not represented in periodicals as extensively as their importance would justify. The question then arises, If one is going to be objective and let the facts speak for themselves, what right has he to tamper with them? That sort of problem must be faced squarely, and the answer constitutes the third principle that needs lifting out as an element in proper scientific procedure. It has reference to the necessity of making constantly a critical analysis of the problem being investigated and of the elements involved in the several parts of the main problem. This principle has been overlooked in the discussion of empirical science, particularly this side of Francis Bacon. We have suffered under the naïve supposition that facts will speak for themselves and that principles will spring spontaneously out of them. This illusion is the direct counterpart of the pre-Baconian notion that scientific truth can be derived from clear concepts and judgments and correct processes of reasoning. This latter half truth becomes a whole truth only when applied to the pure sciences of mathematics and logic which are branches of psychology, and made possible because they deal with pure concepts. The post-Baconian discussion is not even a half truth. Facts are helpless and speechless except when questioned by an imaginative mind, and the laws and principles derived are conceptual shorthand serving the purpose of an alert intelligence. The techniques of science are at best, like hands and feet, the instruments of a purposeful creative personality. Dr. Manry of necessity had to exercise his wit constantly and his ingenuity, as in the selection of representative colleges, in the determination of proper samplings, in the tempering of tables, and in a score of other difficult situations. An illustration of his mastery of detail through a neatly balanced judgment of the scientist is shown in the building of test items for the students. After analyzing the entire field it was thought fitting to arrange the test items on information concerning world affairs under seven different headings, as follows: miscellaneous facts about American foreign relations; European governments since 1914; comparative exchange values of certain important currencies; meanings of terms in common use and of practical importance in the field of international relations; names of places and their connection with events or political meanings; names of persons and their connections with events, institutions, or movements; important authors and books on one aspect or another of world affairs.

It is, however, a rather poor scientist who will trust his ingenuity very far. Indeed, it is the key to the signal victory and rapid development of mod-

ern science, particularly in the fields of sociology and education, that it has been able to discover many checks on the purity of its data and the accuracies of its conclusions. This consideration leads to our fourth point, namely, the necessity of testing the trustworthiness of all data and the reliability of all conclusions.

The acceptance of this principle represents a real turning point toward science in the newer fields of study in which the facts involved are intricate and relatively inaccessible. The success in testing reliability has been a function of the discovery that Manry's data are capable of qualitative determination and can accordingly be handled statistically. In so far as phenomena can be discovered to exist in some definite amount, there is a possibility then of using the methods of mathematics as control. In all the variety of ways of determination of reliability through statistical methods I shall mention only two of those illustrated in this study. What assurance have we, in the first place, that the frequency of geographical allusions is not just accidental? One of the dozen possibilities of solving that simple question is that of dividing the geographical allusions found in the various periodicals into chance thirds. If, now, the same relative frequencies of allusions is the same in the chance thirds, by so much is there conclusive evidence that one has reached constancy or steadiness of reliability in respect to that single item. This fact is illustrated in the accompanying table (Table II).

The keenest of all modern tools in determining reliability is of course the use of correlations. The discovery and use of this device is comparable, in its ability to open a new and hitherto undiscovered world of relations, to the invention of the use of the telescope in astronomy or the microscope in the biological sciences. Since by its use one can detect the subtle interplay of two or several intricate tendencies or forces, a more fitting comparison might be that of the use of staining solutions in entangling the invisible complications of mechanisms in plant and animal tissue. This instrument is put to good use in Dr. Manry's study. For example, all the items of total information and judgments of all students were arranged in serial order and then separated arbitrarily into two groups by selecting the odds and evens. The odd and even scores were then correlated by the Pearson product movement method. This correlation was .73. From this correlation by Brown's formula, the reliability of the whole test is .84. The correlation between the scores on information and judgment was determined, using the same random sample of 100 cases. Since it was intended that these parts measure somewhat different things, this correlation should be lower than the reliability. This was found to be the case, the correlation being .69. The correlation of test scores with intelligence was determined for four groups. Since the test measures to some degree factors of intelligence, there should be a fair degree of correlation. These four correlations were found to be, respectively, .46, .71, .64, and .49.

We have yet to mention the most crucial of all principles involved in studies that become truly scientific. They must discover objective standards or norms for the measurement of data; in other words they must validate their

TABLE II  
GEOGRAPHICAL INCIDENCE BY PERIODICAL YEARS OF COMMON ALLUSIONS  
(BASED ON WASHBURN'S LIST)

	First 500	Second 500	Last 442	Total
Africa.....	206	76	53	335
Arabia, Mesopotamia.....	88	49	19	156
Asia.....	110	87	39	236
Australia, New Zealand.....	91	24	6	121
Belgium.....	200	20	7	227
Canada.....	238	93	27	358
Central America.....	44	31	22	97
China.....	146	44	25	215
Egypt.....	127	43	14	184
England.....	1,587(2)	636(2)	318(2)	2,541(2)
Europe, Continental.....	640(6)	271(4)	107(5)	1,028(6)
France.....	693(5)	413(3)	236(3)	1,342(3)
Germany.....	833(3)	246(5)	104(6)	1,183(4)
Great Britain.....	286(10)	76	19	381(10)
Greece.....	225	62	67(10)	354
Holland.....	160	11	6	177
India.....	139	13	28	180
Italy.....	429(7)	198(7)	76(9)	703(7)
Japan.....	113	15	.....	128
Mediterranean.....	53	122(10)	21	196
Mexico.....	85	49	33	167
Near East.....	156	98	85(7)	339
North America.....	51	19	15	85
Pacific.....	141	15	15	171
Persia.....	71	13	.....	84
Poland.....	105	18	6	129
Russia.....	344(8)	150(8)	83(8)	577(8)
Scandinavia.....	230	24	22	276
Scotland, Ireland, Wales.....	330(9)	126(9)	44(12)	500(9)
South America.....	167	104	19	290
Spain and Portugal.....	130	62	33	225
Switzerland.....	85	37	.....	122
Turkey and Armenia.....	127	33	20	180
United States.....	6,296(1)	1,751(1)	1,284(1)	9,331(1)
West Indies.....	108	44	22	174
World, or not included in any of the above.....	781(4)	216(6)	130(4)	1,127(5)
Total.....	15,615	5,299	3,005	23,919

findings. To discover measuring sticks of fact and standards for comparisons is to escape subjectivity and caprice. Whenever such criteria are found and put to use, a science is becoming planted on unshakable foundations. Physics is possible as a science because it uses pounds, grams, liters, feet per second, and so on through a long list of standards. Psychology is attaining some scientific dignity since it has hit upon numerous standards of quantitative measurement. Studies of sound have been prolific for the reason that tone depends on

vibration per second and other quantitatively measurable elements. On the contrary, researches in color move slowly, since no one has yet been able to ascertain usable quantitative measures of its various manifestations. The challenge for the educational and social group of sciences is that they shall seek at all costs various modes of validates. In the present study, for example, the problem has been to determine the relative faithfulness of the judgments of the students who have had certain kinds of academic training. The standard in this instance, unfortunately, is not a fixed unit, like a pound or gram, but one equally objective, namely, the massed opinion of cultivated minds. Such a norm, although too elastic for comfort of mind, is indefinitely better than none.

TABLE III  
PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT RESPONSES OF COMPETENT  
JUDGES AND SAMPLE OF UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
FRESHMEN TO TEST ELEMENTS IN PART XII (CRI-  
TERION OF CORRECT RESPONSE BEING THE MODAL  
RESPONSE OF THE COMPETENT JUDGES)

Item	Answer	Freshmen	Competent Judges
1.....	*a	70	95
2.....	b	70	100
3.....	b	75	100
4.....	b	50	100
5.....	c	60	90
6.....	b	15	80
7.....	a	40	75
8.....	a	60	90
9.....	c	25	90
10.....	a	25	60
11.....	b	45	50

\* The letters *a*, *b*, *c* refer to the first, second, or third possible response.

Who are the competent judges? In selecting them the following procedure was used. Five lists were made up from available publications of the learned societies and other books of reference: Leaders in American organizations or movements of international scope, authorities in economics, political science, sociology, history, geography, anthropology, this list being derived by taking the officers and past officers of certain organizations; prominent financiers and business men involved directly in international transactions; diplomats and international lawyers, government officials connected with foreign affairs, judges; religious, social, and moral leaders known to be directly interested in international problems. From each of these groups certain names were taken in accordance with an arbitrary rule, as, for example, taking every fifth name in alphabetical order.

Forty-three full sets of judgments were finally obtained from these per-



sons supposedly of trained insight. A sample of these findings is shown in Table III, indicating the relationship between the agreement of the experts as shown in the upper curve and that of Freshmen as indicated in the lower. The table indicates that there is great unanimity among experts on the questions chosen, and that the criterion thus found tends to differentiate the attitude of Freshmen on international affairs from that of Seniors. There is thus derived a trustworthy objective standard of measurement.

Reverting now to the charts originally shown, one sees that indubitably a certain kind of training, notably that of orientation courses, has produced the effect of increasing students' information and judgments concerning matters of international human interest.

### AN EXPERIMENT IN SOUNDING PUBLIC OPINION

*Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York City*

The analysis which Professor Starbuck has given us this morning raises many interesting questions as to the experiment which I have been asked to discuss. I share his doubts regarding the value of the questionnaire method of testing public opinion. Many questions have also been raised as to the form and content of this particular questionnaire, and its psychological effect upon the people who are asked to answer it. To these questions we shall revert later.

We must remember, however, that in its present form the questionnaire which you have in your hands is purely tentative, and that its present use is only experimental, with a view toward improving it.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY METHODS IN SOCIAL WORK  
130 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

#### WHAT IS YOUR FRANK OPINION?

The purpose of this inquiry is to find out how the public looks at social work, or more particularly that kind of social work usually known as family welfare work, which is done by such organizations as family welfare societies or associated charities.

Will you please indicate your opinion after each of the following statements? You need not sign your name.

#### WHAT DO YOU WANT DONE WITH YOUR MONEY?

If statement gives your preference, check (✓) "yes"; check "no" if it does not. If you feel strongly about the matter, make two check marks (✓✓). [For questions, see "Tabulation of Answers," on p. 654.]

As your chairman has said, this "public opinion test" has been devised by the Committee on Public Methods in an endeavor to ascertain what the public

thinks about social work, as a basis for more effective interpretation on our part. With this purpose I am sure we all are in accord; our problem lies in the matter of method.

When Mrs. Routzahn asked me whether the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work would request a few of its member societies to experiment with this method, I assented, with the feeling that there should at least be an opportunity for trying out any experiment which might give us a better understanding of the public attitudes which our publicity is designed to modify. Eight societies were asked whether they wished to participate; two refused for reasons which will be given later, and the others have either used the questionnaire with some group in the community, or are awaiting an opportunity. Mrs. Routzahn also approached several other communities directly. Up to last night, when this analysis was prepared, returns had been received from only four communities; but you will note that they involve four groups quite different in type, with a total of 128 persons; namely, a college class in social work (28); a mail return from a small number of chest contributors (14); a Rotary club (59); a business and professional women's club (27).

Before analyzing these returns, let me read the instructions which were given to the chairman of each meeting in which the questionnaire was used:

Whoever presents these questions is urgently requested not to make any statement or suggestion that might influence those who are to fill out the blank.

The committee collecting the information is interested in finding out whether it is possible by this method to obtain a cross section of opinion on questions of public interest. They would like to know what each person really thinks, and not what he guesses that someone else wants him to think.

It is estimated that the average person will require from five to ten minutes to fill out the blank.

You will notice that many persons evidently gave answers which were in complete contradiction. In many instances people answered "yes" to both questions 1 and 2 under "If I give money for charity, I prefer"; others answered "yes" to number 3, 4 and 5 under this same heading. Although 35 persons wished to give all their money directly to the person in need, and the same number wanted their money spent only for material relief, only 21 did not wish it spent for them by an organization; only 10 did not wish any of it spent for investigation, and only 18 answered similarly with regard to service (5 under above heading). These and other conflicting answers show either confusion in thinking, or a lack of clearness in the questionnaire. If this form is used further I believe it should be revised, with questions so grouped as to make clear the alternatives in answering.

Is there any significance in the fact that while only 15 persons did not think family social workers were sympathetic, 34 did not think they were tactful? Or in the fact that while only 13 thought social workers were "too cold," 44 thought they were too much bound up in red tape?

## TABULATION OF ANSWERS

If I give money for charity, I prefer:		A*	B	C	D	Total
1. To give personally to the individual or family in need, so that I can see for myself that the money does good. . . . .	Yes	11	3	11	10	35
	No	16	6	35	17	77
2. To have the money spent for me by an organization. . . . .	Yes	17	11	47	19	94
	No	9	3	4	5	21
3. To have all of it spent for necessities like food, clothing, and rent. . . . .	Yes	5	3	19	8	35
	No	20	9	28	13	70
4. To have some of it go toward investigation to find out what kind of help is really needed. . . . .	Yes	28	11	54	21	114
	No	1	1	5	3	10
5. To have some of it go toward employing workers to help people in trouble get back on their feet. . . . .	Yes	25	10	47	25	107
	No	3	3	12	0	18
It is my impression that most family social workers are:						
1. Sympathetic. . . . .	Yes	19	8	45	26	98
	No	7	3	5	0	15
2. Tactful. . . . .	Yes	9	5	43	20	77
	No	15	5	9	5	34
3. Too sentimental. . . . .	Yes	8	2	5	2	17
	No	16	8	35	21	79
4. Too cold and lack heart. . . . .	Yes	5	5	2	1	13
	No	19	5	33	18	75
5. Too much concerned with records and red tape. . . . .	Yes	18	6	15	5	44
	No	6	7	26	18	57
6. Too meddlesome, asking questions about matters not their business. . . . .	Yes	10	4	5	2	21
	No	15	8	33	21	77
7. Helpful because they know the ropes in matters like finding jobs, arranging for hospital care, and obtaining legal aid. . . . .	Yes	18	11	45	21	95
	No	5	1	2	0	8
8. Too young or too inexperienced to be helpful in the situations they deal with. . . . .	Yes	4	7	5	3	19
	No	22	3	28	20	73
I believe that:						
1. Those who assist people in trouble should be especially trained for their work. . . . .	Yes	27	9	52	25	113
	No	2	4	3	2	11
2. Training is not needed because anyone with ordinary common sense and a warm heart can tell what to do for people in trouble. . . . .	Yes	3	5	9	5	22
	No	24	6	23	17	70
The above answers are based on:						
1. Close association with family social workers. . . . .	Yes	2	6	13	12	33
	No	18	4	19	9	50
2. Slight association with family social workers. . . . .	Yes	21	5	41	8	75
	No	5	3	8	10	26
3. What others have told me. . . . .	Yes	14	4	21	8	47
	No	9	2	12	9	32

\* A, college class in social work; B, mail vote-chest contributors; C, Rotary club; D, business and professional women's club.

There is a marked confusion in the two questions concerning training, but you will notice that in question 1, under "I believe that," there were 113 persons who believed in training, as against only 11 who did not. What, if anything, does this signify—that our problem lies not so much in convincing people that training is needed, as in the interpretation of the meaning of training?

Of course this tabulation is only an illustration; 128 returns give too small a sample for any valid conclusions. And the question still remains as to whether this is the best method of ascertaining public attitudes. On that point let me quote from two letters explaining refusal to use the questionnaires:

I am sorry to seem uncooperative, but I don't like the questionnaire of the Committee on Publicity Methods sufficiently to want to see it tried in this community.

We don't like to suggest to our public criticisms which may never have occurred to them, and it seems to me the questionnaire is full of words and phrases which would set up automatic responses unfavorable to our work.

Another:

This questionnaire represents precisely the type of questionnaire to which, when we receive them from other people, we object. It is one of those stunt questionnaires which may produce material for a publicity paper, but which actually will prove nothing more than was known before. The person who answers this questionnaire will be influenced by the type of mind he has, by the kind of social worker with whom he has been associated, and by the quality of his other contacts with social work.

After this material has been gathered, what has one proved? That the personalities of social workers are such as to make good or bad impressions upon people, or that people who do not know about social work have a variety of ideas about social work, depending upon what information they have? I object to the project because it is too self conscious, almost as self conscious as the adolescent who is concerned to know whether or not people think he is grown up. Is a questionnaire of this sort going to add to the respect which those who received the questionnaire will have for social work?

I do not entirely agree with the last objection. The purpose of such a test is obviously not educational; it is intended only to find out what people are thinking. But we must also remember that if such an experiment creates an adverse reaction, suggesting and spreading unfavorable criticisms, it also defeats its purpose.

Whatever the answer to these questions, we are indebted to Mrs. Routzahn and the Committee on Publicity Methods for this effort to find a basis whereby our publicity may be directed toward what people are actually thinking, rather than merely toward what we think they are thinking.

## A TEST OF PUBLIC OPINION ON CAUSES OF CRIME

*William Lewis Butcher, Chairman, Subcommittee on Causes of Crime of the New York State Crime Commission, and Boys' Welfare Director, Children's Aid Society, New York City*

Testing public opinion on the causes of crime is indeed a hazardous adventure, fraught with misunderstanding, controversy, and sharp division of opinion.

All of these factors were discounted before the Subcommittee of the New York State Crime Commission decided to send out a questionnaire to a list of three thousand New York State citizens, taken largely from *Who's Who in America*. There was an immediate interrogation, from the social workers in particular, which took on the form of an emphatic "Why?"

Why did we send out this questionnaire? Why did we make this test of so called "enlightened public opinion"? First, we wanted to be able to say that we endeavored to find the causes of crime from the public, if for no other reason than to combat the criticism that is often made: that experts are biased and prejudiced and never consult the public on problems that concern them. Secondly, to prove what we already believed, that the results would be unsatisfactory and unscientific, and therefore to be able to proceed upon a careful study of crime causes, both from the standpoint of community factors and through case studies and the social histories of major offenders.

In order to illustrate, however, the facile interpretations given by men and women of affairs to the causes of crime, the Subcommittee provided a questionnaire consisting of forty phrases, many of which are commonly used in current discussions of crime. This questionnaire was sent to men and women representing eleven professions: doctors, social workers, teachers, engineers, clergymen, authors, newspapermen, judges, lawyers, and business men.

Just how public opinion differs from the individual opinions of the thousands whose collective opinions form public opinion has been studied by able psychologists. The older psychologists who studied this phenomenon were inclined to believe that public opinion resided in the group mind. They believed that the group mind existed as an entity, outside and beyond the minds of the members of the group. More recent students of the question take a less mystical stand. They are content to consider the group as consisting of the sum of its members. They believe that the peculiar force residing in group opinions arises from the common knowledge within the group that each member of the group thinks alike on a specific matter. In their views, each member of a group is fortified in his opinion, not so much by his observations as by his conviction that what so many people hold to be true must be true.

Unfortunately for our peace of mind, those of us who have become expert in any field have come less and less to trust public opinion within that field.

We listen with attentiveness to generalizations on topics outside our field of specialization. We even, in our more expansive moments, contribute ourselves to these generalizations. But, whenever our experiences and discoveries within a narrow field run counter to commonly accepted views, we challenge public opinion and seek to modify it to conform to what we consider our more accurate findings. The public, likewise, has also come to trust its own undocumented beliefs less and less, and to trust to the formulas of experts more and more. Science is winning daily battles against opinion. This progress has been greater in some fields than in others. It has been least in those fields where experiences have been commonly shared by multitudes.

Most of us do not build houses nor design bridges, therefore we are well content to leave architecture and structural engineering to the expert. But most of us have experienced illness and robbery, and we feel competent to give counsel on these subjects. The "favorite prescription" still competes with the medical man, and the views of the elected lawmaker still have precedence over those of the criminologist, the psychologist, and the social worker. It is within the field of sociology that perhaps least progress has been made in teaching the public to accept scientifically observed facts rather than inadequate opinions. Perhaps it is because sociology has depended too much upon this selfsame public opinion for its data. One outstanding source of data for sociologists, for students of sociology, and for young men and women preparing their Master's theses in sociology has been the questionnaire.

The method of the questionnaire is decidedly a dangerous one. The tendency is always to ask questions that are very broad, easy to generalize upon, and usually far outside the range of experience of the person addressed. There is no great objection to the use of this method by persons within a profession who seek the advice of others within the same profession. Such persons will usually know what questions their colleagues can answer and which they cannot. Nor is there decided objection to questionnaires which seek quantitative data solely. Far too many questionnaires, however, seek offhand replies from laymen on subjects that require a lifetime of study. And the surprising thing is the great avidity with which even unusually intelligent people make reply. In a questionnaire recently submitted by the Subcommittee on Causes, of the New York State Crime Commission, to three thousand prominent men and women the unreliability of the method was clearly demonstrated. In this questionnaire the subject was requested to range, in order of importance as causes of crime, forty different general statements, such as "bad companionship," "inheritance of criminal tendencies," "lack of wholesome recreation." The results of the questionnaire demonstrated, first, that people will not hesitate to offer opinions on broad statements; second, that these opinions tend toward uniformity and seem to represent deep seated prejudice; and third, that there is a strong tendency for members of a profession to avoid stressing, as a cause



of crime, any force with which the members of the profession have more than casual acquaintance.

It is worthy of note, at this point, that a number of people, fearing that the Commission would take the results of the questionnaire at their face value, wrote their emphatic disapproval of this method. It is cause for congratulation that most of the letters of disapproval came from members of the social service group.

If the questionnaire method is to be discarded, except in special instances, what then shall take its place as a means of testing public opinion? It is our belief that a much better method has already been developed, and is being used at this moment for this very purpose. This is a method familiar to sociologists and social workers. It is the method of the social survey. No other method equals it in measuring public opinion. In making a survey, the expert closely studies material with which people have more than passing acquaintance. In making a community survey, he is studying conditions with which many individuals are very familiar and on which decided opinions have been established. In publishing his conclusions, he must meet the brunt of disapproval of those who disagree with him, and he has the pleasure of hearing the plaudits of those who agree with him. But aside from the matter of praise and blame, the survey method has a tremendous advantage over the questionnaire in that the public discussion aroused by the survey must hinge not on theory but on the facts that the survey has unearthed. A portion of the public may writhe, but it must either admit the facts or seek to disprove them. The materials of the survey serve as a constant magnet, drawing discussion back to reality. The process is one of education, both for the public and for the surveyor. It is a more costly process than that of the questionnaire, and a more courageous one, but one that tests public opinion and molds public opinion in a way that the questionnaire method never can hope to accomplish.

An analysis of the results is interesting, if for no other reason than to show the great difference of opinion that exists between the different professions.

"Bad companionship," which takes leading place in the total score, was given most prominent rank by the lawyers and clergymen, the clergymen giving it first rank and the lawyers second rank.

"Declining respect for authority," which was given second position in the total score, was given highest rank by judges, who gave it second rank; by newspaper men, who gave it second rank; and by doctors, who gave it second rank. The fact that in the total score this cause took second rank shows that there was fairly close agreement among all the groups.

"Lack of home supervision due to the death, separation, or desertion of either parent from the family," which took third rank in the total score, was

stressed the most by social workers, who gave it first rank; by doctors, who gave it third rank; and by judges, who gave it fourth rank.

"Delays in justice," which took fourth rank in the total score, was most stressed by lawyers, who gave it first position; by newspaper men, who also gave it first position; and by engineers, who likewise gave it first position.

"Leniency to criminals," which also held fourth rank in the total score, was stressed by the lawyers, who gave it second position; by the newspaper men, who gave it second position; and by the engineers, who gave it second position.

"Lack of home supervision resulting from the daily employment of father and mother," which took fourth rank in the final score, was most stressed by the clergymen, who gave it second position; by the teachers, who gave it second position; and by the educators, who gave it first position.

"Newspaper publicity given to crime news," which took fourth position in the final score, was most stressed by authors, who gave it first rank.

"Money-madness caused by commercialization of all life activities," which was given fifth rank in the final score, was stressed as a prime cause by the newspaper men, who gave it second position. There are rather wide disagreements on this cause, there being a range of fifteen positions between the high and the low position assigned to it.

"Practice of hanging around and inside poolrooms on the part of boys and young men," which secured fifth position in the final score, was stressed by business men, who gave it fourth position; by social workers, who gave it fourth position; and by judges, who gave it fifth position.

"Lack of real responsibilities or duties for young people," which was given fifth position in the final score, was most stressed by judges, who gave it fifth position; and by engineers, who gave it fifth position likewise.

This covers the first ten causes listed as most important in the final score. Turning to the eleven professional groups, we find that certain pet prejudices are present in the selections made by each group. The educators stress cheapening of life following great wars, lack of worth while employment for boys and girls under eighteen, great freedom enjoyed by young people in unsupervised and unchaperoned amusements, and lack of home supervision resulting from daily employment of father and mother. It will be noted that the causes stressed by the educators are mainly economic, and causes over which the educators themselves have no control. In other words, they are "passing the buck" to other social groups.

The social workers stress lack of wholesome recreation facilities, lack of home supervision due to death, separation, or desertion of either parent from the family, practice of hanging around and inside poolrooms on the part of boys and young men, unemployment among adults, and unsupervised spare time. The social workers stress economic and reactionary causes, but in justice to them

it may be said here that these are causes over which they attempt to effect some control. In other words, they are naming causes that they are grappling with.

Teachers name lack of home supervision due to death, separation, or desertion of either parent from the family as most important. With regard to other causes, they seem to have no particular prejudices and follow the crowd pretty well. The one cause they did cite as most important is a cause over which they themselves have no control. Here again the educators are "passing the buck."

The lawyers seem to believe that new theories used in schools, minimizing the importance of discipline, low intelligence on the part of the offender, losses from speculation, and urgent financial obligations, leniency to criminals, delays in justice, bad companionship, and unemployment among adults predominate. Lawyers cite certain causes over which they have no control and other causes over which they have direct control.

Judges stress street life in excess, conservatism—political and economic—capital punishment, cheapening of life following great wars, lack of home supervision due to death, separation, or desertion of either parent from the family, low intelligence on the part of the offender, excessive drinking, losses from speculation and urgent financial obligations, declining respect for authority, religious and race prejudices, boys tempted to secure money dishonestly for expensive entertainment of girl friends, unemployment among adults, and lack of real responsibilities or duties for young people. It will be seen from this list that the judges express many opinions that deviate from the group, as many causes to which they give unusually high score are causes that are not scored high by other groups. The number of causes in which the judges differ from the rest of the groups as to importance shows that the judges at least have no single pet theory as to the causes of crime, and that they are quite aware of its complexity.

The business men name cheapening of life following great wars, practice of hanging around and inside poolrooms on the part of boys and young men, great freedom enjoyed by young people in unsupervised and unchaperoned amusements, losses from speculation and other urgent financial obligations, declining respect for authority, indifference of young people to the church, and frequent attendance of evening moving picture performances by children. Business men stressed mainly recreation and loss of authority by institutions.

The engineers stressed unequal justice to powerful organizations and weak individuals, leniency to criminals, delays in the administration of justice, boys tempted to secure money dishonestly for expensive entertainment of girl friends, lack of responsibility for young people. The engineering group stress causes over which they themselves have no control.

The clergymen stressed lack of wholesome recreational facilities, cheapen-

ing of life following great wars, lack of home supervision resulting from daily employment of father and mother, and bad companionship. The clergymen selected three fairly vague issues and a fourth over which they had no control.

The authors stressed new theories in schools, minimizing importance of discipline, unequal justice to powerful organizations and weak individuals, unlawful behavior on the part of parents, and newspaper publicity given to crime news. The authors tended to cite specific rather than general causes.

Newspaper men stressed disease, declining respect for authority, leniency to criminals, delays in the administration of justice, lavish display on the part of the rich, poverty, indiscriminate sale of deadly weapons. The newspaper men cite, among their main causes, certain items on which they certainly have no information.

Doctors stressed not enough weapons in the hands of citizens, secret societies, lack of home supervision resulting from death, separation, or desertion of either parent from the family, radicalism, inheritance of criminal tendencies, and indifference of young people to the church. Particularly interesting in the stress laid by this group is "inheritance of criminal tendencies," a point of view which has not been stressed in general for a whole generation.

If we will examine the first ten causes in the final score, it will be seen that many of the causes assigned primacy are extremely vaguely worded. "Bad companionship," assigned first position, for example, may mean almost anything, and "Declining respect for authority" might mean almost anything. "Newspaper display given to crime news" limited itself neither to quantity or quality, nevertheless as a general statement was given a high position. "Money madness," certainly a very general and elusive cause, was cited as an important one. "Lack of real responsibilities or duties for young people," an extremely vague statement, was listed among the first ten. It would seem that vague rather than concrete situations were assigned as prime causes.

Turning now to the causes stressed by each profession, it will be noted that there is a strong tendency to name causes with which the profession is not particularly well acquainted and over which its professional work attempts to exercise no control. This may be due to one or two reasons. The first reason may be that a professional group that knows its own field thoroughly hesitates to ascribe crime to anything with which its field is conversant, as it realizes the lack of knowledge on relationship between these matters and crime. The doctors, for example, who know disease more than any other group, did not name disease in relation to crime. Another reason may be found perhaps in the old human tendency to place responsibility on someone else. Throughout this whole questionnaire, with the exception perhaps of some statements made by lawyers, social workers, and judges, each professional group names causes that other professional groups are dealing with in a practical way.

As a true index to be followed in studying the causes of crime, such a ques-

tionnaire as this is, of course, worthless. As a means of illustrating the rather wide disparity of opinion among intelligent people and of showing the guesses that are made, as well as the prejudices that exist, this questionnaire serves a very admirable purpose. On the basis of this questionnaire the Subcommittee on Causes can recommend that the only way to study crime is by a careful scientific analysis of social conditions themselves, and in order that it may be said to practice what it preaches, the Subcommittee spent an entire year in making studies of two urban areas where delinquency was particularly high, and two rural counties which showed the largest percentage of offenders according to the population.

The Subcommittee also proceeded to make case studies of one hundred and forty-five major offenders, from the prisons where they were confined back to the cradle, or at least as far back as our investigators could go and obtain reliable information. Furthermore, the Subcommittee made a study of two hundred and one persistent truants in the New York public schools as a basis for a wider and more detailed study which will be completed during this year. During the fall and winter, studies will be continued of certain crime areas, of the street trades, and the children's courts. We believe that no crime commission can justify itself by confining its work simply to emphasizing the punitive through the medium of legislation that looks only to the correctional factors, and to this end the study of causes will continue to be an important part of the work of the New York State Crime Commission, as it should be of every other similar body that is really interested in finding a solution of the age old problem of crime.

While the Subcommittee never had any other purpose in mind, nevertheless the test of public opinion through the New York questionnaire has reassured us, and we go forward with new determination to prosecute our studies of causes with a will and on a sound scientific basis which we believe will have the support of every socially minded citizen who is really interested in finding the causes of crime.

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### THE FARMER LOOKS AT SOCIAL WORK

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The typical farmer approaches organized social work with doubt, if not actual disfavor. This fact should be recognized at the outset. It is useless to attempt to give effective publicity to social work in the country without recognizing the specific conditions that must be confronted.

The farmer's feeling with regard to social work is due to several facts. To begin with, farmers tend to be individualistic. Their conditions of life have not

led them to work principally through organization, though they are now beginning to turn in that direction. Along with the farmer's individualism goes a considerable measure of fatalism. The orderly seasons, the slowness of rural change, natural or social, and the fact that many conditions on the farm are beyond the control of man tend toward a fatalistic view. The application of this to social work is obvious enough. The religious farmer is likely to quote the verse, "The poor ye have always with you," while the irreligious tiller of the soil will imply a similar conclusion in asserting that if one defies the laws of nature one must suffer the penalty. While the fatalistic view would seem to militate against any relief of suffering, it does not thus work out in actual practice. There is a good deal of informal, individual assisting of the unfortunate in rural districts. Indeed, one of the objections raised to social work in the country is that it seems cold and mechanical as compared with neighborly helpfulness.

Closely related to this argument are objections on the ground of expense and of the distant control which the farmer believes will be exercised over any social work in his community. As a matter of fact, of course, the expense of properly organized social work is often no more than that of inefficient, informal charity, and in any case the expense bears a small proportion to the value of the results obtained. So far as control is concerned, it may be local or not—that is a matter of technical administration. The rest of the arguments which I have mentioned can likewise be met, but they will not be met unless one knows in advance what they are.

A more effectual argument against rural social work than any of these is that it is not adapted to rural conditions. The farmer feels that too much of the equipment for social work is theoretical; that it is based on more or less controlled conditions, whereas he knows that conditions in the country are various and problematical. Furthermore, he feels that a great deal of the social work proposed for the country, even though it has been worked out satisfactorily in practice, has been worked out under urban conditions, and that an attempt has been made to adapt it to country life. The farmer has seen this system tried in architecture, in household appliances, and in a great many other things, and he knows that it does not work. He is confident that the difficulties that he has encountered in these other fields will not be absent from a type of social work that merely represents an adaptation of city experience.

This situation brings us to the fundamental observation that publicity, rural or other, is useless unless it rests on a solid basis of fact and proved workability. All the publicity experts in the world cannot and should not dress up an ill adapted program for rural work so that it will be accepted by farmers. The farmer is not concerned with activity for its own sake. He gets plenty of activity in his daily work. He does not consider, as many city people do, that day lost on which there is no luncheon with booster songs, addresses by paid



propagandists, and a prayer by a bishop. The farmer is not prone to enter into many special activities; and when he does give his interest to one, he wants to be sure that it is a program that will work—and work in his own community.

Social workers should frankly recognize that in many departments of rural life adequate studies of conditions have not yet been made. Such studies are prerequisite both to effective work and to rural appreciation and support of it. Once a sound and workable program has been outlined, such publicity as is undertaken must, if it is to be effective, take account not only of the rural viewpoint with reference to social work, but also of certain mental characteristics that will be encountered.

In the first place, consider the ordinary man's interest in the economic. Economic interests are fundamental to most men. They have been emphasized strongly in rural life. Thrift has been perhaps the most praised virtue. The person who shows contempt for material things writes himself down among farmers as a vague sentimentalist. For such the farmer has no time. A statement like this, by a prominent rural life specialist, will not, I submit, give either stimulation or information to the average farmer:

I had a feeling this morning that in our little group—and I have it here now—at last, out of many of these confusions, and sometimes differences which amounted to antagonistic feeling, there is being born in this group a desire to be not only friendly with each other, not only to understand and comprehend all of the various points and approaches, but there seems to be in this group now, there seems to have developed in the last four or five hours, a really spiritual kind of unity. If we only had the time now, I think we could do something quite glorious, quite adventurous, quite new and fresh.

Further, successful publicity in the country means an expression of the country, not of the village or the city. Such expression presupposes adequate knowledge and a trained, understanding personnel. The publicity worker must know the country and the mind of the farmer. A worker is seldom successful in rural activities unless he knows the countryside and unless he can talk with farmers freely and intelligently, and with no condescension on either side. Perhaps the most important trait of the farmer, from the standpoint of the publicity worker, is his intolerance of advice and suspicion of theory. This trait is due partly to conservatism, partly to other factors. For one thing, farmers are as a class eye-minded and muscle-minded. They learn from seeing and from doing. A big yield from a new variety of wheat on a single farm, whose owner has been persuaded to try it, will have more effect in establishing that variety in the community than would a hundred hortatory talks by agricultural experts.

Moreover, the farmer has, from experience, a more or less sound objection to advice. Because of the relation of farming to other industries, farmers have always received a quantity of free advice. The difficulty with a great deal of agricultural advice is that it presents practices useful under ideal or controlled conditions. The successful farmer knows that conditions on the ordinary farm

are never ideal and can seldom be controlled. Sudden weather changes, the condition of the soil, the lack of money or credit, and numerous other factors make it impossible to farm according to clear cut, preconceived plans. General farming, the type of farming which utilizes the great bulk of the land now under cultivation in the United States and will be dominant in America for many years to come, cannot be reduced to a definite system, and no one knows it better than the farmer. This knowledge, gained through experience in his occupation, he applies to other avenues of life. Still a further reason for the farmer's intolerance of advice and suspicion of theory is found in his individualism. Individualism is now recognized as an American trait, not confined to tillers of the soil; but it had its origin in the isolated and self sufficing farm units of early days. Thence it spread, permeating the national life, but modified steadily by urban conditions. On the farms it retained much of its early vigor and fierceness, and in the rural character it still is more conspicuous than anywhere else.

One is led inevitably to the conclusion that demonstration rather than advice moves the farmer. Actual experience proves the point. The cooperative agricultural extension work maintained since 1914 by the federal government in cooperation with the states is undoubtedly the most successful example of effective rural work that has yet been seen. Surveys made after ten years of experience in four states showed that approximately 75 per cent of the farms visited had made some changes for the better in either farm or home practice as a result of the work. On each of these farms an average of 3.4 changes in practices was reported. Not only has the work proved successful from the standpoint of improved farm and home practices and conditions, but it has enlisted the enthusiastic interest and activity of a great number of rural people. In 1926 a total of 222,021 farm men and women joined with the paid extension forces in undertaking to improve agricultural and home practices. These men and women acted as demonstrators themselves, served as chairmen or members of extension committees in their communities, and carried on other activities.

This successful work has been done primarily by means of demonstrations. Whereas in the year ending June 30, 1915, when the cooperative extension work had just begun, a total of 8,060 farmers' institutes, comprising principally lectures, were held, by 1926 this number had diminished to 4,752. On the other hand, the number of demonstrations in 1926 was 1,318,771. The conclusion reached as a result of the work is thus stated in the official report:

Cooperative extension work has established the self conducted demonstration by the pupil as the method of teaching most applicable to the mass of people. The demonstration likewise has proved to be the most convincing basis for printed, oral, or pictured appeal to those who cannot witness or take part in the demonstration itself.

This conclusion emphasizes two facts additional to the desirability of teaching through demonstration. First, the demonstration should be local, if possible. The outstanding successes in the cooperative extension work have

been due to the work of county agents and county home demonstration agents. Second, the demonstration should be participated in by rural people. It is difficult to impose practices effectively from above. This fact is perhaps of greater importance among rural than among urban people. The local demonstration, participated in by local people, stimulates people to think, and to think in terms of action. It is a trite but true proverb that we learn by doing. Such demonstration develops local leadership and thus insures permanency for the enterprise. Further, any demonstration should give opportunity for the community to develop and express its thought. The community can always contribute to any enterprise.

Obviously demonstration is not always practicable in a given community, nor, when it is practicable, does it reach everybody. Consequently, other means must be used. Motion pictures, lantern slides, the radio, public addresses and discussions, and, above all, the printed word are valuable means. In connection with the radio, experience has proved that the dramatic form of presentation is much the best. All means of publicity which are used should deal with actual practice. They should present specific demonstrations. It should be remembered, too, that farmers are less critical than city people of presentations which teach a lesson. Indeed, the farmer finds positive satisfaction in stories, plays, pictures, that teach a lesson. This does not mean that the farmer wants propaganda. He wants facts. He likes facts that teach him something, but he does not care for the teaching in the absence of the facts. Agricultural journals have found through years of experience that the farmer's preference is for the experience story, showing how some farmer or group of farmers were successful—or, less commonly, unsuccessful—through the adoption of certain practices. Such stories not only are convincing, but enable the reader to do what we all like to do, visualize himself in the rôle of the principal character.

Both daily newspapers and agricultural journals reach the typical farmer today. Material appearing in them is valuable. Just as the local demonstration, locally participated in, is of special significance, however, so the country weekly, dealing with the news of the community and edited by a man whom all the readers know, affords an especially valuable means for publicity. Obviously, the stories appearing here should be chiefly local stories of actual local demonstrations and incidents. They should possess definite news value, with name, place, and time always accurate. The trouble with a great deal of publicity for social work, as I see it, is that it reads, not like news, but like illustrations for a popular sermon. The country editor is not likely to be so critical of this sort of material as is the metropolitan editor; but that is no reason for inflicting the stuff on rural readers. Newspapers exist to publish news, news that will both satisfy the readers and advance the cause of social work.

It will be found to be the case in most states that country editors are not devoting as much of their space to rural material as their clientèle justifies.

A study of 243 country weeklies in Missouri and 73 weeklies in North Carolina made by Professor Carl C. Taylor showed that 75 per cent of the space was devoted to material of local interest. Of the local material, however, only 26.6 per cent was given to rural interests, the remaining 73.4 per cent being absorbed by village interests. Approximately 60 per cent of these papers, however, had more than half their circulation in the country. This apathy on the part of many editors toward their rural constituency must be overcome if their papers are to be active forces for rural betterment. Leaders in rural social work do well, in my estimation, to present their problems and plans to publishers at their state or regional conventions. The publishers will thus be given a broader view of rural life and the importance of social work in it. In like manner it seems to me wise to present problems of rural social work to gatherings of progressive farmers, such, for example, as cooperative associations, if they take, as many of them do, an interest in other than purely business affairs.

There are certain cautions which seem to me of great importance in reaching farmers: first, avoid "smart" writing and "smart" stunts. Never stage a story for the sake of obtaining publicity. Second, avoid press agency and high powered salesmanship. The farmer has had experience with people who attempt to "overcome sales resistance" and carry out the rest of the instructions in sales manuals, and he does not like them. He regards them as dishonest, in which he is commonly correct; and useless, in which he is always correct. Third, avoid emphasis on technique. The farmer is not especially interested in details of procedure. A demonstration that concerns itself with the method of conducting a meeting, for instance, is likely to leave him cold. Fourth, tell both sides, or, to state it more adequately, all sides. This is only common honesty, but it is not practiced any too often. The farmer, experienced in agriculture, knows that human plans do not work out with unerring accuracy. He is suspicious of any plan that offers no difficulties. Fifth, have all workers ready to give information to the press and to other inquirers. Do not, however, have a worker write matter for release unless he can write, and write so that farmers will be appealed to. Neither the press nor the farmer should be regarded as an opportunity to practice composition. Journalism should be studied and understood before it is offered to the long suffering public.

The problem of giving effective publicity to rural social work involves, obviously, the same factors that are found in other publicity enterprises; namely, subject matter, method, audience. The difficulties frequently encountered in the country by publicity workers are due mainly to insufficient knowledge of rural conditions, rural practices, and rural people. Reading is one means to knowledge of these things, reading of such farm periodicals and country newspapers as are genuinely in touch with rural thinking and living, reading of the few adequate studies of the rural point of view that have been published, reading of fiction that interprets the farmer and rural life realistically yet with an

understanding of its potentialities. Still more important is face to face acquaintance with farm people in the field, in the home, in the rural school, in the country church, at the livestock sale, in the meeting of the cooperative society or other farm organization. The knowledge thus gained may be practically applied in every type of rural activity, and not least in presenting to farmers an adequate and compelling picture of social work adapted to their demonstrated needs.

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### HEALTH EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES IN RURAL DISTRICTS<sup>1</sup>

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*Hygeia* some time ago reported this new version of an old story. An Oklahoma farmer's fourteen-year-old son complained one morning of not feeling well; but the corn was in need of plowing, so the father persuaded the son to get out of bed and drive the plow. During the day one of the farmer's Poland-China sows developed colic. He sent at once for the veterinarian. The veterinarian came posthaste, prescribed, was warmly thanked and paid in full with real money. That night the farmer's son developed a rash and a fever. "Call a doctor, John," implored the wife, "I'm afraid it's scarlet fever." "Oh, don't worry, Maria," said John, "it's only a light case and you can nurse him. Doctors cost too much."

A rural nurse of my acquaintance complains that many children in her district, a rich dairying region, are not receiving the right kind of food. Milk, eggs, and butter, she says, are gathered up and hauled by truck loads to the nearby city. On the return trip the farmer usually brings home a healthy bank deposit slip and a supply of coffee, oleomargarine, dried apples, and perhaps a few cans of condensed milk.

These stories are cited, not to show that the farmer is stingy, stupid, or stubborn, but to point out that the tiller of the soil, who for generations has schooled himself to be self reliant, is motivated in most of his actions by practical, tangible considerations that he can think out for himself. He knows that a mistake in judgment is more costly to him than it usually is to the "city slicker" who so fulsomely hands out advice. Every farmer has horse sense enough to know that a \$5 veterinarian's fee is cheap insurance when the loss of a \$200 pedigreed pig is at stake. And every farmer is shrewd enough, other things being equal, to trade dear butter for cheap oleomargarine, which spreads just as well on bread; and to exchange fresh, rich milk, demanded by the city dweller, for coffee which makes a satisfying beverage at one cent per cup, an

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paper is based largely on the writer's limited experience as a staff member of the Ohio Department of Health.

item of importance in a family of many children. To reply that it is more practical to provide proper medical care for a boy than a pig, or to discourse on the folly of depriving a child of home grown vitamins, begs the question and incriminates you and me who are supposed to interpret to the farmer health facts in terms that are earthy and practical, and therefore convincing to him. Why should we be surprised that the sprightly health fairy's pretty preachment to drink more milk leaves the farmer cold, or that he skeptically dismisses our warnings that the well water which he drinks and which refreshed his aged fathers before him may be swarming with colon bacilli? This is not to say, however, that the farmer is devoid of emotion or blind to spiritual values. The point I wish to emphasize is that the farmer is less prone to accept ready made conclusions than is the city dweller, and more insistent on knowing the reasons why and wherefore.

These general principles granted, it follows that the health educator will not be content merely to tell the farmer, to impose ready made ideas on him, but rather to show him and to lead him to think out for himself the answers to health questions. The mental trellis is there. It remains for the health worker to train the living facts about health on this trellis. For example, the farmer's first hand experiences resulting from the practice of testing cattle for tuberculosis furnishes an excellent latticework on which to hang the whole fascinating story of tuberculosis. Evidences of the disease in his own cows may not be visible or impressive, but he appreciates that there must be some real danger involved when city health officers prohibit the sale of milk from tuberculous cattle and when commission merchants refuse to pay him for diseased animals he may have shipped to them. Doubtless he has watched the state inspector make the tuberculin test; and he senses the seriousness of the situation when he learns that the state appropriates large sums of money to reimburse him for the destruction of infected cows. Perhaps he has seen at autopsy the infected glands, lights, and liver—and shuddered! But does he translate the story of bovine tuberculosis in terms of human tuberculosis?

An understanding of the basic psychological principles of rural health education is, of course, not enough. A practical technique must be worked out, and this consists largely in exploring the opportunities through which rural people may be reached. An opportunity frequently overlooked in both city and country districts is that of capitalizing the educational value of epidemics when they occur. When public sentiment is agitated and in a receptive mood, that is the time to interpret and to bring home forcibly the lessons of communicable disease control. In a prosperous Ohio county a sudden epidemic of typhoid spread consternation among the people. To this was added an economic blow which few escaped when the nearby city health department placed a ban on all milk supplied by that county. Public sentiment was near the exploding point, and the people in their bewilderment hardly knew whether to make



scapegoats of the unfortunate dairymen or to denounce the county health officer. While the source of the epidemic, which finally proved to be a typhoid carrier employed as a milker, was being ferreted out, the county health officer utilized every educational opportunity to drive home the lesson of typhoid prevention through talks, conferences, and newspaper interviews. As a result, dairies were cleaned up, pasteurization was introduced, water supplies were examined, and scores of people were vaccinated against typhoid. Most important of all, the people of that county developed a wholesome respect for their health officer, and when the tumult quieted, official resolutions were passed expressing appreciation to the county health department "for their splendid efforts in combating the spread of typhoid fever during the recent epidemic." This young, efficient health officer and his tactful nurse appreciated the importance of health education. Had they in this instance done only their routine sanitary duty as prescribed by law, the health department might have been wiped out of existence by the irritation of the confused people.

Since the introduction of diphtheria immunization, comparisons of protected children with those unprotected against diphtheria have forced themselves upon public attention. Comparisons may be odious, but often they are effectively convincing. No one can escape the force of the practical proof of diphtheria protection when he sees an outbreak of diphtheria among children of a rural school blessed with plenty of sunshine and fresh air, while at the same time children of the nearby town, who have been immunized, have no diphtheria. The wise health worker will capitalize the prevailing interest at such an opportunity by explaining and educating and by emphasizing the importance of good school health supervision, even in rural schools where "it cannot be afforded."

Working under the general direction of the department of agriculture of most states are the county farm bureaus. The county farm agents who are the executives of the bureaus are, for the most part, energetic young men, graduates of schools of agriculture. Most of them have won their way slowly but surely into the confidences of the farm people by proving their understanding of practical farming and of marketing. Farm agents are very receptive to any proposal that relates to the health of the people. They are most generous in joining with others for the promotion of a good cause. An energetic county health officer in southern Ohio desired to conduct classes among mothers and girls on baby care. To organize the whole county for this purpose would be a big undertaking. But the county farm agent had already organized the farm women in the granges, mothers' circles, and what not; so the two united in the project, the farm agent looking after the administrative details, while the health officer and his staff of four nurses provided the actual instruction. Whether the project might properly be classified as health education or home

economics troubled these workers not one whit. It was to their mutual advantage to work together.

The farmers' grange is the open forum for the expression of all kinds of rural opinion. Granges are found in practically every rural state. If you have a message to deliver, a movie to show, or a project to promote, the grange, if it is in a healthy condition, is one of your most promising channels. One state health department has on its staff a lecturer who specializes in speaking to rural groups. The fact that she is neither a doctor nor a nurse does not seem to handicap her in the least in the estimation of the farm folk. Her personality assures her welcome and the department she represents stamps her message as authentic. She "puts up," not at the hotel, but allows herself to be entertained in the homes of the farmers, riding with them in their buggies and Fords. She does not affect the conventional country yokel's drawl, heard only on the vaudeville stage, but she does enter wholeheartedly into the life of the farm people. This lecturer is often booked up by granges and other rural groups six months in advance, and return invitations outnumber the vacant dates on her calendar.

The state health department which I had the pleasure of serving cooperates closely with the state department of agriculture, which is affiliated with the state university. On the staff of the department of agriculture is a health specialist who has been very successful in fitting health education projects in with the extension courses on home economics. Throughout the state, farm women are organized into home economics classes. Each year the agricultural health specialist selects one or two topics which she weaves into that year's course on home economics. One year it may be home care of the sick; another year, the care of the baby. All lesson syllabi are submitted for visé to the health department, and health department publications are used to supplement the course. The method of conducting the classes seems worthy of adoption by a rural social or health worker. It is as follows: The health specialist, upon invitation from a county, selects from each township or other convenient geographical area of that county one woman who seems to have leadership qualifications. The women selected attend a series of meetings at the county seat, and the health specialist herself gives them the basic instructions on the subject selected, mostly by actual demonstration and with a minimum of didactic teaching. She endeavors also to coach them to teach the same subject to others. These amateur leaders then organize groups in their own territories and retail the instruction they have received. The critic may object that such a system is too haphazard, too unreliable, for disseminating serious health information; but, if so, he underrates the skill of this particular health specialist, and does not perhaps appreciate how seriously these farm women accept their responsibilities.

In most farming districts there are today boys' agricultural and animal husbandry clubs which compete with one another. By raising prize pigs or

calves, corn or potatoes, they learn the principles of scientific agriculture and taste the sweet reward of achievement. Incidentally, the practical value of health of pigs, cows, horses, and poultry becomes very evident to the youthful stock breeders and farmers, a principle which the health worker should capitalize. In Ohio, prize winners of the agricultural clubs are awarded a free trip to the state capitol and an admission ticket to the state fair, there to assist in displaying the products of the prize winning clubs and boys. While at the fair, the boys receive a physical examination. Very wisely, however, the physical examination is not put on a competitive basis, like judging stock, for the factors that determine health are too complex to permit of an absolute selection. Each boy receives, instead of a prize ribbon or a numerical health rating, a statement describing his physical condition and pointing out defects that should be corrected. Thus the boy's interest in hardy crops and sturdy animals is utilized as a stepping stone to an appreciation of his own health, and the idea is promptly carried back home, which means into all corners of the state.

Among the popular rural organizations encouraged by state departments of agriculture are the so called "4-H clubs," made up of farm children of high school age. This is a national organization and branches are to be found in every state of the union. The club's emblem is a four-leaf clover, the leaves symbolizing respectively head, heart, health, and hand. These youthful farmers meet and study problems of the farm and home, including the home care of the sick, the preparation of food for the family, etc. The lessons take the form of demonstrations. At occasional meetings attended by adults, such as parent-teacher assemblies, grange meetings, and the like, club members are invited to supply part of the program by putting on a demonstration. What matter though they speak their memorized pieces in somewhat stilted fashion; as they demonstrate the proper handling of milk, for example, and submit sound reasons for the advocated practices, the fathers and mothers follow them with bated breath and accept their teachings with more conviction than if the same information were poured into their ears by an eloquent city professor. The 4-H club gives to the health worker, particularly the nurse, an unequaled opportunity to teach health through play and practice. The possibilities of such organizations for health education have not yet been plumbed.

County fairs present an opportunity for health education, though some would discount the value of county fair exhibits. It is said that this is a poor occasion to bring health facts before the people, because they are in holiday mood and wander about aimlessly seeking not instruction but diversion. Merchants, however, contrive to capture the interest of the pleasure seekers and find it profitable to exhibit at county fairs. Much depends upon the type of exhibit used at the fair. A confusing display of hand made posters, statistical graphs, and tabulated reports does not capture attention or excite admiration. Motion pictures, unless special equipment is available, are not likely to be suc-

cessful. One difficulty is that the electric current usually furnished at the fair grounds is not sufficient to drive a standard motion picture projector. Another is that in order to darken the tent it is necessary to drop the side walls, which makes it stiflingly hot.

The Ohio health department's healthmobile, which is essentially a motion picture showing device, is successfully employed during summer months at county fairs. A large tent, seating as many as 150 people, is erected, in which motion pictures are shown more or less continuously, while a speaker fills in the gaps between reels with brief talks. The forward one-third of the tent is separated off from the portion occupied by the audience by a canvas partition, and here the projection apparatus is set up. The pictures are projected through a lightproof canvas tunnel onto a transparent daylight screen mounted on the upper edge of the partition. This makes it possible to project clear pictures even if the side walls of the tent are not dropped.

Another successful method of securing sustained interest at the fair is to conduct so called "baby demonstrations." Equipment for bathing and dressing the baby is set up on a suitable location not too near the blare of the side-shows. On a clothesline above the work table is displayed a baby layette. The nurse in charge gathers about her a group of girls and women and begins to bathe the waterproof "Chase" doll. The bath completed, the baby is dressed and put to bed in its little home made basket. Word and action are nicely correlated, and always the reasons for the techniques demonstrated are carefully explained, not by, "do this" and "do that," but "we do so and so for this reason." Mothers do not hesitate to ask questions and gladly carry away the baby booklets that are offered them.

Another excellent way of using the county fair is to encourage the display, in the exhibit of the board of education, of the posters, booklets, and essays produced by school children as part of their health lessons. Parents study the school exhibits faithfully; particularly if there is the possibility that the handiwork of their own children may be found in the collection.

The haphazard distribution of literature at county fairs is wasteful. One good method is to have on hand printed lists of all available publications, with a space for the name and address of persons interested enough to ask for literature. The desired publications are quickly checked, and at a later time the literature is mailed.

The healthmobile, maintained by the Ohio department of health, is equipped with a power plant and all the paraphernalia necessary to show motion pictures. The healthmobile, with lecturer and mechanic, is loaned to a given county, usually for the period of one week. The county health officer makes all preliminary arrangements, advertises the meetings, and accompanies the healthmobile on its rounds when it arrives. Schools are visited in the morning and afternoon, and parent-teacher meetings or church or grange clubs

in the evenings. As a special stunt the healthmobile is without a rival, for movies never fail to attract in rural districts; but it is an expensive method of health publicity, suitable only for a large organization. There is no reason, however, why rural health workers should not make more extensive use of motion pictures. Some granges own their own projectors, specially equipped electrically to operate on the current generated by the Delco plant. Many farm bureau agents have projectors and manage to make good use of them, and enough good health movies can be found to arrange comprehensive schedules. True, some of these pictures seem trite and mediocre to the health worker, but rural audiences are not hypercritical. I confess to a definite change of heart with regard to certain motion pictures, brought about by observing how our rural groups enjoyed them. "Jinks" was an unfailing drawing card. "Out of the Shadows," a picture of the tuberculin testing of cattle, held farmers and their wives spellbound; while "The Kid Comes Through," with its simple tale and ingenious health lessons was universally received by school children as if it were a million dollar superdrama. Farm groups are a bit shy about asking questions during the discussion period following the film showing or after a talk; but once the ice is broken they ask questions of a most pertinent kind. "If repeated irritation of the skin favors the growth of cancer," asked one, "why don't they come on a farmer's hands?" "How come," asked a grizzled old farmer, member of the school board who had just listened to a chalk talk on mouth hygiene for children, "How come I've got most of my teeth and never did what you said?" When the speaker tried to explain "how come," this veteran shook his head and volunteered the secret: "I've been chewin' tobacco since I was fourteen years old."

Is it essential that the rural health worker be a born and bred farmer? In my opinion it is not. The customs and modes of thought of rural people may not be precisely like those of city dwellers, but any earnest health worker who loves his job can adapt himself to rural situations.

These are some, by no means all, of the opportunities for spreading health information in rural communities. I have deliberately avoided discussing such topics as the use of country newspapers, radio broadcasting, home instruction by the nurse, the scoring of dairies, diagnostic clinics, but have tried rather to call attention to those methods which are all too often neglected in rural health education.

Summarizing, health education in rural communities depends for success on sympathetically understanding the viewpoint of the farmer, on showing him rather than telling him, and on searching out the channels of communication that exist, or creating them if they do not exist.

## THE MAGIC GIFT OF STYLE

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There is a new madness abroad in these United States: that transcontinental idiocy: "Ask me another." To be in the fashion I am going to ask you a question: What is the best piece of social writing ever done? What priceless page of English has helped most to inspire and guide people to serve their fellows? My purpose is to examine how style serves social writing. First, we shall seek to discover from models how great writing has helped great causes; next, to list the qualities found in this great writing—the things we ought to put in our own writing; then we shall ask the impudent question, What's the matter with our present writing? Finally, I hope to suggest ways by which we can secure more beauty, emotion, and noble language in our own writing. We have small hope of ascending the heights with the masters of English, but we can cherish the lesser ambition of reducing the vast tonnage of mediocre, conventional, and stupid writing, now our most noteworthy contribution to the annual crop of words. The alternative title for this talk was: "Need Social Work Writing Be Dull?" That is a challenge and an insult. There is no predestination of dullness upon us. The work we do is not dull, this task of striving to make life happier and fuller for all of us. No, the dullness is not in the subject. Clearly then it must be in the . . . here, perhaps, it were safer to "ask you another." Who makes social work writing dull?

My first quest, after great models of social writing, proved fascinating and instructive. It proved a bird's-eye history of social work. I read in an English newspaper: "The following poem did more to reform labor conditions in England than all other writings." That is a large claim. You all know the poem. Indeed, I shall quote nothing that you don't know. For all helpful writing must, by first principles, be widely read, popular, appeal to the populace or people, who are the final arbiters of all reform, by expressing the universal and everlasting emotions of the race in language of supreme clarity and poignancy. It must be supremely clear and profoundly moving. This poem is both:

With fingers weary and worn  
With eyelids heavy and red,  
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,  
Plying her needle and thread—  
Stitch—stitch—stitch!  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt;  
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch—  
Would that its tone could reach the rich!  
She sang this "Song of the Shirt."

O men with sisters dear!  
O men with mothers and wives!



It is not linen you're wearing out  
 But human creatures' lives!  
 Stitch—stitch—stitch  
 In poverty, hunger, and dirt;  
 Sewing at once, with a double thread,  
 A shroud as well as a shirt!

Band and gusset and seam,  
 Seam and gusset and band  
 Till the heart is sick and the brain benumbed  
 As well as the weary hand.

Well, Tom Hood was not a great poet, and that is clearly sob stuff; but I think the National Consumers' League have him to thank for some help. I rather imagine the day that poem appeared marked the beginning of the end of the sweatshop, and foretold minimum wage laws and widows' pensions.

Here is a rival poem that I think has done more than any other poem to open purses and inspire good deeds:

The vision raised its head  
 And with a look made of all sweet accord,  
 Answered: "The names of those who love the Lord."  
 "And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"  
 Replied the Angel. Abou spoke more low,  
 But cheerily still; and said, "I pray thee, then,  
 Write me as one that loves his fellow men."  
 The Angel wrote and vanished. The next night  
 It came again with a great wakening light.  
 And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,  
 And lo, Ben Adhem's name led all the rest!

I believe that one poem has made every drive you make easier. It has created a tradition and an atmosphere. There is only one more famous popular name in all secular literature than Abou Ben Adhem, I guess. That, of course, is Sherlock Holmes.

I began to get jealous of England. What had America done in poetry like this? There's Lowell's *Bigelow Papers*—they helped make the Civil War; and Whittier was a greater poet than most give him credit for, and a great voice against slavery. Whitman in a sense created the whole modern atmosphere of social democracy. But all this was general. So I name this later poem as the one that had the greatest single effect.

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans  
 Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,  
 The emptiness of ages in his face,  
 And on his back the burden of the world.  
 Who made him dead to rapture and despair,  
 A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,  
 Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?  
 Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?

Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?  
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

O masters, lords and rulers of all lands,  
How will the future reckon with this man?  
How answer his brute question in that hour  
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?  
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—  
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—  
When this dumb terror shall reply to God,  
After the silence of the centuries?

Can anyone deny that this poem has helped all our social legislation since 1900? The two poems that deeply moved youth at the turn of the century were Kipling's "Recessional" and Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe." I think the latter made socialists in the United States long before people heard the only other world wide slogan in labor's liturgy: the end of the "Manifesta" of Marx and Engles in 1847: "Workmen of the world, unite! you have the world to win, and nothing to lose but your chains!"

Already, I think, we can begin to list the qualities found in great social writing. It tells a story. It is always case work. It has a central figure, a type, but so vividly realized that it becomes a living and suffering person. If your type does not wake to life as a symbol in one human being, your writing fails, for a synthetic abstraction—Vice, Virtue, Labor, The Child—never pierces the reader's heart. We of the publicity group have read stories and plays on social work in contests these last few years. I regret to confess that the judges greeted the symbolic figures not only with jeers but boredom.

The test of this human incarnation is the pictorial quality so rich in these poems. You can see the hero each time. The "Man with the Hoe" is taken from a painting; that radiant light about the Angel and Abou Ben Adhem has invited a succession of paintings, and that "Seamstress of the Shirt" is as breathing as Rembrandt's "Old Woman Paring Her Nails." Be concrete; avoid generalizations and wishy-washy symbolism. Be poetical, but not mystic.

The beauty and effectiveness of the language is, of course, personal and quite inimitable. That is native gift, not acquired. All I can say is, if you have any native gift, reading and writing will sharpen and perfect your style. Don't imitate. Write like yourself and you will succeed just to the margin of your inborn talent, and no discipline will carry you a jot beyond. Then be satisfied and avoid yielding to futile discontent because you feel so many things you cannot put into words. So do all of us, including Shakespeare. Most of the real in life cannot be put into words. Use words to carry you just as far as words will in expressing yourself. You have nothing else to express; to attempt more is the beginning of fakery. You may master certain external techniques of style, but nobody will believe you. You recall Buffon summed it up: *Le style est de l'homme*. The style is born in the man.

That puts a premium on personality at once. The ones who have the most interesting insides will have the most interesting outsides. No one can write and make people read (and act) without an irreducible minimum of personality. Compare those three poems; each is saying somewhat the same thing, but how differently the light comes through their prisms! Tom Hood saw the real: band and gusset and seam. Leigh Hunt is daintier and more withdrawn, using allegory. Markham has an epic grandeur just saved from magniloquence by his burning passion. All good writing is done by persons, not people. And I imagine the defects of much of our routine writing on social themes is that we cannot afford to buy personalities. One of my few practical suggestions is that we try to enlist personalities to help; you can teach them what to say. That's all you can do, save put more of yourself into your writing, whether or not you are paid enough.

The two final and essential qualities are passion and sincerity. Those poems burn with love and hatred. They were not written to order; they burned their way through a soul. Humanitarian zeal is not enough, or good will, or technical knowledge. They are prerequisites. But beyond must come emotion and faith and a profound desire to tell the truth. I do not know how you can acquire those urges. But I do know that much of our inadequate writing comes from doing routine things in which we are not passionately interested. The publicity writer has to write for ulterior motives: to put the drive across, to avoid awaking prejudices, to satisfy boards and newspaper standards. Passion is choked by repetition and expediency. Moreover, there are too many doubts in our minds. Have we got the answer? Will this do any good? Can we change greed and lust and human nature? The evil can be remedied only by long and slow processes of education. Why get excited about that? This state of mind means insincerity and lukewarm writing. Until there is reborn in us some sense of crusading and some unquenchable faith in the next vision and the duty of wrath, we shall write dull stuff.

Now let us turn to social writing in this country in the modern sense. We discovered that emotion and good will were not enough. There had to be facts, long vision, plans, and the understanding of the pitfalls of sentimental panaceas. We can begin with Jacob Riis, great reporter. In 1892, in his *Children of the Poor*, he writes, "Ours is an age of facts. It wants facts, not theories." The reporter's gift is observation, seeing things, and I quote a paragraph that you must admit is a lesson in observation.

It is always the top floor; in fifteen years of active service as a police reporter I have had to climb to the top floor five times for every one my business was farther down, irrespective of where the tenement was or what kind of people lived in it. Crime, suicide, and police business generally seem to bear the same relation to the stairs in a tenement that they bear to poverty itself. The more stairs the more trouble. The deepest poverty is at home in the attic.

That is not fancy writing, but it is wise and confronts the facts. Riis is equally penetrant, and often moving in his tales of people. He will tell you how to get your case work stories so true to fact that they carry home.

Twenty years later we had enough facts; the reporters and the muckrakers had seen to that. We began to perceive the causes, and to create new institutions and ways of reaching at the causes. We needed the help of wise interpretation and statesmanlike leadership. It came, and in the dress of pure and moving English that delights the ear just as it enlightens the heart. I let you guess who wrote like this in 1912:

It is strange that we are so slow to learn that no one can safely live without companionship and affection; that the individual who tries the hazardous experiment of going without at least one of these is prone to be swamped by a black mood from within. It is as if we had to build little islands of affection in the vast sea of impersonal forces lest we be overwhelmed by them. Yet we know that in every large city there are hundreds of men whose business it is to discover girls thus hard pressed by loneliness and despair, to urge upon them the old excuse, "No one cares what you do"; to fill them with cheap cynicism concerning the value of virtue; all to the end that a business profit may be secured.

Has not the human sympathy here been merged into limpid wells of English undefiled? Do you get the same thrill of craft that I do out of the exactness and simplicity of wording and lovely sound in "to discover girls thus hard pressed by loneliness and despair"? I wonder whether we have given Jane Addams credit for her prose along with all her other gifts! Here is something that sounds like Sir Thomas Brown or Milton:

In that vast and checkered undertaking of its own moralization to which the human race is committed, it must constantly free itself from the survivals and savage infections of the primitive life from which it started. Now one and then another of the ancient wrongs and uncouth customs which have been so long familiar as to seem inevitable rise to the moral consciousness of a passing generation, first for uneasy contemplation and then for gallant correction.

I regret to say I do not think we write that way today. Compare that noble strain with this, from an article with the title "The Social Case Worker's Attitudes and Problems as They Affect Her Work." These titles of ours are uncouth customs that need gallant correction. Miss Addams called her book *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*. This is from the 1926 Conference *Proceedings*:

Personality is the case worker's stock in trade. The personal element which she introduces into her contacts is essential for the development of the rapport that must be established if she is to gain a real understanding of the client's problem and work out with him a new orientation. The interplay of her personality and of her client's forms the medium of her work and sets in process the case work process of disintegrating the present situation for the purpose of reintegrating it on a new and better level. Her entrance into the case precipitates this process, and because she herself becomes a part of the experiment she cannot deal with her clients as laboratory material, and must take into account her own reactions as part of the total reaction that requires constant testing.

God pity the poor case worker on a night like that! Psychiatry has certainly

claimed her victims. That has all the hateful wornout slang. You recall F.P.A.'s quatrain

I hate Bill Sykes  
Who in the *Nation*  
Uses words like  
Orientation!

It will not do to say this was written for technicians and is very precise. You read it and your brain gets numb. Moreover the subject should be sparkling with joy and wit; it's about the human side of the case worker herself. I tried to "reintegrate" the paragraph on a new and better level, and was delighted to find that it meant that when you are helping human beings it is wise to recall you are a human being, too, and act like one. I simply add, Why not write like one? This is not a horrible example; it is a type! I went through the book and got a dozen specimens. Indeed, most of the book is written in some overintellectualized, introspective mathematical wording that chills and leaves me out of "rapport."

Indeed, most of our writing falls into two classes: the technical, erudite, monograph style, utterly careless of audience, color, or warmth; and the pure "journallese" of much of the go-getter publicity. That is not necessary: you can be precise and accurate, and yet be comprehensible. Indeed, if you are not comprehensible probably you are wrong. Moreover you can be popular and readable without being cheap or jazzy. At all events I urge you to forget most of the purely technical writing in social work literature of the moment as a guide to style.

But to show that you can write charmingly and yet in the modern vein, I shall quote from the two present authors who have a literary technique for making human cases interesting. This is the best we offer today. Miriam Van Waters wrote *Youth in Conflict*, and it became almost a best seller: some 18,000 copies to date. Well, she had a good theme; but she also has a fine style. For example:

To the maladjusted child in the family group, life is an anxiety; it dwells under a nameless shadow of fear, often with a sense of guilt and inferiority. It is forced into the domestic arena, sometimes a participant, sometimes as silent spectator, condemned to lose no matter which partner wins. Adults often imagine that in domestic strife the only damage done the child is neglect, or temporary suffering, if it be deprived of a mother's physical care, or the bread-winning capacity of the father. But the damage is more extensive and may permanently destroy the child's mental health. No amount of "patching it up" or "returning to live together for the sake of the child" can restore the child if there is an undercurrent of hostility, suspicion, and dislike between the parents. For little children are not so much influenced by words and actions of adults as by attitudes (p. 72).

And here is a case picture that shows Miss Van Waters's gift at exposing the inner springs of action. Note how she (and the next author) constantly put their meaning into homely phrases that tell tales out of school.

Genevieve, aged nine, is the daughter of a mild-mannered father who likes to move from place to place, even if his family must spend much time in automobile camps. The mother, aged about forty, is lonesome, nervous; she is "homesick" for Kansas; "her age is telling on her." She lacks moral energy to complain to the father; secretly she takes revenge by all manner of whims, artifices, and "illnesses" which keep the household in a turmoil. Genevieve is her confidante. . . . She did cooking, washing, and nursing for the family. She heard endless complaint about her father, and bore the full burden of the mother's domestic life and detailed misinformation of "female-troubles." Genevieve is a normal child mentally (I. Q., 107 per cent). Cheerfully she "helped" her mother. The outward symptoms of her distress were persistent bedwetting, a slight speech defect, and stealing.

Well now, don't you know that family! I think we might even help them. That mother with "her age telling on her" and her "illness." That is real psychology and great characterization in miniature. The best thing was that the I.Q. was slipped in as a parenthesis. Important, but not the main drama.

The character of this best writing we moderns do is shown here. It is frank; it is simple; it is fair. The writer is no judge, but really defends everybody. There is no artificial plot. These tales don't end, which is what every good case worker knows. There is less obvious emotion, and far more humor. But I believe we will be as much moved by the pathos of Genevieve's situation as by Eliza's. Tragedy need not wear a horrid mask. There is penetration into backgrounds and foibles. There is an extraordinary sense of common talk. They use the vocabulary of the street and the wise cracks and platitudes of folks. How people talk often reveals what is the matter with them. Observation, humor, sympathy against a technical experience: that sums it up. Note these gifts in this glimpse of people from Eleanor Wembridge's *Other Peoples Daughters*.

Of course, the great trouble with Gertrude was that she didn't start right. Her father, at the first hint of her arrival, had run away as fast as he could; and, while her mother could not do the same, it was not because she would not have been glad to. Although Gertrude was sixteen when we first met her, her mother was still blaming her for being born. "Gosh, that woman can't forget it," said Gertrude with disgust. "I don't suppose she *did* want me. But a kid can't help being born—as I see it." Which reflection seemed as just as was her further remark: "It seems to me it was as much her fault as mine." . . . Goodness, badness, marriage or the lack of it, this fellow or that, truancy from one school, and raids in another hotel—all made up one muddle of experiences and escapades, from which one standard alone apparently emerged. Gertrude had decided that she wanted a home. . . . So the next time we saw Gertrude . . . interest in Gus was at its height. Gus was a fireman, which meant, of course, that he had a good pair of shoulders and a uniform. Such a combination is damaging to the peace of mind of any girl of sixteen; but to Gertrude it was fatal. A city employee in uniform who dashed through the streets on a red truck and told tales of hairbreadth escapes from burning buildings—such was Gus, and he played his Othello to her Desdemona, pleased enough to have so breathless an audience. As for Gertrude, her head was completely turned and her heart melted within her. We could not share her enthusiasm over Gus. Shoulders he undoubtedly had. But his face was like a weasel, and his eyes were shifty. However, it was apparent that Gertrude needed a home more than ever, and since Gus seemed, in his unmannerly fashion, willing to furnish



it, there was nothing to do but help them settle. Again Gertrude's china-blue eyes gazed into ours with a frankness that seemed almost unearthly. "Gus always said he would marry me if he had to, and now he has got to, and so he says he will." On this chivalrous basis Gus and Gertrude went to the City Hall. There could be no church wedding, for Gus was a Catholic and Gertrude for some reason decided that she was a Protestant. We could not discover why she thought so, until she said, cheerfully: "They say if you are a Catholic you go to church, and I don't go, so I must be a Protestant—and I won't turn Catholic for any mutt."

Now, of course, nobody has been deceived by my excursions. You knew, and I knew the moment I asked the question, what English words are at the base of all social work. Everything else is but a flower on this stem. But before I read those words, may I ask: Do you know the words that established the science of social work? I think they are the second most momentous utterance in the progress of human betterment. May I draw your attention for a moment to the neglected intellectual father of this profession and suggest how you can make interesting the style of your technical English? These sentences have done, and will do, more to change our lives and thought than most in history:

1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.
2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase.
3. The checks which repress the superior power of population and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence are all resolvable into moral restraints, vice, and misery.

. . . . Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated all unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, the evils of great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine.

That is the Magna Carta of all social science in the nineteenth century. I wonder how many of you know the name of the quiet English gentleman who wrote that—the Prometheus who snatched down the fire of our faith? In those ninety-three words is the source of all our questionnaires and all our statisticians—if that be any recommendation! I have quoted from *An Essay on Population*, published in 1798 by Dr. John Malthus. Now, Why do I think those words so important?

Dr. Malthus was a clergyman who got in a quarrel with his father and tried to prove to the old gentleman that the race was *not* perfectible. He started off from the fact that the poor relief laws never caught up with poverty. I noted that one conference this week was devoted to poor relief laws, so I guess they haven't caught up yet. Along came Charles Darwin, and he simply could not face that terrible Malthusian doctrine (you can judge of its importance, since it has won the august title of "doctrine"). He got to speculating on what it was that enabled some to survive while others went under in this struggle of population against subsistence; and you know what came out of that: nothing less than the Scopes trial, and behind that the whole idea of evolution.

Darwin's whole study was really an almost fanatic crusade to prove that somehow the race *is* perfectible, and has been evolving.

Look at his list of what kills the surplus people. It names half the divisions of this Conference. "All unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons"—that's industry with occupational diseases and eight-hour day plans. "Extreme poverty"—that's family case work. "The bad nursing of children"—that's all child welfare work and infant mortality studies. "The evils of great towns," against which we battle with community organization and city plans. "Excesses of all kinds"; we had a meeting Sunday on prohibition, and we have a division called Social Hygiene. "The whole train of common diseases and epidemics"—simple language for the enemies fought by preventive medicine, the Rockefeller campaigns, *et al.* "Wars," against which we have pacifism and the League of Nations. The vast problems of the development of natural resources and their conservation, and of immigration, are corollaries of Dr. Malthus' question. And finally, after struggling with the fecundity of the race for one hundred years we think we have found the answer to Malthus in eugenics. All modern eugenics descended from Malthus. I defy you to find any problem in the science of modern society as a physical concern that does not stem from that obscure English clergyman. He did not have to "ask us another." He asked 'em all at once. In the Pantheon of the famous for all time in social progress the name of Malthus is graved on the tablet to the right of the center.

But you ask: Did his style do this? I think his style did, in the largest sense, and I ask those of you whose bent and duty call for writing on the science side of social work (as against the human or emotional side) to note the gifts of Malthus with words. He was sincere; he did not dodge, nor cover up fate with a veil of words. He faced God and nature and thought things through until he could say them clearly. He was driven by a great human seeking, not by any curious and vain desire to shine in intellectual formulas. He tackled the greatest social problem and made it clear as spring water; a child can grasp his doctrine. His words are simple, but weighted with meaning. He is not like some of our modern writers on social science who so obfuscate their few thin ideas that you cannot tell what they mean, so generally and righteously conclude they mean little. I hope I am not odious if I ask you to compare Malthus with Edouard Lindeman, Mary Follette, even John Dewey, and Count Herman Keyserling. Great ideas are not voiced in obscure and tortuous jargon. Nobody was ever helped by something he did not understand, often for the excellent reason that he stopped reading. Nature *is* grand, grand enough to be clear and simple. You note, too, Malthus is not ignorant of the passion of style. He writes: "... The evils of great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine." Here is the cadence of the true stylist, the noble ascension to the climax in both words and magnificence of idea. Such English has only one source, so I recom-

mend to such of you as have to write on dull and difficult subjects—annual reports or the incidence of morbidity in the registration area—that you read often in the prayer book and the Psalms of David.

I thank you for the patience with which you have let me answer my question. The writings that have inspired by far most of all social work, you all know. They are in a little volume on love and charity and brotherhood written by certain fishermen and artisans. It is rich in passages that compete with each other for a place on the central tablet, but this perhaps deserves the palm:

But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed came where he was and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor to him that fell among thieves? And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

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### INDIVIDUALIZING THE GROUP APPROACH

*Paul L. Benjamin, General Secretary, Family Service Organization, Louisville*

Since the title of my talk violates the principles of simplicity, I shall call it "How to Tell It to Sweeney."

The social case worker dealing with John Smith and his family and endeavoring to help them along the path to normal living, and the secretary of a community chest who is trying to persuade the central labor assembly to indorse the chest campaign, are both concerned with influencing human behavior. They are both using special skills. However, the case worker, beginning with *Social Diagnosis* and continuing through the rich literature which has been written during the past ten years, has at hand a readier kit of tools than has the chest secretary, faced with his skeptical labor audience. The special skills of case work have been so separated and analyzed that they can be passed on successfully to an apt pupil. We have not as yet shredded out those skills which make it possible for one chest secretary to secure the indorsement of the plumbers and butchers in the labor assembly while a second one is given thumbs down.

To be sure, there is a growing literature dealing with the science of human behavior, with group action, with group thinking, and the organization and direction of groups in community life. Such books as John Dewey's *Human Nature and Conduct*, Graham Wallas' *Our Social Heritage*, Joseph K. Hart's *The Discovery of Intelligence* map the seas. But I know of no book comparable to *Social Diagnosis*, which provides compass and chart, which a chest executive who has successfully secured desired action from a group can hand to a novice and say, "There, that gives an idea how it is done." It is evident,

therefore, that this subject awaits the master hand of another Mary E. Richmond.

We have, then, the common objective of influencing behavior toward a desired end. From this starting point I propose to discuss some of the differences and similarities in these skills. In individualizing the group, I believe we must recast many of our ideas about the methods of approach and the principles involved. Most of us have had the distressing experience of having some pet project go agley. Perhaps our city hospital has been so cramped for space that sick people have been turned away; the congested district of small wage earners has not properly supervised playgrounds; the loan shark has worried his victims beyond endurance. Our proposal to correct the situation has been carefully thought through; it has been tested by the experience of other cities; we know it is good; but something slips a cog and the project tears itself to splinters.

In his *Discovery of Intelligence*, Joseph K. Hart is concerned with the question why history is a long tragedy of unrealized ends. "Why is this true?" he asks. He replies:

Mainly because men have learned very slowly that aims do not get themselves enacted with reality through their overintrinsic values, or through the pious hopes of their advocates. Evolutionary doctrine has developed the concept of mechanism as a clue to understanding and control in nature. That conception seems at first glance to be particularly hostile to ideals. It is rather the real hope of the attainment of our human ideals. It has taught us that our ideals are not happy accidents or the result of pious hopes; they are rather the actualization of our programs, and these programs can be achieved because a mechanistic world can be depended upon.

Ideals, programs, social projects are not self realized. They demand sweat and brain fag—aye, more, a knowledge of the way people act, individually and in groups, why they act as they do, and how to influence their actions and behavior.

What are some of the reasons our aims are not realized? We forget that education is a social process. We are learning more and more that the experience of the individual gropes back into the accumulated experience of the race. Our folkways tend to shape our lives. A girl from a provincial community who worked for us was certain that corn would not grow if it were not planted in the full of the moon. And she was equally sure that the right gifted person could find water with a forked stick. As individuals, you and I are not so very separate from the members of our group. Their thinking sways ours. Further, much of the education which directs our conduct has come, not from formal instruction, but from some vibrant, living, concrete experience that has struck into our very vitals. Think quickly back over the years and you will recall some vivid experience which has added a new pigment to the color of your personality; this is true of the child who has learned something with his fingers,

planting his own garden, handling his own saw, molding a crude elephant out of clay. When, then, our approach to the individuals of a group violates these facts, we only know that they have stiffened their backs in obstinate opposition. We need, then, an approach in terms of their own experience.

In the second place, people need to assimilate a proposal for themselves. Again, we have had the experience, through clever manipulation, of having a group indorse a project to build a hospital, to establish a family society, or to favor foster care for children. A few days later things begin to happen. Unexpected opposition develops. "But," you exclaim, in buttonholing John Smith, "you voted for it, man." "I know I did," he replies, but. . . ." This means deliberate, purposeful action, inching along if necessary. We are too often young men in a hurry. We perceive a need. Immediately, by some legerdemain we try to pull a solution out of the magician's hat—hocuspocus, now you see the rabbit, now you don't.

It is the mistake which the beginning case worker and the new community worker share in common. The case worker is moved deeply by some wrong, or a beautiful plan pops into her mind, fullblown. Then comes the case question of the supervisor: "Does the family want this plan? Did you consult the relatives? Does the previous employer think that the man can do that kind of work? Has the mother recovered sufficiently from her illness to make the trip? What future will John have if you place him in a dead end job now?" Case workers have been learning painfully to individualize the members of a group. When that is done, haste gives way to deliberate, controlled action.

In the third place, we have a fear of conflict. I recall vividly the consternation of a chest executive when his well laid plans for putting through a certain project went astray. The project was a good one; no doubt of that. He had seen a few of those concerned; not all; then he relied upon the intrinsic merit of the proposal, plus pressure, to put it through. Objections were voiced. Pressure was applied still harder. Then the cry was raised against those in opposition: "Troublemakers!"

There must be accommodation between points of view. Conflict in itself is not an ill. It does take foresight, knowledge, and courage to let conflict shake its gory locks in the midst of a discussion from which you expect a definite outcome. We have come to believe that one sector of a group involved in a conflict must down the other. The *Inquiry* has probably gone further in studying this question of conflicts than any other organization. Bruno Lasker, a member of its staff, states that the maxim, "We must understand our differences and appreciate our different ideals," has taken the place of the maxim of the practical reformer, "We must forget our differences and work for our common ideals." Out of conflict, then, between the individuals of a group may come a rich, new thing, something which is not the result of one group riding

roughshod over another, or of makeshift compromise, but something shot through with the ideas and the ideals of the conflicting members of the group.

In the fourth place, we cannot make a special approach to an individual or a group unless we know something about those individuals. Rowland Haynes has pointed out at this Conference the wide range of environmental and cultural factors that play upon the individual and help to sway his responses. Racial differences, distribution of income, isolation, the brain level of the community—all have their influence. Among one racial group in Chicago divorce and desertion are rare; in another, they are common. Any approach, then, which aims to be distinct and individual must take into count individual differences. We must know something about the kind of sensations and ideas to which particular groups respond.

With those observations as a drop curtain, how can we make an individual approach to a specific group, meeting together? Suppose we take a concrete instance. Kentucky has no mothers' aid law. There is a considerable stirring of interest in the state on the subject. With this as the topic, how may we approach a labor union, a Rotary club, or a church group in order to win their individual support? Although as different groups they must be approached differently, there are certain common principles for each which need to guide us: first, know as completely as possible the make up of the group, its interests and its responses; second, endeavor to make each member of the group believe that your message is intended primarily for him and is of personal concern to him. (I did this once quite effectively with a Rotary club before which I was discussing the subject of tuberculosis. A boy with the disease had been awaiting admittance to the county sanatorium. He disappeared. Finally I received a letter from him postmarked from a city in which International Rotary was meeting. He wrote that he was working in the kitchen of the principal hotel. That incident made tuberculosis a personal matter to each Rotarian in my audience.) Third, present material in terms and in an order which will fit into his way of looking at things. Fourth, How do your conclusions have significance in his own life? Do they touch his nerve centers in any way? Fifth, humanize your material; sixth, make it possible for him, himself, to arrive at some decision. It must be his own cerebral process. With these principles in mind, how shall we present mothers' aid to a labor union, a Rotary club, and a church group?

What kind of a union is it? Locomotive engineers or manicurists? Boiler-makers or lady barbers? What is the place of unionism in the community? Are its members native born or of foreign extraction? What is their wage scale? Is the leadership intelligent? Further, a labor union is interested primarily in standards of living, wages, recreation. It is moved by certain specters, such as sickness, old age, and unemployment. Every member of the union will recall the death of some fellow worker and the disaster which fell to his widow and children. An apt illustration or two will pluck at the vitals of every



man present. Picture with him Bill Moore crushed beneath the machine and the family left destitute. The principle of mothers' aid is immediately identified with his own interests. He moves rapidly to a decision.

Next is the Rotary club. Rotary is built up on the classification basis. Starting with your own classification, you can identify yourself with the group and its interests. Then come the changes which have taken place in business, commerce, manufacturing, the new ways of dealing with employees, the changed attitude of business men toward their community. A part of this more humane attitude is the modern way of dealing with the dependent mother and her children. Then, too, the broken family is a disorganizing element, while the united, happy family builds a better community.

For the church group the appeal can be based primarily on the place which ethics has in religion. Associated with this is the humanitarian appeal of mothers' assistance.

For all of these groups, however, the appeal must be a human one, phrased in simple language. Reread the parables in the New Testament. "A sower went forth to sow." Jesus did not talk about integration, fixation, the content of psychiatric case work, individualizing the group approach. To the shepherd he spoke of sheep; to the tiller of the soil, of the mustard seed; to the fisherman, of the net and haul of fish. Our technical shorthand is so much gibberish, jargon, blah blah. Our object is not to show how much we know but to stimulate action. Too often we are like the saying: "You can tell a Harvard man but you can't tell him much." I recognize that the pressure of events has driven us into specialization, with an interest in the cogwheel aspects of our jobs. So, as Beard has pointed out, "the living organism of human society as a subject of inquiry has been torn apart and parceled out among the specialists." A certain community chest executive was asked to speak to a group about twenty miles from a large city. He took with him a stereopticon lecture on the historical basis of social work. For an hour and a half he discoursed on the religious merit of almsgiving and similar topics. At this time a certain agency was placing children in the homes of the farmers in this county, with practically no attempt to fit the child to the house. This problem, of keen interest to those present, he did not discuss.

But we can't individualize the members of a large group without getting hold of those who comprise it. E. C. Lindeman made a study of 700 community projects in order to arrive at an understanding of the steps involved. He states that this study did not reveal that the ultimate success of a project is affected by the manner in which the consciousness of need originates. "The manner in which the project proceeds is the important thing." Further, he declares, "If the need becomes conscious in the mind of a recognized leader of ample experience in the given community, it usually follows that the right method of spreading this consciousness is utilized." Although I am not in en-

tire agreement with Mr. Lindeman that the right method will follow the right leader, yet he has stressed a necessary step in winning groups, namely, winning the leadership of the group. For example, in a certain city the whole question of adequate funds for the family agency was acute. The city had no public outdoor relief. An outstanding civic leader, the key man in the situation, was completely won over to the idea that there should be assistance from public taxation. That idea blotted out other implications. He insisted, therefore, that the family agency accept a subsidy from the city. Leadership is essential, but we must go farther.

J. Prentice Murphy, of Philadelphia, writes me:

A program of group education must stretch over a long period. I am hoping that this winter will see a thoroughgoing interplay between social workers and Protestant churches in Philadelphia. The plan in my mind calls for a general council or committee made up of clergymen and laymen representing the churches and social workers and board members representing the social welfare agencies, the work for the first winter under the direction of this committee to be centered in an interpretation of the most outstanding social welfare needs of Philadelphia. A speakers' bureau, able to command the services of seventy-five to one hundred men and women who know the social welfare situation in the city is to provide speakers for a picked list of churches. In each instance the minister of the church and some influential members of the congregation are to be called upon to prepare the way for the speaker or speakers who will appear in their church. For example: there is a feeling on the part of the Juvenile Court that the Protestant churches of Philadelphia do nothing for Protestant children. An examination of the facts shows this to be incorrect. It also shows that the Protestant community contributes very largely to the social welfare work which is being done for Roman Catholic families and children and for many Jewish people. The criticisms emanating from the court came to the attention of many Protestant church people. In order that the real situation may be revealed, it is necessary that the whole program of child welfare in Philadelphia, involving the part which the Juvenile Court plays in the scheme, be discussed. There is not a more thrilling subject to take up with a Philadelphia audience than this subject. The net effect, if the plan is well carried out, should be the development of a thoroughgoing understanding of one phase of Philadelphia social welfare needs, and this cannot but lead to a more effective check of bad methods of work wherever they are expressed.

The case work movement itself early recognized the need for securing group interest. Very early the London Charity Organisation Society started district committees in different sections of the city "to organise the varied local efforts being made to help the poor. This was to be done largely through the district committee serving as a clearing house for the charity work of each district."

Miss Mary Brisley, while working at Madison, Wisconsin, became struck with the number of families of the same name in their files. On brown wrapping paper she crudely charted groups in which certain problems, such as feeble-mindedness, occurred most frequently. Most of the work was done at night; she searched old public records; she visited an ancient graveyard. "The original starter of the family in Wisconsin had come from Kentucky with the railroad, working as a laborer." Later he sent for his wife and family. Miss

Brisley made her chart. She pasted together some of the biggest sheets of white paper she could find. Symbols were drawn around children's blocks. She used bright red for immorality, black for feeble-mindedness. The effect hit you in the eye. This chart was hung on the wall at the annual meeting. People became so interested that at ten o'clock the janitor finally put them out. The group appointed a committee of prominent citizens to appear before the appropriations committee of the state legislature to back up a bill for increased funds for the care of the feeble-minded. The charts were used with the legislative committee. The funds were secured.

But after we have learned how to "tell it to Sweeney," what are we going to do about it? Are we going simply to join the caravan of propagandists? We are in an age of propaganda; indeed, "anything is true if you give it propaganda enough." Every cause is writing its cult, its creed, in flaming headlines in the public square. I have heard of two towns recently. One has the slogan, "The biggest town of its size in the world." The other has a huge sign, "The smallest town in the world having a Rotary Club."

No matter if we meanwhile surrender every value for which we stand, we must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side. For only with the majority with us, whoever we are, can we live. It is numbers, not values, that count—quantity, not quality. Everybody must "moral crusade" "agitate" "press agent" "play politics"; the tendency is to smother all that is unique, rare, delicate, secret.

It is here that I quarrel with my associates. We have become lost in the gluey fog of method, of technique, of integration, of contacts. I recall Leon Whipple's rhyme:

I hate Bill Sykes  
Who in the *Nation*  
Uses words like  
Orientation.

As social workers we are interested in "selling" the things we are doing to the public. We try to sweeten the pellet, but the public chokes and gulps hard. Sometimes in our unction we trip ourselves, as the speaker who wished to describe the two sweet-faced sisters in charge of the institution, and spoke of the sweet two-faced sisters.

As publicity workers we have little conception of how to approach groups, or why. Too often the publicity man thinks that case workers are meant to furnish merely the copy, which they rewrite with a saccharine pen. But your case worker, as I said earlier, talks in a monkey language that only the initiated can understand. What city in its educational work has clearly and co-gently thought out a plan of approaching a specific group, a plan with a record as the plan of a family visitor is in record form, with careful investigation of the facts, diagnosis, a plan, and the putting into force that plan or treatment? I am familiar with community case studies. This is somewhat different. It involves the record over a period of years of the dealing with an individual group,

such as a parent-teacher association. Thus a new publicity secretary could pick up the thread of the story and carry it forward.

In conclusion, therefore, I believe we need a new leadership, trained and skilled, in whom the sap runs strong: men and women with brain cells so polarized that they respond to the impinging of new ideas. We need a new, invigorated statesmanship:

To see what others do not see  
To see before they see  
And to see farther than they see.

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### THE CASE WORKER AS AN INTERPRETER OF CASE WORK

*Marie Dresden, District Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Milwaukee*

I suppose that one of the simplest and most common ways of interpreting case work by the case work method is through the personnel of the advisory or district case committee. In the event of a new committee, particularly in a new district, these members will be chosen so as to give the staff not only the maximum good advice, but to interpret, as well, the methods and philosophy of case work where that interpretation seems to be most needed and of most value. This element of choice in the personnel of the publicity agents is an extremely important and valuable point in any endeavor on the part of the professional staff to interpret itself to the public. An employer or business man whose headquarters and interests are within the district is very often invited to become a member of the committee; his membership is solicited because his interests are located within the district, and thus he can be of help in many of the problems arising in the treatment of the family, and because the agency wishes him to become familiar with case work methods. How far this interpretation by case work method in an advisory committee is carried rests mainly upon the superintendent, although the visitor making the presentation shares in the responsibility: first, in enlisting this interest; second, in utilizing it; and third, in stimulating its expansion. The process is comparable, perhaps, to that of creative writing: first, the period of inspiration; second, that of nurture; and third, that of application and expansion.

Mr. D is an instance of this: he is an active participator in this city in a good many commercial enterprises and organizations of business men. He is an entirely "self made man," and the story of his life and success in the financial world is parallel to all the movie and American magazine stories of American self made men. His personality is characterized by a very great sympathy for women and children and a very decided feeling that there is no reason why any man cannot be self supporting and successful. He was invited to become a member of the district advisory committee shortly after becoming a member

of the finance committee of the agency. He had expressed a wish to be identified with the charity organizations of the city, and had volunteered the statement to several of his friends that he knew nothing about social work, but would like to learn. In planning material to be presented to the advisory committee the district secretary was very careful to present situations which might be called "incomplete"; that is, following any decision which the advisory committee might make, because of the nature of the case presented and the amount of work already done, the case needed to be returned to the committee once or twice again. The majority of these first decisions called for further investigation or one or two steps in treatment, a permanent plan depending upon the outcome of this work. Mr. D followed these with a good deal of interest, although he did not express his opinion. As the meetings went on, the various visitors directed specific questions to him concerning employment, handling of difficult interviews with men, advice concerning investment of money and property difficulties. In these things Mr. D felt at home and gave very valuable advice; and almost unconsciously, certainly without a plan, he began from time to time asking questions. The member of the staff who was presenting the case, or the district secretary, always took a great deal of time and patience with these suggestions, and several times talked with him after the meeting at greater length than was possible during the group discussion. Several times he asked questions concerning situations which had been previously reviewed, and on several occasions volunteered to go into the matter of property and employment in detail himself, thus relieving the visitor of that particular phase of the treatment. It is difficult to trace by specific instances his growth in the knowledge of case work methods and the philosophy behind them, but at the end of two years' service on this committee that growth is perfectly obvious in every discussion in which he takes a part. His regular attendance at the meetings, his interest as evinced by questions and voluntary suggestions that he perform a certain service, all point to this. Seemingly he no longer questions the value of case work, and he is always on the alert to defend the agency at any time. He never misses an opportunity to perform any public service for the family in question or for the district office, and from reports of his friends and business associates is a source of a good deal of information about the family agency, its work and problems, in his relationships.

Then there are the people who live in the community, it may be even within the district, who are members of churches and informal or voluntary associations, or professional people who become interested in a specific family situation and perhaps are the source of the reference to the agency. A great deal in the method of interpretation of case work by the case work method is done unconsciously by the visitor, who, as a part of the routine work, confers with or reports to the source of the application before or after visiting the family. Here the responsibility for the second and third steps in this process rest

almost entirely upon this visitor, and these parts of the process are of necessity conscious, carefully considered and planned; if she learns something of the cause of this personal interest, on the part of the source, in the family, and later the interests which the individual has in the wider phases of social and economic life, she can proceed to nurture, and later expand and utilize, these interests. If she can utilize this individual in such a way that he assumes a part of the responsibility for the treatment, investigation, or supervision in this specific matter, she can undoubtedly go on from there with the result that this individual becomes an active participator in some community project in the field of his particular interest.

A certain public grade school in the district is attended by children from a great many families living below the poverty line, children who are daily exposed to many vicious influences and who are physically very much neglected. During the past ten years the population of the district has changed from Slavic immigrants to Negro, and has become very congested. The school attendance officer's attention was usually called by the principal to the children who were absent because they had no shoes or because they were taking care of younger children while their mother worked, and the general method of procedure was to send the father of the family to the county department of outdoor relief to apply for shoes or supplies.

The visitor who worked in that district made it a point to go to see the principal of the school about every family with which the agency was active whose children attended the school. She talked always to the principal, telling him at great length something of the family history, the type of treatment which the agency was using, and the results, good and bad, of this treatment. One day he telephoned the district office and asked that a pair of shoes be sent to a home, as a certain child had been out of school three days and the father was out of work due to the seasonal unemployment in his industry. The visitor had been waiting for just such an opportunity, and she went immediately to the home and made, as quickly as possible, a fairly thorough investigation of the situation. She talked with the relatives, the school nurse, the children's hospital, the policeman on the beat, and returned to the principal the next morning with the résumé of the needs and problems, in addition to the need for shoes which she had found in that family in so short a time. The principal called into his office all the teachers who had had the children of this family in their rooms, and the matter was talked over with great thoroughness. The situation in the home seemed to be very serious, and a plan was embarked upon whereby the nurse, the attendance officer, and the visitor each assumed responsibility for certain duties, and the principal volunteered to stop in the home once or twice a week when passing in order to show the father and mother that he had a very real interest in the children and that he considered them worth taking care of. The situation in this particular instance worked out very happily. Although it



was serious, it was fairly simple; fortunately, the investigation was of the type which could be done fairly quickly. There have since been several other instances very much like it, with the result that this principal has enrolled for a course in principles of sociology which is now being given by the extension department of the state university in this city.

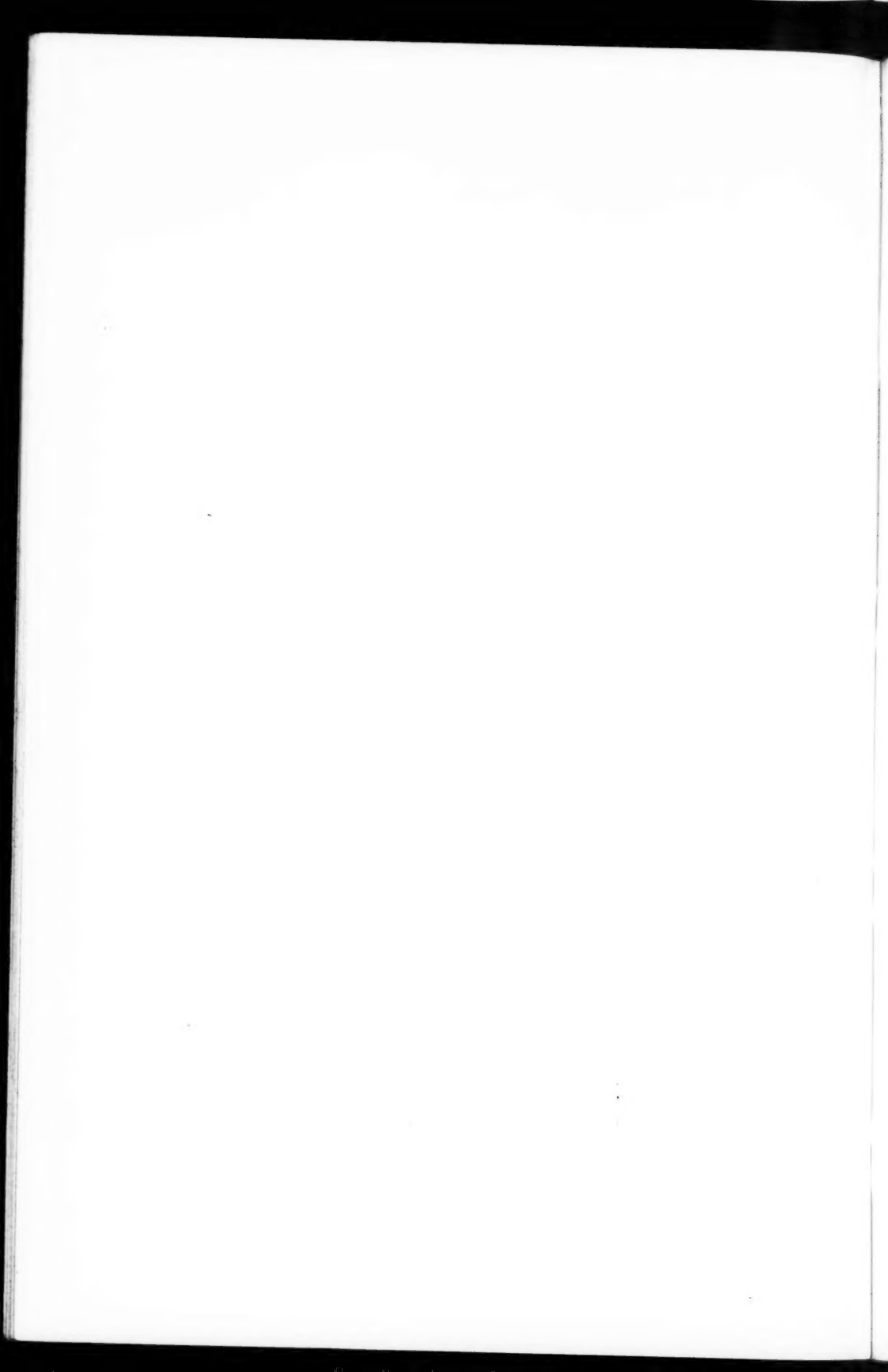
Mrs. S and her family live in the neighborhood of the district office and have lived there for a good many years. Mr. S is employed in a neighborhood factory as foreman. The children have attended public school and a neighborhood church. Mrs. S is quite active in the church parish and in the parent-teacher association of the nearby public school. She is a woman who has had few educational advantages, is narrow and conservative in her views, has very sound and practical common sense. The visitor in that district had considerable contact with her at Christmas time, and it was through her that the parent-teacher association worked out a scheme of providing some special Christmas dinners for families who were under the care of that visitor, the groceries being sent through the district office and as a part of the long-time treatment of those families. Since that time the visitor has called upon Mrs. S for assistance in a variety of situations. She has been able to help in making plans for several of the families, having assumed definite responsibility in the situations, and in turn has interpreted the attitude and philosophy behind the treatment to her group. The visitor feels that in utilizing these interests Mrs. S is becoming of increasing value to the neighborhood and community as well as to the family agency; and, of course, her own development in the line of social and economic thinking is marked.

Mrs. B is a woman of wealth and social position in the city. For years she has been on the boards of various agencies and a solicitor in the annual drive of the community fund. She said one day to a member of the district advisory committee that she was "sick and tired of answering criticisms at the time of the drive, and would like to know what all this business amounted to anyway." This advisory committee member talked the matter over with the district superintendent, and after a great deal of "bullying," as Mrs. B herself called it, she was persuaded to come to the district office and consented to do some friendly visiting. She was given as her first case a motherless family, a situation in which a great deal of successful case work had been done. An older girl was keeping house, the father, an extremely reliable man with good standards, was steadily employed; and there were three younger children in school. There was still some health work, recreational activities, and vocational guidance to be planned, and with a good many doubts and misgivings Mrs. B started out. She became extremely interested in the family, and when several of her well worked out health plans did not come to accomplishment, became even more interested. In her own words:

I don't think I am much of a visitor. Certainly they never do what I want them to do; they don't even want to do it, but I feel for the first time in some years that I can hardly wait for the drive to begin. Just let anyone criticize social work and its value or the wages paid to social workers to me! I'll tell them plenty, and if there is anything I can do to help you with my car or special money, even some visiting, if it is not too difficult, just call on me.

As a rule, before the visitor calls upon the person to whom she desires to interpret case work by the case work method the interest is there. It is fairly easy to utilize an interest which is pretty well centered and directed toward some specific cause. The actual case work method which is used with that individual begins when the first specific interest is carried over into a general interest. It is in the stages of nurture and application and expansion that the skill and effort of the case worker must be used: in transferring the specific interest to the general unlimited, time and patience are needed, and this, it seems to me, is the difficulty in using this method as a form of publicity. Such interpretation of case work is, of course, intensive rather than extensive; because of the amount of time and effort which it takes, is limited as to number, since the visitor and superintendent can take care of only a comparatively small number of these "volunteers," as I call them, in addition to their regular work. It follows, however, that each one of these individuals has a circle of acquaintances whom she in turn influences, and in this way not only the methods but the philosophy of case work are disseminated. Nevertheless many people who are interested in family situations and refer them to the agency are themselves professional workers, such as employment managers, nurses, etc., and so this method of interpretation is limited by its very form to the comparatively few non-professional people who, in a large city, refer to an agency.

We professional case workers, it seems to me, must remember that after all the paid professional workers come and go, but these individuals to whom we as case workers have interpreted case work and its philosophy by case work methods are, in the last analysis, not only the community fund, but the actual agency itself.



## C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



## C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

### PART 1

#### BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1927

##### OFFICERS

President, John A. Lapp, Chicago.  
First Vice-President, Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Boston; Third Vice-President, Eva W. White, Boston.  
Treasurer, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.  
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

##### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio: John A. Lapp, President; Sherman C. Kingsley, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1927—Edith Abbott, Chicago; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford. Term expiring 1928—Grace Abbott, Washington; Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Owen R. Lovejoy, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit. Term expiring 1929—Joanna C. Colcord, Minneapolis; Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia; William Hodson, New York; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; Jesse F. Steiner, Chapel Hill, N.C. Chairmen of Divisions—Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg; Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia; Marion G. Kenworthy, M.D., New York; George W. Kirchwey, New York; William M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Harrisburg; Mary Swain Routzahn, New York; William F. Snow, M.D., New York; Charles C. Stillman, Grand Rapids; Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.; Eva W. White, Boston.

##### COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

John A. Lapp, Chicago, Chairman; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington; Louise Cottrell, Iowa City; Maurice J. Karpf, New York; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

##### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

James F. Jackson, Cleveland, Chairman; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago.

##### COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Amelia Sears, Chicago, Chairman; Mary Clark Burnett, Pittsburgh; Jane Hoey, New York; Philip Klein, New York; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Stockton Raymond, Boston; E. G. Steger, St. Louis; Elmer Scott, Dallas.

##### COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Sherman Conrad, New Orleans, Chairman; Harriet Anderson, New York; Marguerite Boylan, Hartford; John R. Brown, St. Paul; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; T. J. Edmunds, Des Moines; E. G. Eklund, Springfield, Ill.; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Louisville; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Evadne M. Laptad, Lawrence, Kan.; Rose J. McHugh, Chicago; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; John Melpolder, Springfield, Mass.; Joseph L. Moss, Chicago; L. H. Putnam, Providence; Mary Russell, Memphis; L. H. Shattuck, Cleveland; Frances Taussig, New York; H. L. Lurie, Chicago.



COMMITTEE ON BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN (TO COOPERATE WITH  
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION)

Graham R. Taylor, New York, Chairman; Grace Abbott, Washington; Howard S. Braucher, New York; C. MacFie Campbell, M.D., Cambridge; J. M. Cooper, Washington; Jane F. Culbert, New York; Dorothea de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Thomas D. Eliot, Evanston; Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; William Hodson, New York; Frank J. O'Brien, Louisville; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; Henry W. Thurston, New York; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit. Also the chairmen of the Conference divisions particularly concerned with the behavior problems of children, as follows: Miss Elsa Ueland, Division I, Children; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Division II, Delinquents and Correction; and Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, Division VII, Mental Hygiene.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Margaret Curtis, Chairman, Boston; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Jane Addams, Chicago; Homer Folks, New York; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York; Mrs. Alexander Kohut, New York; Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell, Pittsburgh; Julia Lathrop, Rockford; Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley; Walter Pettit, New York; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; Dr. R. R. Reeder, Van Wert, Ohio; Mrs. L. Hollingsworth Wood, Mt. Kisco.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

*Chairman*, Elsa Ueland, Flourtown, Pa.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Laura Taft, Des Moines.  
*Secretary*, Joseph Kepecs, Chicago.

Marian Barney (1927).....Louisville  
Charles L. Chute (1928).....New York  
Jane F. Culbert (1929).....New York  
Marcus C. Fagg (1927).....Jacksonville, Fla.  
Leon W. Frost (1928).....Detroit  
Mrs. Adolf Gutmacher (1928).....Baltimore  
Charles F. Hall (1928).....St. Paul  
Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta  
Rev. C. H. LeBlond (1929).....Cleveland  
Emma O. Lundberg (1928).....New York  
Robert E. Mills (1928).....Toronto

Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1927).....Birmingham  
A. Percy Paget (1927).....Winnipeg  
R. R. Reeder (1927).....Van Wert, Ohio  
A. H. Stoneman (1929).....Detroit  
Ruth Taylor (1929).....East View, N.Y.  
Mrs. Minnie Trumbull (1927).....  
.....Portland, Ore.  
Elsa Ueland (1928).....Flourtown, Pa.  
Miriam Van Waters (1929).....Los Angeles  
Hans Weiss (1929).....Boston  
C. V. Williams (1927).....Chicago

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

*Chairman*, George W. Kirchwey, New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Jessie F. Binford, Chicago.  
*Secretary*, Hastings H. Hart, New York.

Edith Abbott (1929).....Chicago  
Harry E. Barnes (1928).....  
.....Northampton, Mass.  
Jessie F. Binford (1929).....Chicago  
Edward R. Cass (1927).....New York  
Emerson Coatsworth (1927).....Toronto  
Mrs. Martha P. Falconer (1927).....  
.....New York  
Bernard Glueck (1927).....New York  
Mrs. Maude Miner Haddon (1927).....  
.....New York  
Max Handman (1928).....Austin, Tex.  
Hastings H. Hart (1927).....New York

Mrs. Jessie Hodder (1929).....Framingham  
A. L. Jacoby (1929).....Detroit  
Maud Loeber (1927).....New Orleans  
Virginia Murray (1928).....New York  
Valeria H. Parker (1928).....New York  
Herbert C. Parsons (1927).....  
.....Chestnut Hill, Mass.  
Louis N. Robinson (1929).....Swarthmore  
Carrie Weaver Smith (1929).....  
.....Gainesville, Tex.  
Miriam Van Waters (1928).....Los Angeles  
Franklin R. Wilson (1929).....Muncy, Pa.

## DIVISION III—HEALTH

*Chairman*, William F. Snow, M.D., New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati.  
*Secretary*, Jessie I. Lummis, Denver.

- Severance Burrage, M.D. (1928).....Chicago  
 Homer M. Calver (1928).....New York  
 Hazel Corbin (1927).....New York  
 Louis I. Dublin (1927).....New York  
 Charles P. Emerson, M.D. (1929)  
     Indianapolis  
 Edith Foster (1928).....Milwaukee  
 W. J. French (1927).....Fargo  
 Howard W. Green (1928).....Cleveland  
 H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D. (1929).....Toledo  
 A. J. Lanza, M.D. (1928).....New York  
 Helen MacMurchy, M.D. (1928).....Ottawa  
 Mary E. Murphy (1928).....Chicago  
 M. P. Ravenel, M.D. (1928)  
     Columbia, Mo.  
 Elizabeth Smellie (1927).....Ottawa  
 Elnora E. Thomson (1928).....Salem, Ore.  
 Felix J. Underwood, M.D. (1927)  
     Jackson, Miss.  
 R. Ray Lyman Wilbur (1929)  
     Stanford, Cal.  
 C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1929)  
     New Haven  
 Rachelle S. Yarros, M.D. (1929).....Chicago

## DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

*Chairman*, Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg.

- Paul L. Benjamin (1929).....Louisville  
 W. S. Bixby (1927).....Akron  
 Elinor Blackman (1929).....New York  
 Mary F. Bogue (1928).....Harrisburg  
 Frank J. Bruno (1927).....St. Louis  
 Adaline A. Buffington (1929)  
     Madison, N.J.  
 Joanna C. Colcord (1927).....Minneapolis  
 Lucile K. Corbett (1929).....Columbus, Ohio  
 Elizabeth Dutcher (1929).....Brooklyn  
 Mary C. Goodwillie (1928).....Baltimore  
 Helen W. Hanchette (1927).....Cleveland  
 Joel D. Hunter (1928).....Chicago  
 Anna Kempshall (1928).....New York  
 Betsey Libbey (1927).....Philadelphia  
 H. L. Lurie (1928).....Chicago  
 Rose Porter (1928).....Pittsburgh  
 Amelia Sears (1929).....Chicago  
 Ella M. Weinfurther (1927).....Milwaukee

## DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

*Chairman*, William M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs, Ohio.  
*Vice-Chairman*, James Mullenbach, Chicago.  
*Secretary*, Charles S. Johnson, New York.

- John B. Andrews (1928).....New York  
 Mary Anderson (1929).....Washington  
 Roger Baldwin (1927).....New York  
 Edward I. Benson (1929).....Cleveland  
 Linna Bresette (1929).....Chicago  
 Robert Bruere (1929).....New York  
 Allen T. Burns (1928).....Chicago  
 Elizabeth Christman (1929).....Chicago  
 Paul H. Douglas (1929).....Chicago  
 Haven Emerson, M.D. (1927).....New York  
 John A. Fitch (1928).....New York  
 Gertrude Fletcher (1927).....Boston  
 Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1927).....Louisville  
 Sidney Hillman (1929).....New York  
 Charles S. Johnson (1929).....New York  
 Rev. F. Ernest Johnson (1929).....New York  
 Mrs. Florence Kelley (1927).....New York  
 Paul U. Kellogg (1928).....New York  
 George S. Lackland (1928).....Denver  
 John A. Lapp (1927).....Chicago  
 William M. Leiserson (1929)  
     Yellow Springs, Ohio  
 E. C. Lindeman (1927).....New York  
 Owen R. Lovejoy (1929)  
     St. Petersburg, Fla.  
 Robert E. Lucey (1928).....Los Angeles  
 James Mullenbach (1929).....Chicago

## DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

*Chairman*, Eva W. White, Boston.  
*Secretary*, Mary E. Gilbert, Cleveland.

- Jane Addams (1928).....Chicago  
 George A. Bellamy (1929).....Cleveland  
 LeRoy E. Bowman (1928).....New York  
 Mrs. Edith T. Bremer (1929).....New York  
 Margaret Chapman (1927).....Minneapolis  
 Charles C. Cooper (1929).....Pittsburgh  
 R. E. Hieronymus (1927).....Urbana, Ill.  
 Frances Ingram (1928).....Louisville  
 Paul U. Kellogg (1929).....New York  
 John A. Lapp (1927).....Chicago  
 E. C. Lindeman (1929).....New York  
 Mary E. McDowell (1929).....Chicago  
 J. H. Montgomery (1929).....Richmond  
 Jesse O. Thomas (1927).....Atlanta  
 Eva W. White (1927).....Boston  
 Aubrey Williams (1928).....Madison, Wis.

## DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

*Chairman*, Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., Cleveland.  
*Secretary*, Jeanette Regensburg, New York.

Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1927).....Minneapolis	David M. Levy, M.D. (1928)....Chicago
Dorothy Crounse (1929).....Louisville	Helen L. Myrick (1928).....Chicago
Kate A. Dinsmore (1929).....Dallas	George K. Pratt, M.D. (1928)..New York
Marie L. Donohoe (1928).....Boston	Bertha C. Reynolds (1928)
Mrs. W. F. Dummer (1929).....Chicago	Stoughton, Mass.
Franklin G. Ebaugh, M.D. (1928)..Denver	Esther Loring Richards, M.D. (1929)
George A. Hastings (1927).....New York	Baltimore
Clark E. Higbee (1927)....Grand Rapids	Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1927)
C. M. Hincks (1928).....Toronto	New York
Cornelia Hopkins (1927).....Chicago	Jessie Taft (1929).....Philadelphia
Mary C. Jarrett (1927).....Boston	Ralph P. Truitt, M.D. (1929)..New York
Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. (1927)	E. Koster Wickman (1928).....Cleveland
New York	

## DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

*Chairman*, Charles C. Stillman, Grand Rapids.  
*Secretary*, Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.

Mrs. E. T. Brigham (1928).....Kansas City	M. C. MacLean (1929).....Toronto
Kenyon L. Butterfield (1927)	W. F. Maxwell (1927).....Harrisburg
East Lansing, Mich.	Charles C. Stillman (1928)..Grand Rapids
Margaret F. Byington (1927)....Hartford	Kenneth Sturges (1928).....Cleveland
William Hodson (1929).....New York	Mabel Weed (1928).....San Francisco
Guy T. Justis (1928).....Denver	David Holbrook (1929).....New York
Robert W. Kelso (1927).....Boston	

## DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

*Chairman*, Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Harrisburg.  
*Vice-Chairman*, John L. Gillin, Madison, Wis.  
*Secretary*, William J. Ellis, Trenton.

Hugo B. Anderson (1927).....Salt Lake City	Rev. W. J. Kerby (1927).....Washington
Mrs. Amy S. Braden (1928)....Sacramento	Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta
Richard K. Conant (1929).....Boston	Frank E. Kimball (1929)....Jefferson City
Louise Cottrell (1929).....Iowa City	James S. Lakin (1928)....Charleston, W.Va.
Mrs. Elizabeth R. Forrest (1927)	James T. Mastin (1927).....Richmond
San Antonio	Ellen C. Potter, M.D. (1928)..Harrisburg
Lillian T. Franzen (1928)....Albuquerque	William J. Sayers (1928)....Muncie, Ind.
John L. Gillin (1928).....Madison, Wis.	H. H. Shirer (1929).....Columbus, Ohio
Charles H. Johnson (1928).....Albany	Gertrude Vaile (1927).....Denver
J. E. Jones (1928).....Toronto	George S. Wilson (1929)....Washington

## DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

*Chairman*, Mary E. McDowell, Chicago.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Cecilia Razovsky, New York.  
*Secretary*, Georgia Ely, Boston.

Harriet Anderson.....New York	Alice E. Jones.....Erie
Edith Abbott.....Chicago	Ida M. Keltner.....Cleveland
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....Chicago	Katherine Lawless.....Pittsburgh
Mrs. Edith T. Bremer.....New York	Read Lewis.....New York
Bradley Buell.....New Orleans	Grace Love.....San Francisco
Nicholas Ceglinsky.....New York	Louise McGuire.....Chicago
Thomas L. Cotton.....New York	Ruth Crawford Mitchell.....Pittsburgh
Elizabeth W. Clark.....New York	Mary B. Minnick.....Uhrichsville, Ohio
Fred C. Croxton.....Columbus, Ohio	Josephine Roche.....Denver
George Green.....Cleveland	Rabbi A. H. Silver.....Cleveland
Nellie Foster.....San Diego	Fanny L. Schulman.....Brooklyn
Max Handman.....Austin	Mary O'Donnell Turner.....Detroit
Winifred Hutchinson.....Toronto	

## DIVISION XI—PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

*Chairman*, Neva R. Deardorff, Philadelphia.*Vice-Chairman*, Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia.*Secretary*, Harry L. Lurie, Chicago.

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Philip Klein.....	New York
Mary Clarke Burnett.....	Pittsburgh	Kate McMahon.....	Boston
Sherman Conrad.....	New Orleans	Joanna C. Colcord.....	Minneapolis
James E. Cutler.....	Cleveland	Cecil C. North.....	Columbus, Ohio
C. A. Dawson.....	Montreal	Walter W. Pettit.....	New York
Louise Drury.....	Los Angeles	Bertha C. Reynolds.....	Northampton
Thomas D. Eliot.....	Evanston	Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh.....	Chicago
Earle E. Eubank.....	Cincinnati	Jesse F. Steiner.....	Chapel Hill, N.C.
Leon W. Frost.....	Detroit	Walter W. Whitson.....	Kansas City
William Hodson.....	New York	Arthur E. Wood.....	Ann Arbor
Harry L. Hopkins.....	New York	Rev. F. N. Stapleford.....	Toronto
M. J. Karpf.....	New York		

## DIVISION XII—EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

*Chairman*, Mary Swain Routzahn, New York.*Secretary*, Florence Seder, New York.

Anna B. Beattie.....	Cleveland	C. D. Morris.....	New York
Paul S. Bliss.....	Minneapolis	Bernard C. Roloff.....	Chicago
Sherman Conrad.....	New Orleans	Charles C. Stillman.....	Grand Rapids
E. J. Edmonds.....	Des Moines	Sidney A. Teller.....	Pittsburgh
R. Heber Hixson.....	Oklahoma City	Clare M. Tousley.....	New York
Louise M. Clevenger.....	Toledo	Margaret Rich.....	New York
Charles E. Miner.....	St. Louis	Geddes Smith.....	New York
Hilda K. Mills.....	Long Island City	Katherine Wells Whipple.....	New York

## PART 2

### BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1928

#### OFFICERS

President, Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia.  
First Vice-President, Porter R. Lee, New York City; Second Vice-President, Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Boston; Third Vice-President, Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago.  
Treasurer, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.  
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio: Sherman C. Kingsley, President; Porter R. Lee, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1928—Grace Abbott, Washington; Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Owen R. Lovejoy, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Helen T. Woolley, New York. Term expiring 1929—Joanna C. Colcord, Minneapolis; Neva R. Deardorff, New York; William Hodson, New York; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; Jesse F. Steiner, Chapel Hill, N.C. Term expiring 1930—Sophonisba Breckenridge, Chicago; Louise Cottrell, Iowa City; Eugene K. Jones, New York; Philip Klein, New York; Gertrude Vaile, Ames. Chairmen of Divisions—Albert H. Stoneman, Detroit; George W. Kirchwey, New York; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati; Dorothy C. Kahn, Baltimore; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Mrs. Eva W. White, Boston; Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., New York; William J. Ellis, Trenton; Cecilia Razovsky, New York; F. Stuart Chapin, Minneapolis; Homer W. Borst, Indianapolis.

#### COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia, Chairman; Neva R. Deardorff, New York; Elwood Street, St. Louis; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; Howard R. Knight, Columbus; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Mary Russell, Memphis.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Chairman; Alexander Johnson, Croton-on-Hudson; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham.

#### COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Fred R. Johnson, Detroit, Chairman; David Adie, Buffalo; Margaret F. Byington, Hartford; Effie Doan, Des Moines; Arthur A. Guild, Richmond; David L. Holbrook, New York; Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh; Alfred F. Whitman, Boston; Dorothy E. Wysor, Los Angeles.

#### COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Otto Davis, Cincinnati, Chairman; Mrs. Ruth Atkinson, Tampa; George A. Bedinger, Philadelphia; Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville; W. S. Bixby, Nashville; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Anna Cameron, Lincoln; Charles L. Chute, New York; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Susan K. Gillean, New Orleans; William C. Headrick, Chattanooga; Adah Hershey, Des Moines; Carl Hunt, San Francisco; Jessie I. Lummis, Denver; Mary E. Murphy, Chicago; Stuart A. Queen, Lawrence, Kansas; Mary Swain Routzahn, New York; Pearl Salsberry, Minneapolis; Oscar Schoenherr, Orange, N.J.; Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, Washington.

## DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

## DIVISION I—CHILDREN

*Chairman*, Albert H. Stoneman, Detroit.  
*Vice-Chairman*, H. Ida Curry, New York.  
*Secretary*, Jacob Kepecs, Chicago.

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|---|--|
| Amy Abbott (1930).....Cheyenne          | Robert E. Mills (1928).....Toronto     |
| Charles L. Chute (1928).....New York    | Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1930)..Birmingham  |
| Jane F. Culbert (1929).....New York     | A. Percy Paget (1930).....Winnipeg     |
| Leon W. Frost (1928).....Detroit        | Margaret Reeves (1930).....Sante Fe    |
| Mrs. Adolf Guttmacher (1928)..Baltimore | A. H. Stoneman (1929).....Detroit      |
| Charles F. Hall (1928).....St. Paul     | Ruth Taylor (1929).....East View, N.Y. |
| A. T. Jameson (1930)....Greenwood, S.C. | Elsa Ueland (1928).....Flourtown, Pa.  |
| Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta        | Miriam Van Waters (1929)...Los Angeles |
| Rev. C. H. LeBlond (1929)....Cleveland  | Hans Weiss (1929).....Boston           |
| Katherine F. Lenroot (1930)..Washington | C. V. Williams (1930).....Chicago      |
| Emma O. Lundberg (1928)....New York     |  |

## DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

*Chairman*, George W. Kirchwey, New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, John A. Brown, Indianapolis.  
*Secretary*, Hastings H. Hart, New York.

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|---|---|
| Edith Abbott (1929).....Chicago               | Virginia Murray (1928).....New York             |
| Brother Barnabas (1930).....Toronto           | Valeria H. Parker, M.D. (1928).New York         |
| Harry E. Barnes (1928)....Northampton         | Herbert C. Parsons (1930).....Boston            |
| Mrs. Mabel Bassett (1928).Oklahoma City       | Caroline Penniman (1930)<br>Middletown, Conn.   |
| Jessie F. Binford (1929).....Chicago          | Louis N. Robinson (1929)....Swarthmore          |
| Ellison Capers (1928)....Columbia, S.C.       | Carrie Weaver Smith (1929)<br>Gainesville, Tex. |
| Edward R. Cass (1930).....New York            | John J. Sonstebly (1930).....Chicago            |
| Lincoln Frost (1930).....Lincoln, Neb.        | Miriam Van Waters (1928)...Los Angeles          |
| Max Handman (1928).....Austin                 | Franklin Wilson (1929).....Muncy, Pa.           |
| Hastings H. Hart (1930).....New York          |   |
| Mrs. Jessie Hodder (1929)...Framingham        |   |
| A. L. Jacoby, M.D. (1929).....Detroit         |   |
| Edward R. Johnstone ((1928)<br>Vineland, N.J. |   |

## DIVISION III—HEALTH

*Chairman*, Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Roger G. Perkins, M.D., Cleveland.  
*Secretary*, Edith Foster, Milwaukee.

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|---|---|
| Grace Abbott (1936).....Washington              | Helen McMurchy, M.D. (1928)...Ottawa            |
| Severance Burrage, M.D. (1928)..Denver          | Mary E. Murphy (1928).....Chicago               |
| Homer N. Calver (1928).....New York             | M. P. Ravenel, M.D. (1928)<br>Columbia, Mo.     |
| Anna Drake (1930).....Cincinnati                | William F. Snow, M.D. (1930).New York           |
| Charles P. Emerson, M.D. (1929)<br>Indianapolis | Elnora E. Thomson (1928)...Salem, Ore.          |
| Edith Foster (1928).....Milwaukee               | Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D. (1929)<br>Stanford, Cal. |
| Howard W. Green (1928).....Cleveland            | C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1929)<br>New Haven      |
| Robert W. Kelso (1930).....Boston               | Rachelle S. Yarros, M.D. (1929)..Chicago        |
| H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D. (1929)..Toledo         |   |
| A. J. Lanza, M.D. (1928).....New York           |   |
| John A. Lapp (1930).....Chicago                 |   |



## DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

*Chairman*, Dorothy C. Kahn, Baltimore.*Secretary*, Francis H. McLean, New York.

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|--|--|
| Harriet E. Anderson (1930)....New York     | - Mary C. Goodwillie (1928)....Baltimore |
| Paul L. Benjamin (1929)....Louisville, Ky. | Helen W. Hanchette (1930)....Cleveland   |
| W. S. Bixby (1930).....Nashville           | - Joel D. Hunter (1928).....Chicago      |
| Elinor Blackman (1929).....New York        | - Anna Kempshall (1928).....New York     |
| - Mary F. Bogue (1928)....Harrisburg, Pa.  | - Harry L. Lurie (1928).....Chicago      |
| Adaline A. Buffington (1929)               | - Rose Porter (1928).....Pittsburgh      |
| Madison, N.J.                              | Nell Scott (1930).....Pittsburgh         |
| Lucia B. Clow (1930).....Milwaukee         | Amelia Sears (1929).....Chicago          |
| Lucile K. Corbett (1929).....Cleveland     | Gertrude Vaile (1930).....Ames, Ia.      |
| Elizabeth Dutcher (1929)....Brooklyn, N.Y. |  |

## DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

*Chairman*, John A. Lapp, Chicago.*Vice-Chairman*, Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York.*Secretary*, Eleanor Copenhaver, Chicago.

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|--|--|
| Mary Anderson (1929).....Washington      | Rev. F. E. Johnson (1929)....New York    |
| - John B. Andrews (1928).....New York    | Mrs. Florence Kelley (1930)....New York  |
| Edward I. Benson (1929).....Cleveland    | - Paul U. Kellogg (1928).....New York    |
| Linna Bresette (1929).....Chicago        | - George S. Lackland (1928).....Denver   |
| Robert Bruere (1929).....New York        | John A. Lapp (1930).....Chicago          |
| - Allen T. Burns (1928).....New York     | William Lieserson (1929)                 |
| Elizabeth Christman (1929).....Chicago   | Yellow Springs, Ohio                     |
| Eleanor Copenhaver (1930).....Chicago    | Owen R. Lovejoy (1929)                   |
| Paul H. Douglas (1929).....Chicago       | St. Petersburg, Fla.                     |
| - John A. Fitch (1928).....New York      | - Robert E. Lucey (1928).....Los Angeles |
| Emil Frankel (1930).....Harrisburg       | James Mullenbach (1929).....Chicago      |
| Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1930).....Louisville | Laura Parker (1930).....New York         |
| Sidney Hillman (1929).....New York       | Jessie O. Thomas (1930).....Atlanta      |
| Charles S. Johnson (1929)....New York    |  |

## DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

*Chairman*, Mrs. Eva W. White, Boston.*Secretary*, Aubrey Williams, Madison.

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|---|--|
| - Jane Addams (1928).....Chicago        | Paul U. Kellogg (1929).....New York      |
| George A. Bellamy (1929)....Cleveland   | E. C. Lindeman (1929).....New York       |
| - LeRoy E. Bowman 1928.....New York     | Mary E. McDowell (1929).....Chicago      |
| Mrs. Edith T. Bremer (1929)....New York | J. H. Montgomery (1929)....Richmond, Va. |
| Grace H. Chaffee (1930).....Iowa City   | R. Maurice Moss (1930).....Baltimore     |
| Charles C. Cooper (1929).....Pittsburgh | Elmer Scott (1930).....Dallas            |
| Robbins Gillman (1930).....Minneapolis  | Mrs. Eva W. White (1930).....Boston      |
| - Frances Ingram (1928).....Louisville  | - Aubrey Williams (1928).....Madison     |

## DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

*Chairman*, Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., New York.*Vice-Chairman*, Frederick Allen, M.D., Philadelphia.*Secretary*, Eleanor Clifton, New York.

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|---|--|
| Herbert Chamberlain, M.D. (1930)            | - David M. Levy, M.D. (1928)....Chicago      |
| Minneapolis                                 | Grace Marcus (1930).....New York             |
| Dorothy Crouse (1929).....Louisville        | - Helen L. Myrick (1928).....Chicago         |
| Almena Dawley (1930).....Philadelphia       | - George K. Pratt, M.D. (1928)....New York   |
| Elizabeth Dexter (1930).....Newark, N.J.    | - Bertha C. Reynolds (1928)                  |
| Kate A. Dinsmore (1929).....Dallas          | Stoughton, Mass.                             |
| - Marie L. Donohoe (1928).....Boston        | Esther L. Richards, M.D. (1929)....Baltimore |
| Mrs. W. F. Dummer (1929).....Chicago        | Christine Robb (1930).....New York           |
| - Franklin G. Ebaugh, M.D. (1928)....Denver | Sally Swift (1930).....New York              |
| E. Van Norman Emery, M.D. (1930)            | Jessie Taft (1929).....Philadelphia          |
| Los Angeles                                 | Ralph P. Pruitt, M.D. (1929)....New York     |
| - C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1928).....Toronto     | - E. Koster Wickham (1928).....Cleveland     |

## DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

*Chairman*, William Hodson, New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.  
*Secretary*, Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.

C. M. Bookman (1930).....Cincinnati	M. C. MacLean (1929).....Toronto
Mrs. E. T. Brigham (1928)	Howard W. Odum (1930)....Chapel Hill
Kansas City, Mo.	Charles C. Stillman (1928)..Grand Rapids
David L. Holbrook (1929)....New York	Kenneth Sturges (1928).....Cleveland
William Hodson (1929).....New York	Elizabeth H. Webster (1930)....Chicago
Guy T. Justis (1928).....Denver	Mabel Weed (1928).....San Francisco
Robert W. Kelso (1930).....Boston	

## DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

*Chairman*, William J. Ellis, Trenton.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Stuart A. Queen, Lawrence, Kan.  
*Secretary*, Louise Cottrell, Iowa City.

Mrs. Amy S. Braden (1928)..Sacramento	Frank E. Kimball (1929)...Jefferson City
Richard K. Conant (1929).....Boston	James S. Lakin (1928)..Charleston, W.Va.
Louise Cottrell (1929).....Iowa City	A. Percy Paget (1930).....Winnipeg
H. Ida Curry (1930).....New York	Ellen C. Potter, M.D. (1928)..Harrisburg
Emil Frankel (1930).....Harrisburg	Louis H. Putnam (1930)....Providence
Lillian T. Franzen (1928)...Albuquerque	William J. Sayers (1928)...Muncie, Ind.
John L. Gillin (1928).....Madison	H. H. Shirer (1929).....Columbus, Ohio
Charles H. Johnson (1928)....Albany	Gertrude Vaile (1930).....Ames
Judge J. E. Jones (1928).....Toronto	George S. Wilson (1929).....Washington
Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta	

## DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

*Chairman*, Cecilia Razovsky, New York.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Chicago.  
*Secretary*, Florence Cassidy, Bridgeport.

Edith Abbott (1928).....Chicago	Charles S. Johnson (1928)....New York
Sophonisba Breckenridge (1928)..Chicago	Alice Jones (1928).....Erie
Mrs. Harry M. Bremer (1928)..New York	Bruno Lasker (1928).....New York
Mrs. Gertrude Brown, (1928)..Minneapolis	Don D. Lescohier (1928)....Madison
Elizabeth Clark (1928).....New York	Read Lewis (1928).....New York
Mrs. Elisabeth Louise Clark (1928)	Harry L. Lurie (1928).....Chicago
Los Angeles	Mary E. McDowell (1928)....Chicago
Jane Clark (1928).....New York	Leifur Magnusson (1928)...Washington
Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell (1928)	Marian Schibsy (1928).....New York
Pittsburgh	Jaroslav F. Smetanka (1928)....Chicago
Fred Croxton (1928).....Columbus	Aghavnie Yeghenian (1928)...New York
Georgia Ely (1928).....Boston	
Nellie Foster (1928).....San Diego	

## DIVISION XI—PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

*Chairman*, F. Stuart Chapin, Minneapolis.  
*Vice-Chairman*, Irene Liggett, Philadelphia.

Henrietta S. Additon (1928)..Bryn Mawr	Emerson A. North, M.D. (1928)
Sophonisba Breckenridge (1928)..Chicago	Cincinnati
C. C. Carstens (1930).....New York	Howard W. Odum (1929)
Joanna C. Colcord (1929)....Minneapolis	Chapel Hill, N.C.
Irene Farnham Conrad (1929)	Philip A. Parsons (1930)....Eugene, Ore.
New Orleans	Walter W. Pettit (1928).....New York
Neva R. Deardorff (1928)....New York	Rev. Frederick Siedenburg (1929).Chicago
Dorothea de Schweinitz (1930).New York	Arthur J. Todd (1930).....Chicago
Philip Klein (1929).....New York	Gertrude Vaile (1930).....Ames

## DIVISION XII—EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

*Chairman*, Homer W. Borst, Indianapolis.*Vice-Chairman*, Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans.*Secretary*, Clare M. Tousley, New York.

George A. Bedinger (1929)...Philadelphia  
 Paul Bliss (1930).....St. Louis  
 Homer W. Borst (1930).....Indianapolis  
 Margaret F. Byington (1929)...Hartford  
 Louise Clevenger (1930)....Toledo, Ohio  
 Irene Farnham Conrad (1929) New Orleans  
 Bruno Lasker (1929).....New York

Julia Tolman Lee (1928).....New York  
 Bernard C. Roloff (1930).....Chicago  
 Mary Ross (1929).....New York  
 Mary Swain Routzahn (1930)..New York  
 Gertrude Springer (1928).....New York  
 Clare M. Tousley (1928).....New York  
 Leon Whipple (1928).....New York

## PART 3

### BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

*Saturday, May 14, 1927, 9 A.M.*

Meeting called to order by President Lapp.

The Secretary read the report of the Committee on Behavior Problems of Children, a joint committee of the National Education Association and the National Conference of Social Work. The report is as follows:

As Chairman of the Committee on Behavior Problems of Children, appointed at the request of the National Education Association, I submit herewith a report covering the work of the committee during the past year:

As a result of their first year of work a joint report of the two committees was submitted, it will be recalled, to the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work, meeting in Cleveland in May, 1926, and to the Executive Committee of the National Education Association, meeting in Philadelphia in June, 1926. This report received the approval of both organizations and each reappointed its committee for the ensuing year. The joint report was published as a pamphlet by the National Education Association, and there has been a considerable demand for it during the past year on the part of school people and social workers.

In October a communication was sent, over the signature of the two chairmen, asking the members of both committees to devote thought to the various steps suggested in the report for attaining the stated objectives, and to give their opinion as to which step should have first attention and as to how the work in connection with it might be undertaken. The replies chiefly suggested the step listed as No. 5 in the joint report of the committees, as follows: 5. Study of the preparation of teachers and social workers in their various training schools in relation to the teaching of child psychology, mental hygiene, and social psychiatry, and formulation of recommendations.

Other steps mentioned in the replies were those listed in the report as follows: (1) Study of work done by clinical centers operating in schools and communities and recommendation of the most practical methods for understanding and treating behavior problem children and preventing the development of these problems in the home, school, and community; (4) Studies of departments and bureaus of counselling, child welfare, child study, adjustment, etc.; (9) Study of existing literature and recommendations of reading lists; and (10) Study of the possibilities of teaching general mental hygiene principles in high schools.

A joint session of the two committees was held on November 15, attended by twelve members. Following much discussion of the various steps it was decided to focus efforts this year on the one listed as No. 5, stated previously. The chairmen of the two committees were instructed to appoint a subcommittee to plan and conduct an inquiry along the line indicated and formulate for consideration a report with recommendations. The chairmen stated their belief that this subcommittee should consist of two groups, one from each body, working in close cooperation, and the following were asked to serve as members: From the N.E.A. Committee: W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Chairman, Meta Anderson, Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, William S. Gray, Helen T. Woolley; from the N.C.S.W. Committee: Henry W. Thurston, Chairman, Rev. John M. Cooper, Jane Culbert, Frank J. O'Brien, Jessie Taft.

Considerable information has been collected by these two groups and it is felt that progress has been made toward the preparation of a valuable report upon the topic assigned to them, despite the fact that their collaboration has been somewhat retarded by the absence of Dr. Ryan during the major part of the year. If the committees are continued during the year ahead by their respective organizations it is expected that a report with recommendations on this important subject of the preparation of teachers and social workers in relation to child psychology, mental hygiene, and social psychiatry will be completed and submitted.

At the joint meeting of the two committees on November 15 consideration was also given to the programs of the meetings to be held (a) by the National Council of the National Education Association at Dallas in February, 1927, at the time of the annual meeting of the N.E.A. Department of Superintendence, and (b) by the National Conference of Social Work at Des Moines in May, 1927. The work of the N.E.A. Committee on behavior problems of children having been referred to the National Council of the N.E.A., the Council had set aside one of its sessions at Dallas for the presentation of the work of the cooperating committees and had asked the committees to arrange the program. It was voted that the two chairmen select the speakers. This meeting of the National Council of the N.E.A. was held in Dallas on the afternoon of March 2 and was devoted to a discussion of the studies as proposed in the joint report of the cooperating committees. Three points of view were presented by the speakers, all three of whom were from the membership of the two committees. The point of view of the mental hygienist was set forth by Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, of the Psychological Clinic, Louisville; that of the school administrator, by Mr. M. C. Lefler, superintendent of schools, Lincoln, Nebraska; and that of the training of teachers, by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., professor of education, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

With reference to the program of the National Conference of Social Work in Des Moines, the chairmen of the committees stated at the joint session on November 15 that the secretary of the Conference had discussed with them the designation of one day during the Conference week when the cooperation of school people and social workers might be emphasized; and had also requested that suggestions be made to the chairmen of the appropriate divisions of the Conference to the end that division programs on the day designated might include topics and speakers along the lines covered in the joint report of the committees. It was therefore decided by the committees that they would arrange no special meeting in connection with the N.C.S.W., but would cooperate in making suggestions to the Conference division chairmen as to the programs of the division. Communications to this end were addressed to the chairmen of appropriate divisions, and conferences held with two of them. In addition, the President of the Conference sought cooperation in the arrangement of the program of the general session to be held on Friday evening, May 12.

As stated in my report last year, the members of both the N.E.A. and National Conference committees are impressed by the fact that cooperative effort in the field of their joint consideration must necessarily develop slowly. It is felt that the promising beginning made in the first year has led to further progress in the year now ending and the continuation of the National Conference committee is recommended for the year ahead.

Respectfully submitted.

GRAHAM ROMEYN TAYLOR, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of this committee, and that the committee be continued.

The President stated that the Executive Committee had given consideration to the question of the voting privilege which was referred from last year's

Conference, and called upon Mr. William Hodson, chairman of a special committee appointed to report upon conclusions reached by the committee.

Mr. William Hodson presented the committee's report. The report is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

The Subcommittee on Elections offers the following amendment to By-Law 8 of the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Conference of Social Work. That the following amendments of By-Law 8 be omitted. "Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote." That there be established for the foregoing sentence the following: *Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting and; (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of nonpayment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.*

It was moved and seconded that the report, so far as the first two propositions were concerned, be adopted and the constitution be amended to that effect.

An amendment was moved to the effect that anyone who is in good standing may vote at any annual meeting. This was seconded, but after discussion the amendment was defeated.

After further discussion it was voted to adopt the two recommendations of the report.

Mr. Hodson continued the report:

Your Committee further recommends that By-Law 13 of the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Conference of Social Work be amended so as to read as follows:

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the *first day* of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the *second day* of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the *second day* of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee. Such nominations shall be received up to *one o'clock P.M.* on the third day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the *fourth day* of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the *fourth day* fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the *fifth day*.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained on the *fourth day* of the Confer-

<sup>1</sup> Changes are indicated by italics.



ence to be open for at least four hours at such time as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adopt the amendments recommended in the report.

The President explained that the first proposition went into effect at once and would be operative in this year's voting, but that the second proposition could not go into effect at this Conference.

The Treasurer's report for the period June 1, 1926, to April 20, 1927, was read by the Secretary in the absence of the Treasurer. Full report is published in the August *Bulletin*.

The Secretary read a letter from Dr. René Sand, with regard to arrangements for the International Conference of Social Work. It is as follows:

*Message to the 54th National Conference of Social Work, Des Moines:* It is a pleasant task indeed to be able to announce to the members of the 54th National Conference of Social Work, in which unfortunately I am unable to take part, that the plan of holding an International Conference of Social Work, which was so favorably received by the Conferences of Washington, Toronto, and Cleveland, has now fully materialized.

The date and place have been fixed by universal consent: Paris, July 9-13, 1928.

Five sections have been organized: the first, on the General Organization of Social Work, with the Hon. Percy Alden (London) as Chairman; an American Vice-Chairman will soon be appointed; the second, on Training for Social Work, with Dr. Alice Salomon (Berlin) as Chairman, and Mr. Porter R. Lee as American Vice-Chairman; the third, on Methods of Social Case Work, with Mrs. John M. Glenn as Chairman, and Miss Mary Hurlbutt as American Vice-Chairman; the fourth, on Social Work and Industry, with Albert Thomas as Chairman, and Miss Mary Van Kleeck as American Vice-Chairman; the fifth, on Social Work and Health, with Professor Baggs (Stockholm) as Chairman, and an American Vice-Chairman still to be designated.

Besides the section meetings, five general sessions will be held, in which addresses bearing on the subjects treated in the five sections will be given.

National Committees have been established or are under way in twenty-three countries of Europe, Asia, North and South America.

Sixteen thousand dollars have already been subscribed towards the expenses of the Conference. I cannot sufficiently emphasize the gratitude felt by social workers all over the world for the generous initiative taken by the officers of the National Conference of Social Work in raising \$1,000 and thus, as experience has proved, favourably impressing the various American Foundations which had been approached for contributions.

The International Conference of Social Work, the first to be held, will meet as a part of an International Social Welfare Fortnight, which also represents a new venture. This Fortnight, lasting from July 2 to July 13, will include an International Congress of Child Welfare (July 2-5), an International Congress of Private and Public Welfare (July 5-7), and the International Conference of Social Work (July 9-13). Taken together, these three meetings will cover a considerable part of the fields of health and social work.

Each one of these gatherings is to remain independent. They will, however, take place in the same building; they will have combined services (information, post and telegraph, housing, traveling); they will organize their excursions, visits, and receptions together; they will publish a joint daily bulletin; they will hold a joint exhibiton, and finally, they will meet in a combined mass meeting at which the "stars" of the three Con-

gresses will succeed each other on the platform, voicing their common ideal of social progress, and bringing from every part of the world a message and a promise.

The importance of the contributions promised to the three congresses and the fact that hundreds of social workers coming from every country will meet in a spirit of mutual understanding and appreciation, warrants the highest hopes not only for the success of the International Conference, but also for its lasting effects on the development of social work and the establishment of better relations throughout the world. In this achievement, the National Conference of Social Work will be able to claim a prominent part.

With every kind wish for the success of the Des Moines Conference and my very best thanks for all those who have so efficiently helped in our plans, may I single out Miss Julia Lathrop, Mr. Homer Folks, Miss Grace Abbott, Miss Gertrude Vaile, Mr. John A. Lapp, Mr. John M. Glenn, Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Miss Margaret Curtis, and all the members of her Committee. I send my dear American friends and colleagues, known and unknown, the expression of my grateful appreciation and warmest good wishes.

DR. RENÉ SAND, *Secretary General, Executive Board of the Organization Committee, International Conference of Social Work.*

The President announced that the Committee appointed to take charge of the election was as follows: Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Chairman; Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Elizabeth H. Webster, Chicago; and Helen Currier, Dayton.

The President announced the Committee on tellers for the election, as follows: Elwood Street, St. Louis, Chairman; Malcolm Nichols, Milwaukee; Mary Russell, Memphis; Helen Hanchette, Cleveland; Ina Taylor; Matty C. Beattie, Providence.

*Tuesday, May 17, 1927, 4 P.M.*

Meeting called to order by President Lapp.

The Secretary read the reports of nominations for officers and committee members for Divisions II, III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII.

After motion duly made and seconded it was voted that these nominations be approved and the officers and committee members named be elected; also that the nominations to be turned in later by Divisions I, VI, and X be approved and elected.

In the absence of the chairman of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work, the Secretary read a resolution of the Executive Committee as follows:

That the National Conference of Social Work should continue to act as the American Representative of the International Conference of Social Work and perform such duties as may be requested by the International Conference of Social Work.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adopt the resolution.

In answer to a question the President stated that it is the intention of the Executive Committee that the further business of the International Conference shall be carried on by the Executive Committee, and that the special committee, its preliminary work having been ably performed, be not continued; the work necessary from now on being the practical one of ways and means.

The President stated that at a meeting of the Executive Committee last January the Executive Committee agreed to raise \$1,000 toward the expenses of the International Conference, and also submitted the matter to various foundations, which agreed to give \$1,600 also. The amount proposed to be raised by the Conference will be by a special request to members for small contributions, not taken from the treasury of the Conference.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was made as follows:

The Committee has held three meetings, giving five hours to discussion and hearings on the place to be recommended for the next meeting of the Conference.

The Committee eliminated from consideration the invitations which came from convention bureaus, unsupported by the social workers of the cities. The Committee further eliminated invitations not supported by representatives prepared to confer with the Committee.

The Committee heard representatives from cities desiring to give notice that they wished to entertain the Conference at some time in the near future: Boston in 1930, because of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Boston; Louisville in 1929; an invitation to St. Louis in 1930 was noted.

Four points were kept in mind in discussing the place for the 1928 meeting: first, the invitations available,—the Conference goes where it is invited; second, the state of the treasury of the National Conference; third, the geographic positions from which the invitations come, since this is a national conference and desires participation from all parts of the country, and the Conference has followed the custom of swinging rather widely over the country from year to year; fourth, the ability to meet the financial requirements of the Conference, to house the delegates and to provide meeting places.

The following cities were given detailed consideration under these four classifications: Dallas, Detroit, Memphis, and San Francisco. From these four cities, the Committee recommends Memphis as the place of meeting for the 1928 Conference.

The Conference has not met in the South since 1920. Persons from Birmingham, Greensboro, North Carolina, Baltimore, and other cities in Tennessee outside of Memphis have expressed a strong desire for the Conference to be held in the South. The Committee has satisfied itself that Memphis can fulfil the usual requirements as to meeting halls, hotel rooms, and financial backing. In addition, the Committee has considered in detail the needs of minority groups of the Conference and is satisfied from the evidence presented that provision will be made for their needs.

The Committee further recommends to the Executive Committee that a statement be prepared for future committees on time and place so that they may have a basis for knowing what standards of preparation are acceptable for the meeting together of all groups and races having membership in the Conference. It is understood that other national bodies have given study to this matter, and it is suggested that their statements of requirements for meeting places might be helpful to the National Conference of Social Work.

The President stated that the matter is before the whole Conference for decision, the question having been considered by the Committee on Time and Place, which submitted its report to the Executive Committee, naming Memphis as the place. Under the terms of the By-Laws, Section 4, the Executive Committee considered the report and by a vote of 11 to 5 recommend that Detroit be substituted for Memphis.

It was moved and seconded that Memphis be selected as the next meeting place of the Conference.

After extended discussion, the motion was put, and by a rising vote of 261 ayes to 35 nays it was carried, and Memphis declared to be the place of the next meeting.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the vote of the Conference be made unanimous.

The meeting adjourned.

*Tuesday, May 17, 1927, 8 P.M.*

The President called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which was read by the Chairman, Mr. Eugene T. Lies, as follows:

For the benefit of the uninitiated, let it be said that this Conference is not a convention in the sense that it takes positions regarding social betterment, platforms, movements, or principles, which does not imply that it is an unprincipled body. Far from it. It has so many and varied principles, theories, and practices represented within its constituency that it is often exceedingly difficult to reconcile them. It is essentially a clearing house of ideas, a democratic forum, a dynamic power house of social inspiration.

In the joyous task of setting down the sense of appreciation of the Conference for all that has been done to make its Des Moines session a great success, your Committee is irresistibly moved to go way beyond the miser who told the truth with penurious frugality; and yet consideration of time and space force us into a mood of self repression lest we consume reams and reams of paper in saying all that is in our hearts and minds clamoring for expression.

We cannot forbid ourselves, however, the great privilege of declaring that the arrangements for this Conference in all its features have been most complete to the last detail, and represent 365 days of keen thinking and meticulous planning, of exercise of forward looking imagination and devotion to an ideal of perfection. The results have been apparent on every hand, in comfort, convenience, smooth running machinery, and hospitality. If anything seemed at any time to have been forgotten, a mere slight waft of a suggestion brought the local busy bees in action.

All the technique of the Traveler's Aid seems to have been utilized for guiding Conference members through and around the tall corn to meeting places, exhibit halls, and recreation centers. These Des Moinesians, in spite of all that has been discovered in the field of mental hygiene, do still believe in signs, and if anybody didn't find his meeting place, it simply was because he was not half trying.

And so your Committee hereby registers for the Conference sincere gratefulness for services rendered: to the State and Local Committee and their subcommittees, with special mention for the Governor, John Hammill; the Mayor, F. H. Hunter; the Chairman of the Local Committee, Mr. G. S. Nollen; his able Chief of Staff, Neverest Napoleon, Ralph J. Reed, together with his Tell-the-World Publicity Mogul, T. J. Edmonds; to the Chamber of Commerce Convention Bureau and its jolly director, George Hamilton; to the many cooperating agencies, churches, clubs, and associations; to the newspapers; and to all other groups who did a good turn, not merely every day, but every minute of every day.

We would also felicitate our Captain of Courage and Inspiration, President Dr. John A. Lapp, all the other officers and committees of the Conference upon the high quality of programs offered in every general and section meeting, and thank them for their devoted services in the preparation thereof.

We gladly and appreciatively acknowledge the services of our indefatigable, omnipresent, rustless and dustless General Secretary, Howard R. Knight.

And finally, hasn't it been more than nice to have at this Conference to warn the oldsters, guide the youngsters, and shed his mellow grace upon all of us, Uncle Alec Johnson, the Irrepressible Youth of Eighty, on his way to one hundred? Resolved: it was.

Respectfully Submitted,

LEA D. TAYLOR

REV. FATHER JOHN O'GRADY

EUGENE T. LIES, *Chairman.*

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report be adopted.

## PART 4

### CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

#### CONSTITUTION

##### *Preamble*

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

##### *Membership*

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

##### *Officers*

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

##### *Committees*

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

##### *Annual Meetings*

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

##### *General Secretary*

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

##### *Amendments*

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.



## BY-LAWS

1. *Membership Fees*

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. *Duties of Officers*

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. *Finance*

No financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. *Appointment of Committees*

Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Conference Program Committee of seven members, to consist of the retiring President, the newly elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, and four persons to be appointed by the newly elected President for a term of one year. This committee, subject to action by the Executive Committee, shall have entire responsibility (1) for preparing all programs for general sessions of the Conference, (2) for harmonizing and coordinating the programs of the several Divisions.

d) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The appointment and personnel of all committees shall be published in the *Bulletin* next following the appointment.

#### 5. Divisions

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

#### 6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

#### 7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

#### 8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided: (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting and, (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

#### 9. Voting Quorum

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

## BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

10. *Division Meetings*

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. *Minutes*

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. *Local Arrangements*

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. *Nomination and Election of Officers*

1. The nominating committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to 1 P.M. on the third day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fourth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the fifth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference to be open for at least four hours at such time as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the president and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

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